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DALMATIA
BOSNIA
HERZEGOVINA
CROATIA
SCLAVONIA
UPPER CARNIOLA
FRIOUL
MARCHA TREVISIANA
VENICE
GULF OF VENICE
Gulf of Quarnero
Gulf of Fiume
Gulf of Trieste
Gulf of Narenta
Canal of Stagno
Canal of Brazza
I. LIESINA
I. CURZOLA
I. MELEDE
Adriatic Sea
Cadore
Gemona
Udine
Belluno
Feltre
Conegliano
Treviso
Padua
Venice
Chioggia
Adige R.
Po R.
Ravenna
Rimini
Pesaro
Ancona
Urbania
Città di Castello
Perugia
Assisi
Camerino
Fabriano
Macerata
Recanati
Loreto
Osimo
Iesi
Fossombrone
Fano
Sinigaglia
Fermo
Ascoli
Fermo
Serravalle
Folino
Rieti
Spoleto
Terni
Narni
Civita Vecchia
Rome
Ostia
Velletri
Albano
Frascati
Tivoli
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Teramo
Atri
Pescara
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Lanciano
Ortona
Vasto
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Castellamare
Vesuvius
Ischia
Procida
Capri
Cumae
Puzzuoli
Baiæ
Misenum
Lipari Is.
Stromboli
Vulcano
Salina
Panarea
Alicudi
Filicudi
Trapani
Marsala
Mazara
Sciacca
Girgenti
Licata
Terranova
Augusta
Catania
Syracuse
Messina
Reggio
Palermo
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Tripoli
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TRAVELS

IN

ISTRIA AND DALMATIA,

DRAWN UP FROM THE ITINERARY

OF

L. F. CASSAS,

AUTHOR AND EDITOR OF THE PICTURESQUE TRAVELS IN SYRIA, PHENECIA, PALESTINE, AND LOWER EGYPT.

BY

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PREFACE.

THE motives which gave rise to the travels of M. Cassas being stated in the second part of this work, it would be superfluous here to repeat them; but the Translator cannot refrain from offering a few remarks on the utility of publishing the researches of men of learning and talents, in countries once inhabited by people, the results of whose character and actions will be felt by the latest posterity.

The monuments which have been respected for ages, and whose fragments cover the soil of Italy, afford a sublime subject for meditation. Such remains of antiquity may be compared to the history of great men who have paid the debt of nature; and at the expiration of twenty centuries, afford examples to succeeding generations, of the vices which disgraced them, or of the virtues by which they have been immortalized.

On considering the state of the inhabitants who now occupy the scites of these celebrated ruins, we shall find a subject for reflection of no inferior importance. The inquisitive mind will derive pleasure from examining in what degree the present race of men resemble their celebrated predecessors; what may have been the causes of their degradation, or how far their manners, customs, internal policy, or even prejudices, may resemble those of the nations whom they have succeeded:—in short, by such comparisons it will be ascertained whether the modern inhabitants possess, as strangers or as heirs, those remains of ancient grandeur by which they are surrounded.

In this respect travels in Istria and Dalmatia cannot fail to be peculiarly interesting.—On the one side these countries present, as it were, the skeleton of the Roman empire; on the other, particularly in Dalmatia, they exhibit a wandering and pastoral

horde, who perhaps have sunk progressively from an enlightened to a savage state. In one part, for example, we behold the splendid remains of the masters of the world; in another a few ignorant tribes, living in obscurity and indigence. Here we see the mouldering columns of the palaces of the Cæsars; there the smoaky hut of the tasteless Haiduck; the spacious baths once appropriated to the use of beauty, and the infectious pallet of straw on which the debased Dalmatian reposes, a stranger to the endearments of conjugal affection.

In the course of his travels M. Cassas made notes of every remarkable circumstance which came under his observation; and these being arranged, corrected, and perhaps enlarged by the French Editor, form the literary part of the present volume. This task, as appears by the title-page, which contains the only information the Translator possesses on the subject, devolved on M. Joseph Lavallée, well known in the annals of modern French literature, and a member of the Polytechnic Society of Paris.

The Translator thinks it necessary to state that the Editor of the original volume has made a very considerable addition to the literary part, by an historical account of the countries through which M. Cassas travelled,—but as this is in a great degree a compilation, and has no reference to the Itinerary, it has not been included in the present translation, though some interesting passages have been selected from it, relative to the manners and customs of the inhabitants: these however, were drawn up from the notes of M. Cassas, and compared with the accounts of those learned travellers, Spon and Fortis, with which they were found in substance to correspond.

F. W. B.

TRAVELS

IN

ISTRIA AND DALMATIA.

PART I.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY OF THOSE COUNTRIES, ELUCIDATORY OF THE ORIGIN, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THEIR PRESENT INHABITANTS.

ISTRIA and Dalmatia are in many respects deserving of the serious attention of philosophers and lovers of the arts; and perhaps they have reason to lament the degree of obscurity in which those countries have hitherto been involved. The writers who have described them are known but to very few persons; and the indifference which prevails with regard to their works, doubtlessly arises from the dryness of their details, from the absence of a love of human nature, an essential qualification in a writer who travels through the world for his own instruction, and that of his fellow-men; and from that deficiency of judgment which neglects the investigation of interesting subjects, in consequence of an attachment to minute and uninteresting description. But our enlightened progress has demonstrated this great truth,—that a book can only be useful when it has attractions for the heart; and that, to effect the continuance of a subject upon the mind of man, it must be founded upon sentiment. It is, perhaps, from a want of the knowledge of this fact, that education has so long been rendered difficult, laborious, and unsuccessful, and so many books have been condemned to remain like fixtures on the shelves of libraries; and there is no one in whom a love for study may not be excited, if an appeal be made to the heart; nor is there any science, however abstract, which is not attached to sensibility.—It remains only for genius to discover the thread of attachment, and to employ it with propriety.

Istria is a peninsula, the entrance to which advances into the north part of the Adriatic Sea.—Its longitude, from the meridian of Paris, is between 11 degrees 15 min. and 12 degrees 30 mi-

nutes; and its latitude is between 44 degrees 55 minutes, and 45 degrees 50 minutes.

Dalmatia, by comprising the little isles dependant upon it, forms, with different neighbouring parts of Hungary and Turkey, what is called Illyria, an ancient name which the Austrian government has in modern times revived. On the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, it extends from 12 degrees 10 minutes, to 16 degrees 40 minutes of longitude; and from 42 degrees 25 minutes, to 45 degrees 35 minutes of latitude. But this apparent extent is subjected to many irregularities, and consequently does not comprise an extensive square surface; though it is more considerable than that of Istria.

The latter, of which we shall first give some idea, projects between the Gulph of Trieste, *Sinus Tergestinus*, and the Gulph of Carnero. It was divided into two parts: the Venetian part to the west, and that of Austria on the east. This last is also called the Littoral, and is under the jurisdiction of the Circle of Austria. —The former has been re-united to Austria by the treaty of Campo-Formio, which likewise ensures to the Emperor the possession of Dalmatia and other principal parts of the States of Venice.

Some of the ancient geographers have asserted that Istria or Histria formed a part of the ancient Illyria, while others proposed as the limits of those two countries, the river Arsia, now called Arsa. According to these writers, the principal towns of Istria were Tergeste, Ægida, Parentium, and Pola, now known by the names of Trieste, Capo d'Istria, Parenzo, and Pola. Those who give to ancient Illyria a greater extent, comprise Liburnia and Dalmatia.

On recurring to ancient times, it is supposed to be discovered, that the Colchidians, who were detached in pursuit of the famous conquerors of the golden fleece, not being able to come up with them, and apprehending that they would be punished if they returned to their country, disembarked on the coast of Istria, fixed their residence there, and formed the port of Pola; which name it afterwards bore instead of that of Julia Pietas, by which it was for some time known under the Cæsars.

It is possible that the religion of Isis, which the Romans found to prevail in Istria when they conquered that country, between the first and second Punic war, may have given rise to this pretended origin. It is, however, generally agreed, on the authority of Herodotus, that Sosostris penetrated into Colchis, and, after having subdued it, founded colonies therein. Hence, doubtless, the Colques, or Colches, or Colchidians, might, with the manners, customs, and laws, of the Egyptians, likewise adopt some of their divinities, for example, Isis. On finding this religion established in Istria, it might have awakened in the Romans the remembrance of the gods of Egypt and Colchis; and the fallacies

of fabulous times being called to the aid of minds unaccustomed to the research of truth, might have given rise to the opinion of the above-mentioned expedition of the Colches in pursuit of the Argonauts; and it might have appeared probable, that they stopped in a place where the mildness of the climate, the convenience of the port, and the possibility of establishing commercial communications with Greece and Italy, would have afforded them great advantages.

However this may have been, the early fate of Istria and Dalmatia does not begin to be elucidated by history till towards the year of the world 3776, or 521 after the foundation of Rome. At that period, the Roman Republic made a prelude to universal empire by the consolidation of its power in Italy. The siege of Drepane, and the naval victory gained at the Egatian isles by the Consul Lutatius, put an end to the first Punic war. The necessity, or it may be rather said the ambition, to try their strength with Carthage, had emboldened the Romans to contend for the freedom of the seas: a brilliant degree of success had just crowned the first attempts of Duilius, and victory had steeled their legions against the vicissitudes and dangers of an element so new to them. An advantageous and glorious treaty of peace, by putting a stop to the exertions and courage of Amilcar, terminated a war of twenty-four years; and the most formidable of any which Rome had sustained since its foundation. Hiero, under the dreaded protection of the Capitol, reposed in peace at Syracuse; Sardinia was subjugated; the genius of the arts and of letters began to display his treasures on the banks of the Tiber; Lucius Andronicus, and soon afterwards Mævius, laid the foundation of that theatre which Terence was destined to erect, and the temple of Janus had just been shut for the second time. Such was the situation of Rome, when the countries in question appeared for the first time in the chain of historic events.

From this period, little is known of Istria and Dalmatia till the conquest of the latter country by the legions of L. Cæcilius Metellus; at which time the pride of the republic had so far increased, by the magnitude of its conquests, as to deteriorate insensibly the virtues of the ancient Romans, while the puerile ambition of their descendants gave rise to many unjust wars and easy conquests.

But as the proceedings of the ancient republicans in Istria and Dalmatia are sufficiently detailed in history, it would be foreign to the object of this work to enter into a minute account of them. Those countries were successively the theatre of heroism and crimes under Lucullus, Sylla, Marius, Cinna, Carbo, Pompey, Cæsar, and Octavius; till at length, on the division of the

provinces of the Empire, made by Augustus with the Senate, Dalmatia was amongst those which fell to the share of the latter.

After the translation of the seat of government to Constantinople, Dalmatia became the prey of the Huns, Goths, Bulgarians, and other hordes; when on the ascent of Heraclius to the imperial throne, finding himself not sufficiently powerful to deliver Dalmatia, he abandoned it partly to the Croatians and partly to the Servians, on condition that they would expel the Huns. Thus the Croats had Liburnia, and that part of Dalmatia which extends as far as the Cettina, while the Servians obtained possession of the rest; Heraclius retaining only some places, which formed what was called the Thême of Dalmatia.

These Croats inhabited the mountains of Crapack, which separate Hungary from Poland. At the commencement of the seventh century a party of them, conceiving their limits to be too confined, emigrated as far as the borders of the Adriatic gulph. It was to these people, unknown before in that country, that Heraclius ceded Liburnia and a part of Dalmatia. The part which they ocupied, and from which they expelled the Huns, extended along the coasts of Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia, as far as the river Cettina; and in breadth as far as the Save and the Unn; while they left to the Greek emperors Trau, Spalatro, and some little isles. Being at first governed by five brothers, the son of one of them succeeded to their power under the title of Ban, and commenced the long dynasty of the Bans of Croatia and Dalmatia, whose obscure reign has given rise to a multitude of contradictions amongst ignorant writers, and produces an inextricable labyrinth to the truth. It is, however, known, that they made a war for seven years against the Franks, who had gained possession of Macedonia, and whence they finally expelled them, under the reign of the Ban Crescimir.

The Servians or Sclavonians, who are amongst the present inhabitants of these countries, likewise derive their origin from the mountains of Crapack; and by the concession of Heraclius, they founded a monarchy which extended from the coasts of Dalmatia to the Save and the Danube. But their history is as obscure as that of the Croatians.

The Venetians afterwards made some figure in Istria and Dalmatia; and in 1289 an aristocratic government was founded by the Doge Peter Gradenigo, which lasted till 1797.—In this period, however, many wars and insurrections occurred, which, in the minute history of the country, are of much interest, and some importance.—It will be here, however, necessary to mention, that the kingdom of Servia was subjugated by the Bulgarians, and it was by the way of Bosnia in Servia, that the Turks entered Dalmatia; and also to give the readers some idea of the Uscoques, a banditti who are not descended from any particular nation, and

can be considered only as a body of pirates, who were long the most implacable enemies of the Mussulmans and Venetians.—For upwards of 80 years they were subjected to all kinds of oppression and misfortunes, which could be invented by Venetian malignity, and Mahomedan barbarity; but after they had established themselves at Clissa, they made such well combined and successful sorties, as procured them ample revenge.

It appears, from the most authentic accounts of these countries, that the tyranny of the different rulers was always so excessive, from the time of Constantine, that every person in authority became an object of terror to the unfortunate inhabitants, and induced them to emigrate from town to town, till the fugitives became so numerous as to form a distinct class of people in Dalmatia, where they received a particular denomination. Scoco, the real signification of which is emigrant, was the appellation which they acquired; and which, by a corrupt pronunciation, or by translation into other tongues, formed that of Uscoque.

These people, as might be expected, bore an implacable enmity against their persecutors; and when they had assembled together, their numbers became sufficiently formidable to avenge themselves on their tyrants, the Turks, whose territory they constantly ravaged, carrying off their cattle, and committing the most shocking excessess, by way of retaliation for the cruelties exercised upon them when they were dispersed over the country.

Such are now the principal inhabitants of Dalmatia; and although they have for ages been stigmatized as banditti, it will appear, upon philosophical examination, that they are far less criminal than the various nations who have been their oppressors. They have, indeed, been celebrated for their courage; but it should rather be called hardihood or audacity; for the means they employ are not those of valiant warriors.—Their weapons, when they attacked the Turks or Venetians, consisted of a hatchet, a very light musket, and a poniard, or stilletto:—the stilletto for unexpected attacks upon their enemies; and the hatchet for cutting down those who might fall into their power.—Their great talent was in way-laying or surprising those with whom they contended, and they rarely made a stand against any considerable force; but were as expert in flight as other troops are in their evolutions. They abhorred both the Turks and Venetians; and never presented themselves in a body to risk a general action with their troops; but when the latter approached, they concealed themselves, and, after their departure, came out from their retreats. Their expeditions were always determined by their numbers; and whenever the Emperors employed them either in their armies, or in the defence of the towns, the signal for flight or defection constantly came from their commander.

The unfortunate state of affairs which desolated Istria and Dalmatia, in 1537, when the Turks gained possession of Clissa, the first town where the Uscoques had fixed their abode, was terminated by the treaty of Madrid, in 1618, between the Emperor Matthias, the King of Spain, Philip III., and the Republic of Venice; when each family had a different place of residence assigned to it; and from that time, the propensity for pillage ceased amongst them; in short, after eighty years of disasters they became a tranquil body of people.

There is another class of savage people in Dalmatia, called Morlachians, with whom it is very remarkable that the Uscoques, in all their expeditions, never had the least intercourse. Some writers have supposed that the Morlachians were originally natives of Albania, and were therefore odious to the Uscoques; because the Albanians were formerly their greatest enemies, the Venetian army having been principally composed from amongst them; while others attribute their enmity to a wish on the part of the Uscoques to keep all the spoil amongst themselves. It was, however, fortunate for the Venetians that such an union never took place, as the two parties would thus have become a more terrible nation of pirates in the Gulph of the Adriatic, than those of Algiers and Tripoli are in the Mediterranean.

By the dialect of the Morlachians it appears as if they were nearer allied to the Bulgarians than to the inhabitants of Albania; and it is therefore impossible to ascertain their real origin, which seems lost in the obscurity of ages. Although a district of Croatia, which borders on the southern part of the Gulph of Venice, between Istria and Dalmatia, bears the name of Morlachia; it is not to be supposed that this was the proper country of the Morlachians:—they are dispersed generally throughout Dalmatia, and principally on the mountains in the interior of that country.---They occupy the vallies of Kotar, the banks of the rivers of Cerka, Cettina, and Narenta, and extend towards Germany, Hungary, and even Greece.

But though these people inhabit Dalmatia, their manners and language, of which the Abbé Fortis has treated at great length, and whose observations have been compared with those of M. Cassas, prove that they are a distinct nation from the natives of the country; and it is easy to perceive that they have been forced thither by some great political event, of which no trace is to be found in history. Every circumstance, on the other hand, tends to shew that the real Dalmatians are the posterity of the Romans, while the race of ancient or aboriginal inhabitants has entirely disappeared, either by war, oppression, or the innumerable intermixtures arising from different incursions. There even exists between the Italian Dalmatians and the Morlachians, a sort of hatred, and a kind of reciprocal contempt, which

clearly proves that they have not proceeded from one common origin. The Morlachians have also experienced different modifications in their individual features, as well as in their national character, and these they have doubtlessly acquired by the difference of the soil on which they have taken up their residence. The Morlachians of the plains of Scign and Kuin, and of the delightful vallies of Kotar, are affable, hospitable, mild, humane, and submissive to legislative discipline. They are robust, but not tall: their eyes are blue; their hair light; their faces broad; and their noses flat; while their complexion is generally more clear and animated than that of the other Dalmatians. The Morlachians of Douaré, and of the mountains of Vergoraz, on the contrary, are ardent, ferocious, proud, rash, and active. Their form is slender; their limbs are nervous; their eyes and hair are dark and brown; they have long faces, of a yellow or bilious complexion; and their looks are haughty. From inhabiting the mountains, their life necessarily becomes more savage and laborious; because, being surrounded by sterility, their necessities are more imperious, and excite in them a violent passion for plunder, which is not suppressed by any fear of chastisement, from which they are secured by the difficulty of approaching their retreats. Some learned writers have been of opinion that they might have descended from the *Ardii Varales*, mentioned by Strabo, who resided along the river Narona; and whom the Romans expelled from the shores of the sea, in order to deter them from their customary system of depredation.

These Morlachians of Vergoraz prefer on their plundering excursions to commit outrages on the Turks rather than on the Christians, and they only attack the latter at the last extremity. They are, nevertheless, faithful to their promises; sensible of any confidence which may be reposed in them; never plunder the traveller who puts himself under their protection; and a person may, with safety, traverse their country, if he take the precaution to be accompanied by some of these individuals; but if he omit such a measure, their propensity for thieving is extreme. They prefer cunning to open force, and have a marked repugnance to the shedding of blood. If by chance they should be surprised in the act of thieving, and the object is recovered by the owner, the coolness of their answers, and the firmness with which they persist in a lie, are astonishing. A Morlachian will untie your horse, and steal it even in your presence: he will spring upon the animal, and when you would wish to take it again, he will insist, without being in the least disconcerted, that it is his property. He will enter upon the genealogy of the horse, the history of the person from whom he bought it, the

description of the fair where he made the purchase, and will call a hundred witnesses who will prove his assertions, because they all understand each other;—in short, he will ride away on the horse, ridiculing your carelessness, by which he had an opportunity of stealing it. If a traveller repose at the foot of a hill, he is eased of his sabre, lest it should incommode him:—two Morlachians approach towards him, and while one of them engages him in conversation, the other adroitly purloins the sabre, leaving the belt at his side; after which, he very composedly joins in the talk. In a short time, the traveller wishing to proceed, finds that his sabre is stolen. "That is a pity," answers the thief:—"Why did not you take the same precaution as I do? I always keep mine in my hand." He then takes his leave.—Similar examples of roguery might be cited without number.

Nevertheless, when we compare with this vice, the sincerity, the confidence, and even the probity of these men, not only in the actions of their private life, but also in general affairs, we would be almost induced to believe that they have far different notions of propriety from those which prevail amongst more civilized people; that the act of thieving partakes of this disinterestedness, which makes them consider every thing as the common property of them all; and that they have only attained this unchangeable effrontery by their long communication with the Italians, and by the duplicity, of which they have so often been the victims.

It must not, however, be supposed, that the whole of the robberies committed in the mountains of Morlachia, are to be attributed to the Morlachians:—the people called Haiducks claim a great portion to their own share; and this mixture perhaps only increases the propensity for pillage, which, amongst the Morlachians might, doubtless, be checked by the operation of a few mild laws. The Haiducks also should not be regarded, as some writers have been of opinion, as a distinct nation, of which that word is the generic name. The word Haiduck, which generally signifies chief, or captain of a party, and which is still used in Transylvania to designate the head of a family, means in Dalmatia, an injury: it is also the appellation given to an assassin or highway-robber; or rather under this denomination are comprised all criminals and refugees. It is consequently probable, that, amongst these Haiducks who are intermixed with the Morlachians, there may be found a good number of the descendants of the Uscoques already mentioned.

In general, the life of the Haiducks is infinitely more miserable than that of the Morlachians; being mostly exiles from society, on account of the crimes they have committed, they carry with them the apprehension of chastisement, and this idea increases their timidity. They inhabit only inaccessible rocks, or unknown precipices. In these retreats they are exposed to all the torments

of conscience, pursued by remorse; the fear and certainty of constant banishment; a prey to all the intemperance of the seasons, and the gloomy horrors of the caverns which they occupy; and to the continual cravings of hunger, which cannot always be satisfied;—not daring to approach inhabited places, except like wild beasts, in the obscurity of night. Thus they climb to the summits of the steepest mountains, to discover at a distance the traveller whom chance rarely conducts into these barren regions; and, tormented by necessity, and the hope of committing outrages, they often wait for months without finding an opportunity of allaying the anxiety which devours them; till at length, driven to desperation by their distresses, they rush into the plains, fall upon the flocks, drive them to their caverns, and feed upon their flesh; after which, they make their skins into shoes and clothes. On these occasions their courage is excessive: their timidity gives way to the imperious calls of want; and Nature, in despair, encounters with violence the starvation which attends her. Hence no obstacle can check them; no danger cause in them alarm. Their motto is "Food or Death;" and in this crisis, four or five Haiducks will not hesitate to attack twenty or thirty Turks, whom they often repulse, and seize their caravan.

The manners of these Haiducks prove, that there is no similarity between them and the Morlachians; for though the latter have no distinct notions of right or wrong; and though their propensity for thieving seems to indicate that they possess no very accurate ideas as to the right of property, since, if an object please their fancy, it is a sufficient inducement for them to steal it; yet it is certain, that there may be found amongst them many traits of candour, of antique manners, and particularly of that innocent liberty, which has ever been peculiar to a pastoral people. Their friendly disposition is peculiarly remarkable; for a party never assemble at any public festival, at a market, or in a church, without giving the most striking instances of sensibility. All the men, women, girls, youths, and old people, as they arrive, embrace each other tenderly: it might be said, that they were all members of the same family, who had met with each other after a long absence. A young Morlachian girl, on meeting one of her country people, whom she may never before have seen, will lavish upon him without diffidence the most tender caresses. At the celebration of fêtes, these liberties are often carried to a greater extent; and what a refinement in manners would cause to be considered as indecency, passes amongst them as proceedings which are natural, and of no consequence. In this manner, their amours generally commence: nevertheless, there is scarcely an example of a young man dishonouring a girl; for the latter being naturally courageous, would make her seducer pay dear for such an affront. But when she makes choice of one from amongst her numerous lovers,

whose hopes she inspires by receiving from them presents of a trifling nature: such as necklaces of beads, brass rings, knives, small glasses, &c.; she then deigns to seize a favourable place and opportunity, where she permits him to gratify his wishes; and these elopements are always succeeded by marriage.

They carry the virtue of hospitality to excess. It is only necessary for a stranger to possess the slightest recommendation, to be received by a Morlachian as his brother. He not only lavishes upon him every article which his house contains; but if he be informed of his approach, he will send a horse and an escort to meet him; and on his departure, will load him with provisions for his journey, and cause him to be accompanied to a certain distance, by his servants and his own children. The same reception is given to a stranger by the poor as by the rich: it only differs in the value of what is offered.

This hospitality is carried to a greater extent between the people themselves. When one Morlachian arrives at the residence of another, the mother of the family, her eldest daughter, or she who may have been last married, go and embrace him; a favour which is not shewn to a stranger; it being customary for the girls to remain concealed during his stay in the house. When a Morlachian has a good stock of provisions, he shares them with his neighbours, who do the like by him in their turn. A Morlachian, therefore, is never reduced to beg: he enters the cottage of his neighbour, seats himself at his table, takes his repast, and remains there as long as he pleases; and never experiences a want of cordiality from the owner. The slightest event is for them a subject of rejoicing or conviviality. They consequently disburse with their friends, in a single day, without the least regard for the next, as great a quantity of provisions as would serve their family for several months. It even frequently happens that shepherds, harvesters, and labourers of every description, will voluntarily present to travellers their whole day's provisions. Indeed it seems as if they knew no economy, but in respect of their clothes; in which they may be considered ridiculous and puerile. If they have to cross a slough, they will take off their shoes, that they may not soil them; and, if they be caught in a storm, they will pull off their coats and caps, in order to keep them dry.

To this admirable disinterestedness in their character, they add an uncommon degree of loyalty and fidelity to their promises and engagements. The word of a Morlachian is sacred; and his violation of it is without example. If by chance he contract a debt, and at the stipulated period be unable to discharge it, he never fails to carry to his creditor some present, of a value equivalent to what he owes; and it is not to be presumed, that such a present is intended as a liquidation of the debt; but simply as a sort of ex-

cuse for the delay to which the creditor has been subjected;—a kind of grateful compensation for his patience. This present is repeated as often as the debtor is unable to discharge the debt, at the return of the period agreed on; so that it is not unusual for a debtor to pay, in this manner, five or six times as much as he owes.

But, if they be faithful in this way in matters of interest, they are enthusiastically so in their friendship. This noble and generous sentiment is, amongst them, a sort of religious rite; and is consecrated by particular ceremonies:—two young men, or girls, associate together; and their union is consolidated by a common education, custom, uniformity of character, and sometimes by those unforeseen and sudden emotions of sympathy, which often arise in the human breast. When two young persons agree to live in this kind of harmony, they repair to the church, accompanied by their relations; and the priest offers a benediction on the union, which becomes inviolable. Two girls joined in this manner, are called *posestrimé*; and two men, *pobratimi*. They are then inseparable for the rest of their lives: every circumstance has a common interest between them; pleasures, chagrin, dangers, injuries, and reverse of fortune; all, in short, is divided between the *pobratimi* and his comrade; and the *posestrimé* and her friend. Even the sacrifice of life has often signalized these ardent attachments; and, if two *pobratimi* should happen to dissolve their union, the event is regarded as a public calamity, and as the forerunner of some great misfortune, with which the nation is threatened. Formerly, such an incident was without example; but, during the last two or three ages, their too frequent connections with the Italians have effected some alteration in the purity of their manners; while the introduction of strong liquors amongst them, has necessarily induced drunkenness, and, consequently, quarrels; and in this state of morals, there is little opportunity to distinguish the pobratimi from another man.

But, if their friendship afford such striking traits of constancy and devotion, their enmity is equally permanent. Amidst such a number of admirable sentiments, one is struck with astonishment, to see them carry to excess the most shocking passion with which man is afflicted; namely, vengeance. A Morlachian is an irreconcilable enemy; and nothing can satisfy him, but the death of the object of his hatred. It must not, however, be supposed, that simple words, or trivial injuries, are the origin of such inveterate enmity; on the contrary, it must be excited by extraordinary motives, such as the assassination of a relative, a father, brother, or friend. This hatred, or desire of vengeance, is then transmitted from father to son, as an inheritance; and it has been known to run through several generations, before it has been sa-

tiated;—indeed, a reconciliation is without example. They have never been known to pardon such enemies; and their favourite proverb is, "He who does not avenge his wrongs, is not to be forgiven." In the case of a murder, the bloody shirt, or clothes of the deceased, are preserved by his family, and are shewn to the children, who are informed of the name of the family of the assassin. Against his family they are irritated by every method which can excite resentment in their young minds, and inspire horror towards his race. But the most remarkable circumstance in their method of considering that species of justice, which they conceive to be a duty that rests with themselves, is, that whether their vengeance be suddenly executed, or not satisfied during a long succession of years, there the enmity terminates; so that the family on whom a Morlachian has avenged himself, does not perpetuate the hatred, by wishing, in its turn, to avenge the death of him who was sacrificed to the resentment of a former injury; on the contrary, from the moment of the first vengeance, the two families resume their friendship, and afterwards live together as if nothing had ever divided them.

In some particular cantons, however, it often happens, that these divisions have a less tragical termination; but then, it is necessary that the murderer should be alive; for if he be dead before a reconciliation has taken place, then the children of the person assassinated must have blood; but if the murderer should exist long enough to amass a considerable sum, or be able to procure it, by selling a part of his property, he may offer the money, by means of mediators, to the family of the deceased. If the negociation be accepted, the two families are collected, and the murderer is permitted to come forward: he is then obliged to wear, suspended from his neck, the arms with which he committed the crime; and, on entering the assembly, he is forced to draw himself prostrate along the ground, in which position he remains till his fate is decided on. While he remains in this humiliating situation, several relations of the deceased make separate funeral orations; and woe be to the criminal, if their eloquence should make a deep impression upon the auditors, as he is then in danger of being immediately sacrificed to their vengeance! But if he escapes this ordeal, and they afterwards accept the money which he has offered, then every thing is buried in oblivion, and the ceremony terminates in festivities, which he is too happy to object to pay for.

A part of the Morlachians follow the Greek rites; others the Roman religion: but the priests of both sects are equally fraudulent and ignorant; and, instead of checking the superstition of those simple people, they take every means to promote it. There are, amongst the Morlachians, three classes of magicians, or swindlers, who levy contributions on their credulity. The first are

those who pretend to have influence with the Devil: they cause the appearance of spectres and ghosts; practise witchcraft; predict future events, and tell fortunes:—these are called sorceresses, as they are generally women. There are others, whose art consists in preventing the mischiefs caused by the former, and who are called enchanters: and the priests have likewise their charms; they sell small talismans, amulets, and the names of saints, written in a hieroglyphical manner, to preserve the purchasers from thunder, fevers, mad dogs, &c.

This brief sketch will suffice to shew the deplorable abuses committed by the impostors upon the credulity of the natives; and I shall not tire the reader, by recounting the absurd tales which the Morlachians relate of the power of these sacred and profane sorcerers. The wretched people add to such torments of the imagination the folly of believing in the existence of hobgoblins; and the precautions which they take on the death of a man, whom they suspect to be under the influence of those spirits, are truly extravagant. Before the funeral, they cut the hamstrings of the corpse, and mark certain characters upon the body with a hot iron; they then drive nails or pins into different parts of it, and the sorcerers finish the ceremony, by repeating certain mysterious words; after which, they rest confident, that the deceased cannot return to the earth, to shed the blood of the living. Some of them pretend to have the presentiment, that they shall become hobgoblins after their death, and decree, by their will, that their bodies shall be submitted to this species of purification. In other respects, the power of the sorcerers, whom they call *Ujestize* and *Bahomize*, remains amongst the Morlachians; while the priests, more adroit and avaricious, have discovered the art of rendering their amulets or *zapiz* more interesting, not only to the Morlachians, but even to their neighbours, the Turks, who come from a considerable distance to procure them, and pay for them at an exorbitant rate. They are likewise so superstitious, as to attach preservative virtues to certain medals of the emperors; a superstition, however, which was prevalent amongst the Christians of the primitive church, who attributed a powerful influence to the medals of Augustus.

The marriages are not always made by that permission, which, as has been already mentioned, a girl gives to her lover to carry her off; for young men will frequently observe the formality of demanding a girl in marriage, by the medium of some common friend. They attach much value to an alliance with a numerous family; and particularly, if it have produced courageous men;—courage, amongst them, being equivalent to an illustrious title. If the suitor do not select from a family the girl whom he would prefer, his father, mother, or a friend,—but always an old person,

demands, on his part, the daughter of a family. All the girls are then presented to him, from whom he chooses according to his fancy; and it often happens that he will prefer the eldest. As they hold the women but in slight estcem, the latter seldom make many enquiries about the qualification or rank of their suitor; and if he be only a simple domestic, he rarely experiences a refusal. The girl, however, before she gives her word, has the right to visit the house and family of her future husband, to ascertain if they be suitable to her wishes; and if she be satisfied, she brings with her the young man and his parents to the house of her father, or the head of her family, and the marriage is concluded.

The marriage ceremonies are attended with many ludicrous circumstances, which merit detail. On the day agreed upon, all the relations of both families meet together, and on these occasions bear the generic name of *Svati*; the most considerable amongst them is called the *Stari Svat*, and it is he who presides at the festival. His lieutenant is denominated the *Stachez*, and his office is to receive and execute the orders of his superior. Two young people must incessantly accompany the newly married woman, and these are called the *Diveri*: there are several other subordinate officers, particularly the master of the ceremonies, called *Chiaous*. He is armed with a mace, which is a distinctive mark of his employment; and distributes the guests in their respective places, according to their rank. He always leads the van, and precedes the retinue; and by a singularity worthy of remark, he accompanies all his functions with a song, in which he constantly repeats the names of the ancient divinities of the Morlachians; which proves that Christianity has not yet struck such deep root amongst these peoples as might be supposed; and that a secret inclination still prevails amongst them for the gods of their fathers. All the *Svati*, or people at the wedding, are armed from head to foot; a vestige of the ancient rudeness of their manners, as the marriage ceremonies were in former times frequently interrupted by the jealousy of some slighted lovers, or by the cupidity of some neighbours, whose avarice was stimulated by the hope of a large booty.

At the house, when the young couple are to be conducted to church, the *Svati* mount on horseback to accompany them, and they march as it were in order of battle, under protection of two of the guests, called the *Parrinaz* and the *Bariacter*, who bear standards of silk attached to a lance, the gilt head of which is terminated by an apple or ball:—the young bride remains veiled during the whole of the ceremony. On their return the greatest confusion prevails in the procession: the *Svati* discharge their fire-arms several times; and sing without order, or rather

make a kind of howl, expressive of the joy which animates them: they, in short, abandon themselves to a sort of savage vivacity, which they express by acute and forcible shouts; and this kind of tumult certainly bears some resemblance to the manners of the barbarous ages. From church they bring the young girl either to the house of her husband or to that of her father, that which is nearest to the church being always preferred; and this distance alone determines the place at which the festivities are to be celebrated.

As soon as they return from church, they sit down to table. But before the party dismount from their horses, the *Domachin*, or chief of the family of the bridegroom, comes to his daughter-in-law and presents her with a child, which is generally chosen from amongst the relations, neighbours, or friends, and which she is obliged to caress. She then descends from her horse, falls on her knees and kisses the threshold of the door; and her mother-in-law approaches and places in her hands a sieve, as an emblem of the labour to which a woman ought to devote herself; in the same manner as at Rome, the newly-married woman in ancient times was made to sit upon a sheep's skin with its wool on, to indicate that her days would henceforward be consecrated to domestic occupations. The sieve is filled with almonds, nuts, and fruits, which the young bride throws behind her to the *Svati*, as an indication that it is by the labour of the woman that abundance is spread through the family.

On the day of the wedding the young couple do not eat together:—the woman sits at a private table with her two *Diveri*, or brides'-boys, and the *Stachez*, or lieutenant:—the husband takes his place at the general table, amongs the *Svati*; but on this day he is not permitted to cut any thing, nor to untie any string; it being the office of the *Kuum* to cut the bread, meat, and fruits, and to undress the bridegroom. They first bring the *bukakra*, a large cup filled with wine; the *Domachin* invites them to empty it by drinking to the prosperity of all; it is then passed round the table. The dinner commences with fruits, the second course is meat, and afterwards soup. The women do not assist at this repast, but eat at a table by themselves. At these festivities the greatest abundance prevails; and not only the relations make the most sumptuous arrangements, but each of the *Svati* brings provisions, and prides himself upon the profusion of his presents. Amusements follow the dinner, and the day is closed with supper, after which the *Kuum* conducts the bride to her nuptial chamber, which is either the cellar or the stable, and, after having undressed her and her husband, retires; but he remains some time listening at the door, and at length fires a pistol, which is answered by a general discharge from the *Svati!*

If the husband should not be satisfied with the virtue of his wife, the fête is disturbed, and woe be to the mother of the bride!

The celebration of a marrage usually lasts a week or longer, according to the fortune of the parents or the generosity of the *Svati*. The father of the bride gives her nothing but her clothes and a cow; but she has a right to present a plate every morning to her guests, each of whom is obliged to put in a piece of silver: and this is not the only contribution to which they are forced to submit; for when the bride has deprived them of their jewels or their clothes, they are obliged to redeem them, and the company in general determines the sum which they must give. The *Svati* also are obliged to make individually a present to the bride. These ceremonies prevail not only in the interior countries of the Morlachians, but also on the coast, and in the isles of Istria and Dalmatia, with little variation.

In a short time after their marriage these women abandon themselves to a degree of misconduct almost without a parallel: but this is absolutely the fault of their husbands; for it is rare that women seek to please those by whom they are despised, and the Morlachians carry their contempt to an extent unknown amongst other nations. In fact there is no condition more pitiable than that of a Morlachian woman; she never partakes of the bed of her husband, and is obliged to sleep constantly on the floor. The most disgusting employment and painful fatigue fall to her lot; and even the sacred moments of maternal suffering do not excite any greater attention from her unfeeling husband. Nothing, in short, lightens the burthen which she is obliged to bear till the last period of her time, and it often happens that these women, without assistance, and in the middle of a field, give birth to the innocent creatures of their womb. As soon as a Morlachian woman has delivered herself, she takes up her child, washes it in the first spring in her way, carries it home, and the next day recommences her labours.

They take no care of their children: and if perchance the mother should become again pregnant in a short time, she ceases the suckling of her infant; but if on the contrary, several years should elapse before she is in that state, she continues to give the breast to her child; so that it often happens that the children suck till a very advanced age. They are abandoned from their birth, with no other covering than a simple shirt. At the end of two or three months they begin to make some voluntary movements, and crawl about the house on their hands and knees; their strength thus insensibly accumulates, and they walk and run about the fields almost in a state of nakedness, and equally regardless of the most ardent heat or rigorous cold: thus they acquire that agility and vigorous constitution peculiar to the Morlachians.

Notwithstanding the degraded state of the Morlachian women, a sort of coquetry is nevertheless perceptible in their dress, but much more so in that of the girls, because custom allows them to enjoy a sort of licentious liberty, which the married women must not exhibit. For instance, the former load their heads with scarlet cloth, ornamented with glass beads, shells, and sometimes with valuable medals, as well as with feathers of various colours, under which they fasten the tresses of their hair; while the married women are only permitted to wear a white or coloured handkerchief negligently tied, and must let their hair fall over their shoulders, or tie it under the chin. The girls also add to their dress ear-rings of glass or coloured shells, rings of filigree, or silver chains, intermixed with pieces of glass of various colours, brass or silver rings, and bracelets of leather, ornamented with copper. On the celebration of festivals their dress is subjected to many variations of a superior kind.

The priest of each parish has a right publicly to tear from a girl, whose conduct is reproachable, her cap and veil, and one of her parents is allowed to cut off her hair. It is easy to conceive the abuse which the priests may make of this privilege, and how much it is calculated to favour licentiousness or resentment for the refusal of liberties. The girls, however, in general, do not submit to this dishonourable ceremony; but after voluntarily depriving themselves of their caps and veils, quit the country.

The dress of the men is more simple: a large pair of white serge breeches, which are fixed above the hips by strings, and descend to the ancles, where they are joined by brodequins of wool, with leather soles, similar to those of the women; a sort of doublet of coarse cloth is the only vestment which they wear above the shirt, except in winter, when they add a cloak of red cloth. Their greatest luxury is their waistbands or girdles, which are made of a sort of Levant net-work of red silk. In this belt they place their arms, and at their sides, behind the other weapons, their pistols; more in front is a large cutlas, which they call *hauzar*, supported by a chain of brass or silver, which passes spirally round the belt. The blade is inclosed in a metal sheath, which is almost always polished and ornamented, as well as the handle, with metallic plates, and imitative jewellery. They also affix to their girdle a box containing grease, which is used to preserve their arms from rust, and to dress such wounds as they may happen to receive while hunting or travelling; and they likewise carry in the same manner a purse containing their money, a flint and a steel. Their tobacco, preserved in a prepared bladder, they keep in the folds of their girdle.

Altogether their dress, of which their arms constitute a part, is more or less rich according to their circumstances, and a Mor-

lachian never leaves his home without bearing his musket on his shoulder.

Their house, or rather their cots or huts, are rendered quite black on the inside by the smoke, which rises from the hearth in the centre, and has no passage except by the door. Their furniture is rude and simple: the richest amongst them seldom possesses a bed; so that they lie almost always on straw, wrapped in thick quilts of Turkish manufacture: but the women lie invariably on the floor. It frequently happens that a whole family, after having supped round the fire, fall asleep and pass the night without stirring from their places. In summer they sleep in the open air. They generally share their lodging with their cattle, from whom they are only separated by a partition of reeds. The walls of the cabin are constructed of the dung of the cattle, and large stones, badly hewn. They do not use oil for their lamps, but butter, the smoke of which is thick and fetid; and their clothes, persons, and even aliments, exhale the smell of this smoke, which to strangers is insupportable.

Their bread consists of a sort of cakes, made with the flour of maize, barley, or millet, and baked upon heated stones. Their common drink is milk, and it is particularly palatable to them when it is separated from the serous part by means of vinegar. Garlic, eschalots and cabbages, some particular kinds of roots, which grow spontaneously in the fields and woods, are to them the greatest delicacies. They eat their meat no other way dressed than roasted. Some writers have said much of the vigorous health of these people, and the longevity to which they attain, by attributing these effects to the quantity of garlic they consume. I am, however, of opinion that the principal causes of their health and vigour are the vegetables on which they feed, the milk which is their constant beverage, the absence of strong drinks, which are only allowed on their days of rejoicing, and particularly their repugnance to boiled meats, which, by being deprived of their nutritive juices, afford only a weak and indigestible aliment.

As the Morlachians abound in health and vigour, their diversions are of that appropriate kind which consists in the development of their strength and agility: such as leaping over a very high obstacle, running with uncommon swiftness, or throwing to a distance a stone which other men could scarcely lift. In short, a Morlachian sixty years of age would excel in such exercises, the young men of our climates. Dancing, however, takes precedence of all their amusements, and forms their favourite pleasure, in which they engage to excess. A harsh bagpipe, or simply the voice, animates them to this exercise, which is not distinguishable for complex or particular figures, but by extravagant and ludicrous jumps, in consequence of their

love for violent exertions. Even the fatigue of a long journey, or of hard labour, cannot restrain their ardour for dancing, at which they continue for many hours when they appear to be more in need of repose.

Under such favourable circumstances they have few diseases, and consequently have no occasion for physicians. Fevers, which are in general peculiar to robust constitutions, and inflammations, the common result of violent exercises, are almost the only acute maladies with which they are attacekd. As to chronic diseases, they know of none but the rheumatism, the natural consequence of sleeping in the open air during summer, in a climate where the dews fall in abundance. With them, as is the case with all people where civilization has made no great progress, violent remedies are those only in which they confide. In general, pepper and gun-powder, infused in brandy, compose their panacea for inflammatory disorders; and it will scarcely be believed, that this remedy is often attended with success:—perhaps, however, they are indebted for their cure to the abundant perspiration which this medicine induces. Wine and pepper, in large doses, and taken at certain periods, also form a febrifuge which they employ with success. External friction, or the application of a heated stone wrapped in damp linen, are the methods by which they cure rheumatisms. They are also acquainted with the use of leeches for swellings. Red ochre, mixed with fat substances, is the only ointment they apply to wounds and contusions; and it is a fact, that, after the experience of the Morlachians, some men of science have obtained from this ointment, in similar circumstances, the most favourable results. Without any knowledge of anatomy or osteology, they are most of them extremely adroit in setting dislocated or fractured limbs. For phlebotomy they do not employ lancets, but steel fleams, nearly similar to those used for horses; and this operation is always performed without dangerous consequences.

But at length, like all other men, they pay the debt of nature; and the instant a Morlachian has breathed his last, preparations are made for his funeral. Women, who are hired to cry, place themselves in the apartment where the corpse is exposed, and join in the lamentations of those united to the deceased by consanguinity and friendship. The body remains for some days thus exposed; it is placed on the ground, upon the cloak worn during life, and the face is uncovered. By the corpse are laid the belt, arms, pipe, and purse of the deceased; and during this period all the relations are obliged to visit it: this duty is never dispensed with, except in the case of a voyage or journey, when the nearest relation is obliged to entreat the deceased to accept of such an excuse. It is also the custom for each of the relations and friends of the deceased seriously to address the corpse, as if it were

capable of hearing and answering their speeches. This custom also prevails amongst several of the savage tribes of Africa and North America. The wishes of the Morlachians are to know for what reason the deceased has quitted this life? Who is the friend with whom he could not live, and what was his subject of complaint? They then entreat him to take charge of their commissions, which are commonly to report their news to their parents and friends, and announce their prosperity or misfortunes; to entreat them to secure for them a place by their side, and a number of other similar requests. After these visits are finished, the corpse is covered with white linen, and the procession moves towards the church, amidst the groans of the women and relations, the former of whom chaunts the principal events of its life. They afterwards return to the house, with the priests who presided at the religious ceremonies, and the funeral is succeeded by a repast, at which the behaviour of the guests forms a striking contrast with the howling of the women and the praying of the priests.

The chaunting of the women at the funerals is extempore, and proves that they are not unacquainted with the genius of poetry. These people have doubtless had their bards; an incontestible proof that the nation formerly enjoyed, by its courage, a rank amongst the barbarous people of Germany:—I say by its courage, for cowardly people were never known to have poets Amongst the Morlachians, there is never a fête or assembly without a chaunter. The songs, which are in the Illyrian idiom, but corrupted by their transmission through a number of ages, describe the history of some Sclavonian heroes, or relate some tragical event; the time of which is forgotten. This heroical song is grave, heavy, and monotonous. The instrument with which it is accompanied, is but little calculated to give it animation: it is a miserable monochord guitar; the sound of which is dull, and without modulation. The poetry, however, is not without energy: it does not possess the savage wildness of that of Ossian; but sometimes has that august kind of simplicity, which penetrates to the soul. If a Morlachian travel by night amongst the mountains, he generally sings; and these antique poems are always the songs which he prefers. A long exclamation, or rather a barbarous and prolonged cry, precedes each strophe. It often happens, that this song is heard a-far off by some other Morlachian, who never fails to repeat, in the same tone, the couplet which the other has chaunted; and they thus answer each other, as long as they can be heard. It is impossible to describe the species of sadness, or melancholy, which this kind of musical dialogue spreads through the soul, the doleful expression of which is prolonged in echoes by the desert mountains, amidst the profound silence and solitude of night.

The other inhabitants of Dalmatia and Istria, though confounded with the Morlachians, do not bear to them the least analogy: they are, in fact, two nations, perfectly distinct from each other, which has been fully verified by the observations of M. Cassas, during his journey. The real Dalmatians are Italians, and particularly Venetians, in the fullest acceptation of the word: —they speak the language, have the same manners, customs, and religion; the same servility and craftiness as those people; while the vicinity of Germany and the Austrian government, even in those parts which were formerly under its dominion, they have undergone but a very slight alteration in their general physiognomy. Hence we find the inhabitants of those countries to consist of Italians, in the towns and burghs on the coast; Morlachians in some isles, and in the vallies; and Haiducks in the mountains and deserts; and these form the present population of a territory where, two thousand years ago, a powerful queen insulted the pride of the Roman senate, and whose fate proclaimed this striking truth,—that an unjust monarchy will always fall before the energy of irritated virtue.

The different tribes, however, who form the present population of Dalmatia, afford a great scope for the reflections of the philosopher. It is here that two extremes have met, and remain together; that is to say, the last of the pigmies who bore the Roman name, and the images of those ancient giants—the barbarians of the North. Thus, we see that no human efforts can restore a power, which has been gradually undermined by the corruption of its morals; and that the long progression of centuries causes no improvement in the civilization of men, whose ancestors were rude and barbarous, unless they be assisted by a superior energy. These two facts are strikingly engraven on the soil of Dalmatia. The Morlachians of the present day are such as were formerly the Sclavonians; and in the Dalmatians we discover all the littleness of the courts of Rome and Byzantium. In their irresolute manner, their habitual politeness, their ambiguous gait, and general timidity, we observe a people long disheartened by conquest, and whose defeats have frequently changed their appearance. We also discover amongst them, that spirit of intrigue, that appendage of debilitated governments, that evident duplicity, which are proofs of the exile of patriotism; that innate servility, which will advance to individual fortune over the ruins of public prosperity; and that tortuous restlessness, which is to be supported only by cabals, falsehoods, invidious rivalry, and affected religion;—in short, it may be said, that we find here Rome under Augustus, and Byzantium under Andronicus; and now, after fourteen hundred years, however trivial our observation, if we proceed, as it were, with history in our hands, and take trouble to study the men

whom we meet in Dalmatia, we shall find them to be exactly what we have been taught to consider the Romans, at the last period of their degradation; while in the Morlachians we shall discover such people as must formerly have been the barbarian founders of some of the great empires of Europe, which now appear in so high a state of civilization. There are none of the ancient Dalmatians to be found here; and the moderns are, like all the people of Italy, only a mixture of the Roman blood with that of the numerous emigrant nations who contributed to their destruction. The small number of Haiducks dispersed amongst the mountains, are the refuse of this mixture; while the Morlachians appear to have remained unaltered, amidst this vast confusion. It is a body of these people who may be said to have established themselves, from the months of the Danube to the Atlantic ocean. They have not become civilized, because they are not yet sufficiently numerous; or perhaps, because they have not yet found a space sufficiently large, to form the outlines of an empire:—in short, they have been the sufferers, rather than the protected. Their manners have received little impression from the neighbouring powers; because it was in their primitive nature to give the impulse, and not to receive it; inasmuch as they participated in the great shock experienced by the northern people; and they have remained without any very striking marks of urbanity, because the action of the impulse that was given, prevailed with less force upon them; and consequently they possessed neither sufficient energy to govern, nor sufficient weakness to submit:—in a few words, they only changed their climate, and they have remained the same as were those great people just mentioned, who changed their country for the purpose of conquest; and who, having conquered, were obliged to submit to a social organization, as a means of preservation. This organization required rules,—the rules a discipline,—and the discipline laws. The physiognomy was the first to alter, for it is the laws which make nations polished; and the Morlachians have only customs and traditions.

PART II.

THE JOURNAL OF M. CASSAS.

A SOCIETY of admirers of the fine arts, including beautiful views from nature, and pompous remains of antiquity, had conceived the project of causing designs to be made of some of the most striking scites in the environs of Trieste, which were to be engraved at Vienna, under the patronage of the emperor Joseph II. This society, in the year 1782, fixed upon M. Cassas, who was then

at Rome, as a proper person to execute their plan. In consequence of this appointment, he, on the 10th of May, in the same year, left Rome for Trieste, and on the 15th arrived at Ancona: the next day he embarked at Pesaro, and having a fair wind, he reached Venice on the 17th.

In consequence of the unfavourable weather, the ceremony of the Bucentaur had been deferred; and for nine days, during which our traveller was forced to remain at Venice, to make the final preparations for his voyage, he witnessed this fête, which is certainly the most pompous of any that are celebrated in that republic, and the most puerile in its nature, as its object is the marriage of the Doge with the Sea. Every year, the Doge, accompanied by the senate, proceeds in a grand galley, beyond the rock of Lido, about the distance of a mile:—his vessel is ornamented with rudely sculptured figures, covered with gold, and the cabin of which is overspread with a large crimson velvet carpet, bordered with broad gold galloon and fringe of the same kind. He is attended by three of the gallies of the Republic, and by two or three thousand gondolas, which may be said to supply the place of private carriages. On arriving at the appointed spot, the Doge, with a ludicrous kind of gravity, throws a ring into the sea, and emphatically pronounces these words, "*Sponsamus te, mare, in signum veri et perpetui dominii.*" The patriarch, in order to render this ceremony the more impressive in the eyes of the people, then gives the nuptial benediction to the bride and bridegroom, accompanied by the firing of cannon, mortars, and musquetry. The whole of the company next repair to hear mass at Lido; and as there can be no good festivals without feasting, the Doge, on his return, gives a splendid repast to the senators and procurators of St. Mark.

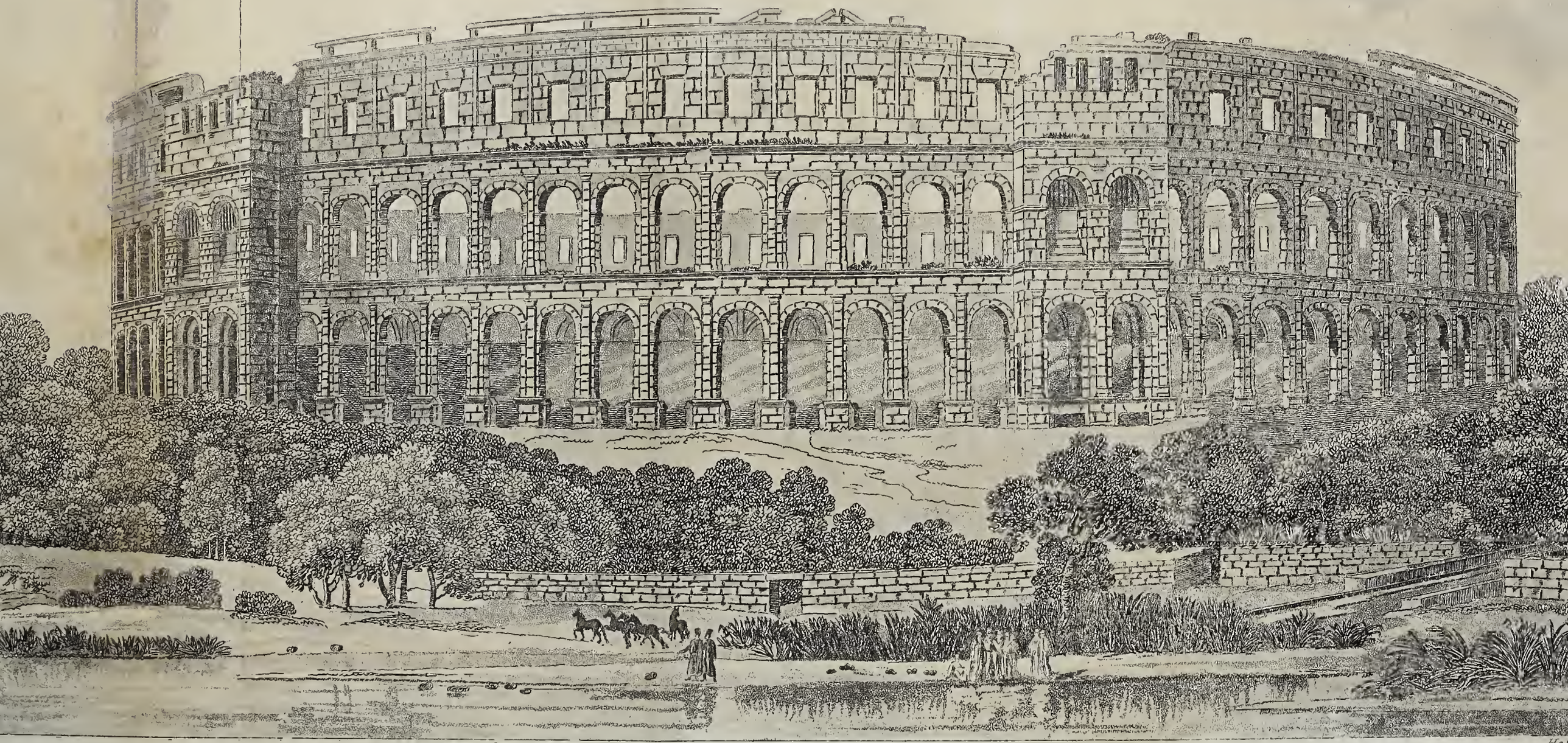
The origin of this ceremony is traced from the Pontificate of Alexander III. who, according to some writers, permitted the Venetians to enjoy the advantages of the Adriatic sea. The aristocratical pride of the senate, however, would not agree to the privilege, and pretended that the Pope had only to confirm the possession; which ceremony was afterwards renewed every year. One cannot but smile, on observing men thus sanctify their usurpations, and appropriate to themselves, in the name of God and of justice, what they know belongs no more to them, than to any nation on the earth. Pope Julius II. was one day joking with a Venetian ambassador, named Jerome Domat, on the marriage of his Doge to the sea, and asked him where were to be found the titles or justifactory authorities for this marriage-contract. The ambassador answered, that these titles were to be found at the back of the original Act of the Donation, made by the em-

peror Constantine to pope Sylvester:—thus do these men ridicule each other on their usurpations.

The ideas of an artist are generally greater than those of the men who have recourse to his talents. It was at first only proposed, that he should make some drawings of Trieste; but M. Cassas, finding the coasts of Istria and Dalmatia to abound in rich remains of antiquity, perceived the advantage which he might render to the arts, and perhaps to society, by not confining himself within the narrow circle which had been marked out for him. Simple drawings of landscapes appeared to him of infinitely less comparative importance, than that which might be derived from his travels, if they should be pursued to a greater extent. He therefore resolved to visit the different places in the above-mentioned vicinity, which are known to abound in monuments left by the Romans; and to render a service to archæology, by transmitting faithful views, executed with scrupulous attention. He imparted his project to some Frenchmen and Milanese of his acquaintance, whom he met at Venice, Messrs. Dache, Barthe, Layed de Becheville of Boulogne, Bonelli, Visconti, and others, who, struck with the charms of such a journey, proposed to bear him company; and being themselves accustomed to travel, they saw few obstacles to their wishes; but this first ardour was soon extinguished, and a few days afterwards, they left our artist to pursue his generous enterprise alone.

They, however, hired a small felucca; supplied it with provisions, and on the 27th of May embarked at the Piazetta, when, having a favourable wind, they traversed, during that day and the following night, the gulph of Venice. At day-break, on the next morning, they discovered the coasts of Istria, and the high mountains of the Tyrol; and in the evening they entered the port of Trevigno, or Rovigno, a pretty town, situated on a rock, in a peninsula, on the western coast of Istria. This town is well built, and contains about 10,000 inhabitants. It is natural that its edifices should be solidly constructed, and that their architecture should announce a sort of elegance, since the quarries which it possesses are those from whence are extracted all the stone for the buildings in Venice; and this circumstance, besides proving a source of constant opulence to the town, likewise attracts thither, for the purpose of examining the stones, the most skilful architects of the capital, whose residence there is testified by its buildings. The cathedral is a fine, large, gothic edifice; and stands majestically in the most elevated part of the town. This building is particularly remarkable, by the height and beauty of its steeple, which appears to have been built on the same plan as that of St. Mark at Venice.

Casas Travels, p. 5



View of the Grand Amphitheatre at Sola?

After stopping a few hours at Rovigno, M. Cassas and his companion re-embarked for Pola, and sailed along the coast of Istria. The arid and uncultivated soil in this quarter generally presented a wild aspect; and, on approaching Pola, they frequently met with a number of islets, which rendered the navigation very dangerous. These little islands are barren; and the roads of Pola are known by numerous shoals and projections of rocks. The town is situated at the bottom of the harbour, which is spacious and convenient: it is a large bason, completely land-locked, so that ships find shelter in it during the most violent storms, in all seasons. On entering this bay, one is agreeably surprised by the striking view of a magnificent amphitheatre, which is one of the most complete and beautiful monuments of antiquity. The majesty of this colossal mass; the delightful verdure of the coast which it seems to crown; the calm state of the water, which almost washes its walls, and which reflects its august figure; the religious veneration arising from the view of structures which have braved the efforts of time—all conspire to give to the mind a delightful sensation of pleasure and melancholy, which it is difficult to describe.

As they advanced in the road, and on doubling a point, or small cape, they at length disovered the walls of Pola, and the citadel which commands the town. Our voyagers entered the port; but before they were suffered to land, they were conducted to an office of health, in order to ascertain, by the examination of their papers, whether they had come from the Levant. The extreme rigour, however, of these examinations does not prevent the plague from making considerable ravages; for which it is not the officers who are to blame, but the weakness of the Venetian police, which does not make sufficient exertions to expel from the desert isles, and the coasts of Istria and Dalmatia, the banditti, or pirates, who make them their place of refuge; and who, in their nocturnal expeditions, when they capture vessels coming from the Archipelago, or Greece, carry the booty which they find in them to the interior of the country, or to the little and obscure towns on the coast, where they are less liable to be discovered; and where they dispose of it without any precaution: thus facilitating the propagation of pestilential diseases, of which such merchandizes have the faculty of containing and developing the latent germs.

Next to Ægida, or Capo d'Istria, of which we shall speak hereafter, Pola was the most considerable town of Istria. It has, however, preserved many more traces of its ancient grandeur than the former. If we were to believe, not only the poet Callimachus, but even the assertion of Strabo, Pola was the residence of the Colchidians, after their expedition. The first-mentioned writer was the author of that fiction, and is not of sufficient

authority to demand attention; but Strabo supports the idea, by asserting, that, in the Colchidian language, Pola signifies *Banished People*. The opinion of some authors, who maintain that the name of Istria is derived from that of the Colches, who, before their disembarkation at Pola, arrived at the Danube, which was then called *Ister*, is equally ridiculous; for, as Spon has justly observed, they must have been obliged, if they had come to the Danube, to carry their vessels on their shoulders, before they could disembark at Pola; that river having no communication with the Adriatic Sea.

It is, however, certain, that this town long held a considerable rank amongst those of the district in question; even at the time when it was conquered by the Romans, as they deemed the inhabitants worthy of the title of Roman citizens, and of municipal priveleges; a favour which they did not indiscriminately confer. It is not very far from the promontory of Istria, known in ancient geography by the name of *Polaticum Promontorium*, which is at the entrance of the gulph, called by Pomponius Mela, *Polaticus Sinus*.

This town was uncommonly flourishing when the Romans surrounded it with their omnipotence; and, under the emperor Severus, it proudly assumed the title of republic, *Respublica Polensis*, as is evident from the inscription found on one of the sides of the base of a statue, raised in honour of that emperor, and which may still be seen at the entrance of the church of Pola;—but its splendour has been eclipsed, as well as the glory of its masters; and it now contains only between six and seven hundred inhabitants, dispersed within the walls of a town, near which is still admired an amphitheatre, capable of containing many thousands of spectators. Its only defence is a ruinous citadel with four bastions, which was begun by the Venetians, who left it imperfect; a detachment of fifteen or twenty men was the only garrison they maintained. The mere fees of the governor whom they kept there, amounted to more in one month than the annual pay of the whole garrison. This governor was a personage of no use, in a town where the military force was of such little importance; but it was an additional place for a noble Venetian.

The walls of the amphitheatre are still entire; its form is like that of all structures of a similar kind. It is generally supposed, that the stones of which it was constructed, were taken from the quarries in Istria; but although they are very fine, and still undecayed, they do not appear to be of the kind which are called, in the arts, *Istria blocks;* as these are a sort of marble or granitic stone, extremely scarce; and of which the French Central Museum of the Arts only possesses a few columns. This amphitheatre has three stories, each of which contains seventy-two arcades; making in all two hundred and sixteen. There remains

only the shell of this edifice, which four spurs, placed at the four angles of a supposed square, distinguished from other buildings of the same kind, as in this respect it deviates from their general style. This circumstance alone gives rise to uncertainty, as well with regard to the period when it was built, as to the persons who built it. A part of the steps must have been cut out of the solid rock; and it is probable, that the soil, as it has accumulated, has covered them: the rest of the steps were of wood, and from every appearance they must either have been carried off or burnt; or perhaps they may have rotted by age, as the places which they occupied are filled with dust.

At the time of which we have spoken, this theatre was appropriated to various sports, and its walls resounded with the noisy acclamations of the spectators. It is now the abode of silence and melancholy. What deep reflections arise on entering this edifice, and how eloquent is the solitude with which one is surrounded! We may imagine that we hear the peroration of the history of empires. Where is the seat of Augustus? where are those flowers, those myrtles, and laurels, which hung in festoons over the heads of the haughty Romans? All have disappeared,—the Cæsars who made nations tremble, the lions who disputed with the criminal the period of his existence, the actor who recited the verses of Sophocles and Terence, the heroes covered with triumphal purple, and the people who in the enjoyment of the games of the circus forgot their state of bondage! In this field of antiquity there now remain nothing but ruins. Ambitious man, wander amongst them: they will remind thee of the grave!

This amphitheatre is not the only piece of antiquity in Pola: the town contains a temple dedicated "to Rome, and to Augustus," as is evident from the inscription on its façade. This kind of divine association between Augustus and Rome is met with in other parts, and can only surprize those who are not familiar with history. It is known that Augustus was for a length of time pressed by his flatterers to permit them to erect temples to him during his life: at first he refused with a sort of obstinacy; but the sycophants were so ardent in their object, that at length he consented that they should erect altars to his honour. The city of Rome was alone excepted from this favour; and he only granted it to the other towns of the empire on condition that Rome should always enjoy a moiety of the worship that was rendered to him, and that the votive inscriptions on the temples should every where be, "TO ROME, AND TO AUGUSTUS," &c. That of Pola is one of those which the provinces undertook to raise; and the inscription, which M. Cassas has ascertained to have been exactly quoted by Spon, leaves no doubt on this point. The erection of this

temple must have taken place soon after the conclusion of the war excited by the insurrections which happened in these countries, as recorded in history; and it is not unlikely, that this was one of the means employed by the people who had submitted to the yoke, to gain the favour of the Emperor.

The architecture of this temple, the production of the most accomplished times, is of the Corinthian order, and built in the finest style. The pediment is sustained by four columns, and forms, with the two lateral columns, an open portico, leading to the interior of the edifice. At the front of the portico, on the flat frieze, between the architrave and the cornice, is the inscription mentioned by Spon: it is still very legible. In the circumference of the structure, the frieze, which is sculptured in foliage, and the cornice, are in some parts decayed; on the lateral part, to the right, they have almost entirely disappeared. The front, or façade, has not suffered near so much; and yet the pedestals of the columns are almost buried; and there is scarcely a vestige perceptible of the steps, which to all appearance must have been constructed to ascend to the portico.

The people of this town insist, that the above-mentioned temple was devoted to the worship of Pallas; but the inscription alone is sufficient to refute this popular error. It is not so easy to discover why, and from what tradition, these people call the amphitheatre *the Orlandina*, or the house of Roland? Or why an old tower, at a considerable distance from the amphitheatre, is also denominated the tower of Roland or Orlando? One is much surprised, to find the name of this celebrated knight in countries so distant from Roncevaux: to expatiate on it, would only be the means of giving a sort of probability to that extraordinary tradition; and I only suggest the following explanation with that hesitation, which every man of sense must feel when he hazards a conjecture: but if this conjecture had any foundation, it would be a great honour to the power which poetry possesses over all mankind. The age in which Ariosto lived, was one of those during which Italy was most a prey to smugglers, thieves, and banditti of every description; and he died at the period when the Uscoques began to unite in a body in Istria and Dalmatia, and invited all adventurers to join them, who could increase their strength. Every one knows, that the celebrated poet was governor of a province of the Apennines, which the banditti laid waste after his arrival; and to which, by his vigorous, wise, and moderate conduct, he succeeded in restoring tranquillity, without having recourse to punishment. It was by these means, that he acquired the esteem and respect, not only of the inhabitants, but even of the banditti themselves. He once ascertained, by chance, the sentiments of attachment which these people bore towards

him. One morning, being more occupied with the charms of poetry, than with the cares of his government, or his personal safety, he walked out from the town in his morning-gown; and, amused by the agreeable dreams of his imagination, he did not recollect himself, till he fell in with a party of banditti: they immediately began to rob him; and perhaps intended to inflict a punishment still more disastrous, when one of them recognized him, and named him to his companions. They were all instantly so struck with respect, that they fell at his feet, to implore pardon for the injury they had intended to do him; and selecting an escort, they re-conducted him to the town, assuring him, that they made a distinction between the great poet and the governor, and that it was to Ariosto they delighted in rendering homage. Thus it is evident, that his works were known even to robbers; and it may not be impossible, that some of these men, attracted to the coasts of Dalmatia, as to places which had become, by a concatenation of circumstances, the metropolis of banditti, bent their course to Pola, and there took up their residence; that in their state of ignorance, the appearance of some of the old towers which still remain on the ancient walls of this town, might have reminded them of the fictions of Ariosto; and the palaces and magic castles, which he has depicted with such grandeur of description, might have induced them to say, "Here is a similar edifice; here are such towers as we read of in Orlando." Hence, when they wished to speak of Pola, or to take up their residence in any uninhabited ruin, in order to divide the spoil, they might have said, "We shall assemble in the Orlandina, or the castle of Orlando." This idea may have spread abroad; the people in the environs of Pola may have heard it;—it may have taken root amongst them; and the tradition may have effected the rest.

Some ruins, to which the people also give the name of the palace of Julia, are likewise involved in an obscurity which it is difficult to clear up, if one would know to what Julia this palace belonged. It cannot be attributed to Julia, the sister of Julius Cæsar, and maternal grandmother of Augustus; nor to Julia, the daughter of the same Cæsar, and wife of Pompey. History informs us that both died at Rome, which capital they never quitted. Neither can it be supposed to have belonged to the two Julias, the daughter and grand-daughter of Augustus. Though the former was married to Tiberius, and though this prince made a long stay in Istria and Dalmatia; yet it is known, that he was only ambitious of a command in those provinces, in order that he might separate himself from his wife, whose conduct caused him to blush; and consequently she did not follow him. As to the latter, she had never quitted Rome before she was condemned to exile; and

though the place of her banishment was a small isle in the sea which was afterwards called the Adriatic, it is not to be supposed, that she left that spot to reside at Pola, nor that she possessed the means of building a palace. Two other Julias were equally famous; one, the sister of Caligula, who was banished to the isle of Ponce; the other was the niece of Domitian, who prostituted herself to that monster, and died in the imperial palace at Rome, in consequence of taking a potion to conceal her pregnancy from the public.

If, therefore, it were a Julia who had resided some time in these countries, and who had a palace, it could only be Julia Domna, the second wife of the emperor Septimus Severus. He had been, for a long time, governor of Illyria, when he succeeded to the empire; and it is known that he went to seek Julia Domna in Syria, because an oracle had predicted that the empire would fall to the man whom she might espouse. He brought her home with him, and some time afterwards he was proclaimed by the legions of Illyria; while the whole of that part of Europe, from the Danube to the Gulph, acknowledged his authority, and he marched at the head of his army to Rome, against Didius Julianus. It might also be presumed, that, considering the uncertainty of success in such an enterprize, totally military; and in which, in order more than ever to gain the love of the soldiery, he affected to march on foot, and to abolish all the pomp of sovereign power, he would not permit his wife to follow him, but left her in Illyria. It is natural therefore to suppose, that she made choice of Pola as the place of her residence during the absence of her husband, that being the most convenient spot for her to receive news from him with dispatch; while, by its contiguity to the sea, it afforded greater facility for escape, if fortune had proved unpropitious. It likewise appears, by the pedestal of a statue of Severus, which was found at Pola, that this emperor had some predilection for that town; that he resided there, or that at least the inhabitants had some attachment towards him; all which reasons might have induced Julia Domna to take up her residence in the same place. —Thus, on comparing the different historical accounts, if it be true that a Julia had a palace at Pola, it was undoubtedly the latter who gave rise to the tradition which seems to be preserved amongst the people.

However this may be, the only remains of the palace in question are a few scattered stones; to which little attention would be paid, if the name given to the place which they occupy, did not excite some curiosity; and as there is no longer any of the architecture to be discovered, it is not possible to come to any decision as to the period when it was built, the style being totally effaced.

VIEW OF THE TRIUMPHANT ARCH.

But this is not the case with the trumphal arch, which is in perfect preservation, and which is now cosidered as one of the gates of the town, under the name of Porta Aurea. This fine monument consists of a large single arch, ornamented with Corinthian columns, which support the entablature; it is not one of those specimens of the homage rendered to great men, at the expence of the public treasury, so general in the early ages; but it is simply a testimony of affection on the part of a wife towards her husband. The inscription announces, that Salvia Postuma, at her own expence, caused it to be erected to Sergius Lapidus, edile and military tribune of the twenty-ninth legion. At the top may be seen three bases, on which statues, or busts, were formerly placed; and to judge from the inscriptions, on that in the middle formerly stood the bust or figure of the Roman to whom the monument was consecrated. To the right was that of his father, Lucius Sergius, edile and duumvir; and to the left, that of his uncle, Cneius Sergius, who was likewise edile and duumvir for five years. It is on the interior front, towards the town, that these inscriptions are perceptible; and on this side, the architecture is entirely exposed; and a correct opinion may be formed of it. The external façade, that is to say, the front on the country side, must have been equally rich; it is obstructed by the old walls of the town, which were built at a later period; so that there are only distinguishable the capitals of the columns, and a part of the arch. This structure exhibits a striking proof of the power of a people, amongst whom private individuals could raise such splendid monuments to the memory of their relatives!

The church of Pola, which, according to the Italian custom, is called *Il Duomo*, (The Dome, or Cathedral,) apparently occupies the spot on which stood some ancient temple; for, at every step in its environs, we found the ruins of columns, capitals, friezes, pedestals, tombs, and inscriptions. The latter have been described by Spon, with great accuracy, so that it is useless here to repeat them; but we shall refer the reader, with confidence, to his account of them.

It was not in his first journey to Pola, that M. Cassas drew the views of the various monuments: his companions being more anxious to see than to investigate, surveyed them with that sort of curiosity, which soon becomes weary when it is not supported by a love of research; and they speedily pressed him to depart.

They therefore re-embarked; and returning the way they had come, passed before Rovigno, where they were obliged to bring to, by the contrary wind known in the Mediterranean by the name of the Sirocco. When it had ceased, they found themselves becalmed in front of the little town of Pirano. It is built on a peninsula, formed by the gulph of Lagona and that of Trieste.

Its appearance is very picturesque; a tolerably extensive range of houses, elegantly built, runs along the shore, and is washed by the waves; while on a hillock, almost in the centre of the town, the church makes a majestic appearance; having a tower or steeple of a considerable elevation, terminating in a point, and detached from the body of the building. The Gothic walls of an old castle are also perceptible to the left, on the summit of a higher mountain, the steep declivity of which extends to the extremity of the town. The curtains and embattled towers of this ancient fortification have a striking effect on the landscape. The top of this hill contains an agreeable mixture of trees of a beautiful green colour, interspersed amongst the ruins and rocks. A large chain of much higher and barren mountains, of a greyish colour, terminate the horizon; and by their roughness, give additional interest to the plains in the fore ground.

The wind having sprung up, our voyagers continued their route, and landed at Capo d'Istria, where they stopped a few hours. This town was known in the earliest ages by the name of Ægida; and is supposed, as well as Pola, to have been founded by the Colchidians. Pallas was its protecting divinity. In the course of time, it abandoned the name of Ægida, and assumed that of Justinopolis, because it is said the emperor Justin, or Justinus, improved it. I must, however, confess, that I have much difficulty to conceive, by what predilection Justin could have been the benefactor of this town. When he reigned in the east, the western empire had become extinct in the person of Augustulus. The successors of Odoacer reigned in Italy; and it was only under the empire of Justinian, the nephew of Justin, that Narses and Belisarius re-conquered the last-mentioned country and its isles; it therefore appears to me much more probable, that Ægida was indebted for its embellishments to the emperor Justinian, rather than to Justin Having been born in the country of Thrace, of low parents, Justin. could have had no motive for embellishing a town so very distant from the place of his birth; and to which he could not give his name, because it did not belong to him; while, on the contrary, Justinian might have taken pride in embellishing his conquests; and history informs us that, having restored, by the power of his arms, a momentary splendour to the empire, he delighted in improving many towns in Europe and Asia. Besides, Justinian was born in Dardania; but it is not precisely known, whether this event occurred in the Dardania which formed a part of Asia-Minor; in Dardania in Europe, which was part of Upper Mœsia; or in another Dardania, which was situated in Dalmatia, and which, consequently, was more nearly connected with the Ægida of Istria. Procopius, in the first chapter of the fourth book of his "Treatise on Edifices," informs us, that, in European

Dardania, Justinian caused a town to be repaired, called Ulpiana; and that he found another in its vicinity, which he called Justinopolis, from the name of Justin, his uncle, which may be supposed to be the Justinopolis in question; and in this respect the testimony of Procopius ought to have much weight, since he wrote during the reign of Justinian, was honoured with the particular friendship of this prince, and was secretary to Belisarius. But Cluvier is the only writer who has asserted, that this town owed its name to the emperor Justin; and he rests his opinion upon an inscription, which, he says, seems to indicate this fact; but of which no one knows any thing except himself.

The name of Justinopolis, however, has been totally abandoned for that of Capo d'Istria, which precisely indicates the situation of that town; it being on the very spot on which stood the ancient Ægida. It is one of the largest places in that part of Istria which formerly belonged to Venice. It stands upon an isle, which has been united to the continent by a causeway half-a-mile in length. The Venetians took it by assault in 932; but, in the 14th century, the Genoese recaptured it;—at length, in 1478, it was restored to the Republic of St. Mark, from which it has not since been separated. It is a bishopric, dependant upon the archbishopric of Udina; and notwithstanding its small extent, it contains forty churches or chapels, exclusive of the cathedral, and has thirty convents. Its salt-pits and vineyard furnish the most considerable articles of its commerce; and its air, though not very salubrious, is less dangerous to health, than that of the other maritime towns of Istria.

The impatience of M. Cassas and his companions to arrive at Trieste, prevented them from making a long stay at Capo d'Istria, and, though the passage from one place to the other be inconsiderable, the calm detained them for some time, so that they could not enter the port of Trieste till two o'clock on the morning of the 1st of July. They did not land till seven; at which hour, the Office of Health was opened, and their papers were examined. M. Cassas repaired to the baron de Pilloni, the lieutenant-general of the police, to whom he had letters of recommendation, in which that officer was desired to afford him every accommodation for taking views in the port and its vicinity, without interruption. This magistrate gave him the most distinguished reception, lavishing upon him all the politeness which a well-informed man shews with so much pleasure to persons of genius.

At Trieste, the companions of his voyage quitted M. Cassas, as their affairs required their presence at Venice; but our artist, from a conviction of the utility of his journey, if he could visit Dalmatia, endeavoured to find, and easily met with new associates: he consequently deferred taking the views of Trieste till his

return; and having persuaded M. Bertrand, then French consul, the son of the prince of Pars, who was post-master general, and M. Grappin, an advocate and man of letters, to accompany him, he re-embarked at the expiration of three days:—but in order to avoid a repetition of the same subject, we shall here give an account of the observations which were made by our travellers at a subsequent period, as well as the remarks which relate to Pola.

The House of Austria, as was observed at the comencement of this work, possessed a part of Istria; while the Republic of Venice held under its dominion the major part of the maritime coast. Trieste is the most considerable town in this Austrian part, which is more frequently called the Littoral. It succeeded the ancient *Tergeste;* or rather the edifices, by being renewed in the progress of ages, have gradually replaced those of the ancient city. It is therefore not a modern town, rebuilt on the scite of an ancient city, which had been destroyed by some terrestrial revolution or political event. It rises in an amphitheatrical form to the summit of a mountain, the base of which is washed by the sea. A citadel, built on this summit, commands the whole city, which is divided into the upper and the lower town.

The harbour of Trieste, which is situated at the bottom of the gulph that bears its name, was for a length of time only a simple anchorage place. The court of Vienna, amidst the numerous views it continually had for its aggrandizement, was always most anxious to acquire importance amongst the maritime powers; and consequently wished to possess a seaport. The empress Maria Theresa, embracing still more ardently a project, of which her predecessors had only a presentiment of the utility, without putting it in execution, resolved to avail herself of the favourable situation of Trieste; and to make it an important point, where the advantages of commerce might be united with those of an imperial navy. In the year 1750, the plans were formed, and the works commenced. Favourable situations were selected for the construction of vessels, and docks were speedily established; magazines were also built, for various concomitant purposes, and these were succeeded by rope-walks, forges, &c. In short, Maria Theresa neglected nothing which might insure with rapidity to this new establishment all the splendour which she had designed it to enjoy; and shortly after, the Austrian flag appearing for the first time at sea, apprised Europe of the existence of Trieste.

The empress, however, would have but imperfectly fulfilled the object she had in view, if she had not directed towards this place the channels of commerce. She therefore took care to bestow upon it the most liberal privileges; and particularly to declare

the port to be free from all duties. To facilitate its connection with the Levant, she, nineteen years afterwards, caused to be built a vast and commodious Lazaretto, where the crews of the ships might be under quarantine. She also gradually encouraged those trades and arts which are more intimately connected with navigation. There were formed in Trieste, manufactures of cables, sail-cloth, anchors, and all kinds of arms, founderies for cannon, balls, &c. Magazines, for the production of articles purely commercial, were also established; such as velvet, wax-candles, soap, &c.; liqueurs also become an important branch of trade; and the number of bottles now exported annually, is supposed to amount to 600,000. In 1767, an insurance-company was formed there, the capital of which was estimated at 300,000 florins; and in 1770, there were supposed to be upwards of 30 first-rate wholesale commercial houses.

With respect to its territorial productions, Trieste has nothing to be proud of, except its white-wines; the quality of which is esteemed, and the purchase easy: but this article, as well as fruits, walnuts, chesnuts, oranges, lemons, figs, &c. which the country produces in abundance, form only a trival portion of its trade; which rests more essentially upon its manufactures, or on the foreign merchandizes for which it is the dêpot.

It was thus that Trieste arose from the obscurity in which it had been plunged, particularly during the time that it especially belonged to the bishops, whose authority may be traced to as early a period as the sixth century. They were suffragans of Aquileia, when Istria entirely belonged to the patriarch of that metropolis. Nevertheless, Lothaire, king of Italy, deprived the patriarch of Trieste, and gave it, with its territory, in full sovereignty, to his private bishop, together with the right of coining money. Afterwards the bishops sold to the inhabitants their jurisdiction, or legal authority, for 500 silver marks: at length, after having formed for some time a part of Carniola, it was separated from it; and now, its bishops, who take the title of counts, are suffragans of the archbishop of Goertz.

The inhabitants of the environs of Trieste have not, in general, the same propensity to idleness, as those of Venetian Istria. Being less Italian, they partake more of the manners and physical constitution of the people of Carniola; among whom they are indeed placed by several geographers, who consider Austrian Istria as the fifth division of the duchy of Carniola. They possess the robustness and manners of mountaineers; and, in fact, all this part is replete with mountains of an enormous size, the summits of which are covered with snow throughout the year. These men are strong and vigorous; formed to be supported by gross and frugal nutriment, and accustomed to sleep on the ground,

they pass without inconvenience from the excessive cold which reigns on the mountains, to the suffocating heat which prevails in the vallies. They go with the breast exposed, the feet naked; and yet brave the chilling cold and the asperities of the rocks.

The mountains are either covered with fine woods, or are entirely barren, according to their situations; but the vallies are constantly so fertile, that they afford two harvests in a year; so that after a crop of wheat, rye, or barley, they sow buckwheat, which ripens before winter, as well as millet, which they generally cultivate on the lands that have produced hemp. Besides these crops, which abundantly supply the consumption of Trieste, they also rear a great number of cattle on the excellent pasturage of their vallies; while the territory in general furnishes lead, steel, iron, and copper for the navy; honey, vipers, &c. for pharmacy; and numerous cargoes of oils, resin, and cheese.

This country, from the variety of steep mountains, intersected by deep and delightful vallies; and the union of savage nature in all her horror, with civilized nature resplendent in agriculture and the arts, presents the traveller, at each step, with scites wonderfully picturesque, as may be imagined from the plates given with this volume; though, to form a just conception of the involuntary astonishment, terror, and admiration, as well as of the pleasure which the traveller derives from the contemplation of such vast objects, it would be necessary to have ocular evidence of the immensity of those lofty mountains, to observe their rude fractures, their gigantic masses, and enormous projections; the points of which, curvated and suspended in the air, seem to threaten, every instant, to fall into the abysses; and, nevertheless, stand for ages in their motionless state of terrific equilibrium. It would be necessary also to examine those profound grottoes and caverns, into which the rays of the sun never penetrate; to cast the glare of flambeaux over the limpid brilliancy of the innumerable stalactites, with which their paths and vaults are embellished; to hear the formidable roar of those torrents and rivers, which fall from the tops of the mountains, and, rolling like thunder over the broken precipices, rebound, collect, and precipitate themselves into the abysses and gulphs, in which they are lost; and above all, to behold the precipice, whence the Ruecca darts its foaming waves, in a perpendicular direction, to the depth of 600 feet, before they descend into the cavities of the globe.

Let us add to these landscapes, which sometimes agreeably permit the view to filtrate, if we may so express ourselves, across the vast chasms in the rocks, and then to be lost in the distant vapours of the vallies of Goricia, or beneath the azure horizon of the Adriatic sea; or which, on other occasions, more gravely retain it captive

before those vast and sombre draperies of pines and oaks, which have for ages covered the summits of the mountains; let us, I say, add to the richness of these views the singular contrast of the mouldering towers of some Teutonic castles, the antique spires of which extend to the clouds, with the villa of the peaceable merchant, the elegant architecture of which seems, at the bottom of the valley, only to domineer over the flowers that grow around it. Let us also add, the astonishing alliance of an eternal spring, whose breath caresses the enamelled hillocs, with the rigorous winters, whose icy sceptre presses on the summits of the mountains; the delightful voice of the nightingale, concealed in the orange tree, with the acute accent of the eagle, which proudly soars through the currents of the air; the monotony of the echoes which repeat the bleating of the goats on the rocks; and the dull lowing of the bul on the banks of the silver rivulets: and after all these comparisons, however insensible may be the mind of the traveller to the beauties of nature, and though, corrupted by the habits of polished life, he may observe almost with indifference the majesty of the Creator, as revealed in these grand and extraordinary circumstances; yet he will be struck with pity for the man who can be so blind to happiness as to confine his pleasures within the narrow and puerile circle of palaces, while the earth invites him to enjoyments, at the magnificent theatres of her sublime irregularities;—enjoyments which are far more appropriate to the dignity of his nature.

In general, the industry of the inhabitants of Trieste is not equalled amongst those in the country part of Venetian Istria. The latter are excessively idle. The soil seems only desirous of offering its produce; and one cannot but lament the apathy of the people, on observing them refuse the invitations of nature. The fecundity of the sea, which would appear to be reserved only for nations who do not share the bounties of the earth, here affords an unusual abundance, and furnishes an agreeable nutriment to the lazy devourers, who obtain it without fatigue, since their fishermen need scarcely depart from the shores in pursuit of their avocation. Hence oil and wine are the only articles which man requires from the soil in those cantons, and these it affords him with prodigality. Both are held in much esteem: the wines are of a particularly excellent quality, have an agreeable taste, and possess an unusual degree of strength; while their low price renders them attainable by all classes of society, and the people often avail themselves of this facility by drinking them to excess. The abuse of these excellent wines, and the repugnance of the Italians of Istria to all kinds of exercise, cause them to be afflicted with the gout at an early period of their lives; and if

many lame persons be observable, this malady is simply to be attributed to the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, and not, as some persons have supposed, to a mal-conformation peculiar amongst them.

One of the greatest advantages of Istria, is its valuable forests. From these the republic of Venice derives the greater part of its timber for ship-building; but their extent, perhaps, contributes to the general unhealthiness of the whole of this country, particularly the Venetian part. It is supposed that this kind of vegetable wall checks the progress of the currents of air from the east-north-east, and from the north-north-east, and prevents the dispersion of the unwholesome exhalations which arise from the marshy grounds, that run along the sea-shore, and far into the country. These malignant vapours, which are constantly disengaged by the heat of the climate, supposing even that they are agitated by the south and south-west winds, and driven towards the interior of the continent, yet as they do not rise far above the soil, they cannot pass the barriers formed against them by the forests, and consequently become stagnant in the vallies. Here it must be admitted they increase the fertility of the ground, but they likewise diffuse the germs of disease. In order, however, to render these districts valuable in every point of view, it would perhaps only be necessary to decree, upon principles of philosophy and humanity, the destruction of all the forests; or, instead of cutting them promiscuously, as has hitherto been the practice, they might be regularly hewn, and a passage opened for the currents of air, which would expel the miasmata of the marshes towards the Adriatic Gulph. From such precautions it may be presumed that this country would derive material benefit, and its condition might be still farther ameliorated by the attentive observations of active philosophers. It has been remarked, that in different parts of Europe, where the people have complained of the unhealthiness of the climate, their complaints diminished in proportion as they demolished their surrounding woods, or when circumstances compelled them to effect their entire destruction.

The climate of Istria, however, is not so fatal to the native inhabitants as it is to foreigners; for amongst the former we frequently meet with old men: and if an almost invincible propensity to idleness did not take possession of them; if labour were to assist and develope the vigorous faculties of their well-formed frame; if agriculture, by receiving greater attention, were to afford them more wholesome nutriment; if, like all lazy people, they were not to accustom themselves to the use of spirituous liquors; in short, if the police, by preventive regula-

tions, were to check so pernicious a propensity, there is no doubt that their endemic diseases would gradually disappear, and that even by the little attention that has hitherto been paid to their extirpation, they would no longer be considered as incurable.

M. Cassas, as has been already observed, left Trieste with the French Consul, M. Bertrand, the son of the Prince of Pars, and M. Grappin. The latter, however, was the only companion whose constancy did not fail, and he attended our artist into Dalmatia. The two first-mentioned persons became fatigued by their voyage at sea, and, finding themselves obliged to renounce their enterprise, they separated at Fiume, and took the road for Trieste by land.

On quitting Trieste, our traveller took his direction a second time towards Pola, which his new companion had a desire to see; and sailing along the coast of Istria with an excellent wind, they soon arrived at Citta-Nuova, a small and inconsiderable town in the Venetian part. It is very unhealthy and not populous. It is a suffragant bishopric of Aquileia. He only stopped here a short time, to see the bishop, with whom he was on friendly terms, and who undertook to give him recommendations to some learned men in Dalmatia, as well as to his uncle, who resided at Zara. The wind continuing favourable, he embarked in haste, repassed Rovigno, where were lying four gallies belonging to the Serene Republic, and by six in the evening he again reached Pola, after having coasted in less than seventeen hours upwards of eighty Italian miles, the distance between this town and Trieste.

The advocate Barbota, to whom he had letters of introduction, received him in a manner which reflected equal honour on his politeness and his love for the arts. M. Cassas employed the remainder of the day in shewing his companion the antiquities of Pola, and the next morning, at four o'clock, he re-embarked. On leaving the harbour the pilot pointed out the wreck of a Venetian vessel which had been lost a few days before on the shoals, with which this coast abounds, a melancholy example to mariners of the danger which here attends them.

The wind, which had hitherto been so favourable, now became adverse, and it was necessary to tack a long time before they could double the promontory; indeed it was not without infinite fatigue that our voyagers succeeded in entering the dangerous gulph of Carnero, or Fiume, which some geographers spell Quarnero. This is the gulph which Pliny calls *Sinus Flanaticus*. But scarcely had they doubled the promontory, before they were assailed by a terrible storm, the gusts of which came

so rapidly upon them, that they were in imminent danger of foundering, not having time to luff up the sails, and finding it impossible to gain the small creeks on their left. They were consequently obliged to abandon themselves to all the fury of the sea, under the conduct of a captain, whose ignorance and alarm rendered their situation still more critical; and it was not till they had passed the day in a state of the utmost anxiety, that they succeeded in taking refuge in the little port of St. Marie, where they thought themselves happy in being enabled to pass the night in some miserable fishermen's huts.

These kind of storms or hurricanes frequently occur in the Gulph of Carnero. The mountains of the Friule, intersecting the peninsula of Istria, terminate at the promontory which is situated at the entrance of the gulph. They also oppose a barrier to the north winds, which, striking against them diagonally, acquire by the resistance a more considerable refractive force, and, thus passing obliquely into the Gulph of Carnero, where they meet with no opposition, they burst forth with all their violence.

The frequency of these occurrences has rendered this sea so terrible to the mariners of the coast, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries have been so often witnesses of their fatal effects, that their credulity induces them to account for the causes of such physical intemperance, by the most ridiculous tales. According to these people the storms are excited by sorcerers; and in this respect, each individual has his own story. That which most generally prevails is, that the sorcerers when they are enraged, which, it appears, often happens, kindle great fires in their caverns in the mountains, and that the earth, from the pain occasioned by them, becomes afflicted, and raises such commotions in the air, as cause the destruction of those against whom the wrath of the magicians is directed.—But as there are no direct proofs that these gentry bore such ill-will towards M. Cassas, the reader can attach what credit he may please to the above explanation of the tempests of Carnero.

Our travellers were detained by the bad weather at port St. Marie, all night and the following day. The guards of a neighbouring fort would not, without much difficulty, permit them to land, under the pretext that they had no certificates of health, but they found that this was only an artifice usually adopted to extort money from strangers: a few sequins, therefore, soon abated their rigour, and they even undertook to go to the huts of the peasantry in the environs, and procure them provisions, which, without the assistance of these men, it would have been impossible for them to obtain in an arid and almost uninhabited country.

On the second day, the tempest having subsided, they re-embarked; but were obliged to tack continually, being always in sight of Mount Mayor or Mount Major. After beating for a long time off the coast of the isles of Ossuero and Cherso, on the starboard side, they entered a small gulph, dependent upon the latter isle, and cast anchor in the creek of Fortina, in which position they remained the whole of the next day. Here it was with infinite trouble that they succeeded in obtaining, by dint of money, a small quantity of wine from a convent of Franciscans; the only respectable inhabitants of these cantons, for the natives are almost savages. At length, the wind having become more moderate, they were fortunate enough to drop out of the channel in which they had suffered so much since they entered the Gulph of Carnero, and at six o'clock in the evening they landed at Fiume.

The isle of Cherso, at which they made a short stay, belongs to the Venetians, and gives its name to the capital town. It is remarkable for the extreme smallness of its horses; which, however, are not deficient in vigour or spirit, and are of a graceful and delicate form. It is one of the largest isles of the archipelago which extends along the coasts of Dalmatia as far as Ragusa, being a hundred and fifty Italian miles in circumference. Its climate is wholesome: the soil, though uncommonly stony, is very fertile, and is watered by a number of rivulets. It produces no wheat; but its cattle, wine, honey, and oils, are much esteemed, and in these respects it was a very important possession to the Republic of Venice. In the island there is a lake of a considerable size (seven miles in circumference): and the inhabitants assured our travellers that it abounded in fish, and that among these, it contained certain families of the finny tribe which seemed to belong more particularly to the sea. This circumstance has given rise to the opinion that it has a subterraneous communication with the salt water.

Fiume belongs to the House of Austria. The governor received M. Cassas with great attention. A large road which the Emperor Charles VI. caused to be made from Carlstadt to this town, has rendered it extremely flourishing, by making it the staple of all the productions of Hungary which are exported by sea. It formerly constituted a part of Carniola; but about the middle of the seventeenth century, it was divided from that duchy, and became a separate government. It is situated at the mouth of the Fiumara; and the narrow valley at the commencement of which it stands, is particularly fertile in wines and excellent fruits, among which latter its figs hold a distinguished rank. It is agreeably built, and has a numerous population. The churches are magnificent, and the port is well frequented. Here is a sugar-re-

finery here, which supplies the whole of the Austrian States with that article. Its wax-manufactory is equally flourishing: and these two important establishments occupy many hands. It also contains several considerable commercial houses; and, in short, is held in such high value by the court of Vienna, that the government has conferred on it many peculiar exemptions.

It was here that the Consul Bertrand, and the son of the Prince of Pars, separated from M. Cassas, to return to Trieste; the adventures at Carnero having disgusted them with a maritime excursion. As to our author, his love for the arts rendered him above fear for his personal safety. Having hired an armed boat with three vigorous seamen, he left Fiume in company with M. Grappin, on the 11th of June; and after a voyage of five hours, they stopped to dine at a convent in the isle of Veglia, or Veggia. M. Cassas did not find this isle to correspond with the praises bestowed on it by different geographers. Far from being as rich as they have represented it, the territory appeared to be dry, rocky, badly cultivated, and interspersed only with shrubs: and though it produces wines and silk, the quantity is far short of what had been stated. The only town here bears the same name as the island. Its port is tolerably commodious, and the galleys from Venice generally belay in it. It was here that M. Cassas first heard the Illyrian dialect spoken; and he observed that the breviaries of the priests were written in that language. The name which the Sclavonians give to this isle Kar, and the authors of the French Encyclopedia suppose it to be the Curica of Ptolemy and Pliny. It is the island which Strabo has denominated Cyractica, and is remarkable in having for a long time formed a separate state. Count John Frangipani ceded it in the fifteenth century to the republic of Venice.

After passing the heat of the day at Veglia, our two voyagers left it; and proceeded on their voyage, having on their right the isles of Urbo, Selva, Melado (sometimes called Zapuntello), and Uglian; and to their left the isle of Pago, the Punta Dura, &c. These islands, according to Constantine Porphyrogenetus, were formerly inhabited: they have at present some residents; but notwithstanding the cultivation employed by them, the produce is insignificant. The soil is so stony, and water is so scarce, that corn will not thrive there; the olive-trees can scarcely take root, and the grapes are rare and meagre on the vines. Here is found an abundance of the same marble as is contained in the high mountains of Italy, principally at Terracina, Piperna, and the environs of Caserta. It is hard, whitish, calcareous, and splits in the mortar like flint. It is but slightly affected by the artificial acids. When polished, the effect of the air acts but slowly on its surface; and it is only after many centuries that

it becomes rough, and that the grains of which it is composed are distinguishable.

The learned Fortis supposes that the Dalmatian islands are the melancholy remains of a country which was once partly destroyed by some great terrestrial commotions: and he believes that he can recognize in the ostracities which he has observed, the matter which composes those extensive strata of calcareous stone which he considers as the foundation of all the isles in question; particularly as the ostracites do not belong to the present seas in this quarter, but could only have been deposited by an extensive and different ocean, that at one period covered the soil.

The most fertile spot is undoubtedly Uglian, or Isola Grossa. It would produce every thing in abundance, if it were not, like the rest, unprovided with water: the inhabitants have none but what they collect in cisterns; and the richer or more delicate individuals, who cannot accustom themselves to this kind, are obliged to send for it from the Continent. The Uglianites are distinguished from the other insular inhabitants by their mild and amiable manners, their candour, and their hospitality. The Italian character has taken less root in the isle than on the coasts of the Continent. Even the costume has little resemblance to that of the other Venetian possessions: the women in their dress somewhat resemble the Morlachian females, who have already been described.

Notwithstanding the dryness of the land, the winged insects are so numerous, as to be insupportable, and it is difficult to protect the fruits and other productions of the earth against their ravages. The Illyrian snails mentioned by Pliny, and which the Romans considered as one of the most delicate luxuries of their tables, are found here in great abundance. It is known that Fulvius Herpinus had at his country-seat ssveral reservoirs, or beds, in which he reared this species of insects for the express purpose alluded to.

Most of the approaches to these islands contain numerous rocks, which render their navigation difficult and dangerous: but what is even worse, these rocks afford refuge to the banditti who infest the seas in this quarter, and who conceal themselves in the recesses during the day, in order to avoid the search made after them by the Venetian gallies, while at night they board and capture such barks as risk the navigation of the channel without being armed. Our travellers were alarmed lest they should have woeful experience of the audacity of these marauders. We have already said that, in order to avoid the heat of the day, they did not quit Veglia till seven o'clock in the evening.

Those who are unacquainted with the beauty of the evenings in Italy, can form no idea of the spectacle afforded by nature in

these regions when the sun has sunk below the horizon. The absence of this luminary causes a cessation of heat: the calorific clouds disperse, the sea and the mountains towards the west are deprived of their purple tinge, and the sky exhibits nothing but one vast expanse of azure, beneath which innumerable zephyrs gently move; while every thing adds to the majestic silence of night, as it gradually advances, embalmed with the odour of delicious flowers. At this charming period every thing tends to produce the most pleasing and voluptuous sensations, and the opening mind gratefully contemplates the magnificence of the scene. It seems scarcely possible that such should be a period of preparation for the commission of crimes; but the human heart is corrupt, and this reflection deprived our travellers, in a great degree, of the pleasure they would have derived from such an evening as that which we have depicted. In the midst of the most sublime spectacle of the omnipotence of the Creator, they were obliged to recollect that they were men, and to provide for their personal security. They accordingly put into a small creek, formed by rocks; where they landed, and, tearing off a number of branches from some contiguous trees, spread them over their boat, which by this means, together with the obscurity afforded by the shade of the rocks, was rendered scarcely perceptible. They then retired to a short distance, and concealed themselves among some bushes.

It was now eleven o'clock, and the pale light of the moon had succeeded to the mild darkness of the evening, which slowly retreats towards the west, where the twilight continues to linger till a late hour. All nature was enveloped in silence. Even the tide only transmitted at long intervals a few gentle waves towards the chasms in the rocks, and the monotonous harmony of their motion was almost lost in the immensity of space; when suddenly a faint noise was heard at a distance, which excited the vigilance of our travellers, who soon ascertained that it was occasioned by regular strokes of the oar. The sound gradually increased; as did the alarm of our party, who knew not whether it proceeded from friends or enemies. At first they were in hopes that the strangers would pass; but in this they were deceived, for the bark approached nearly alongside of their own, though this was not perceived by its crew. At length they landed, and began to pry about them; while their arms struck against the very bush which concealed our adventurers, whose sensations may be more easily conceived than described—the slightest motion, sigh, or even breathing, might cause their destruction. In a short time they heard the banditti swearing at each other: "They are not here," said the voices; "they have

gone further on, and we have missed them." Having thus regretted the loss of their prey, and that they had not been able to shed blood, they accused each other of tardiness and negligence, and each endeavoured to acquit himself of blame on such a noble occasion: indeed a civil war seemed nearly breaking out among them, because they had lost the opportunity of committing a crime; while our travellers were themselves the unfortunate objects of their search, and at this instant were close to them! At last, they resolved to put off again in pursuit of the fugitives; expressing their hope that they should overtake them, and vowing vengeance for the fatigue they had thus fruitlessly experienced. With this intent they re-embarked; and the friendly oar soon dissipated the fears of our party, and delivered them from any further information of the projects of the banditti.

This adventure was sufficient to disgust them with nocturnal navigation, while it tended to deter them from passing the night at a distance from inhabited places: they therefore impatiently waited for the return of day; and, as soon as it appeared, gladly quitted a rock at which they had been in danger of terminating at once their adventures and their life.

They continued, during the day, to cruize along the coast, the aspect of which was as wild and desolate as can be conceived, till they arrived at Zara. Rocks projecting at intervals, barren and shapeless thickets; no soil nor cultivation; the heavy verdure of aromatic plants, mustic shrubs, fennel, hemlock, and rue; a burning sun, producing a degree of heat almost insupportable; and the remembrance of the perils which they had escaped the preceding night;—such were the subject and the reflections which, during fourteen hours, fatigued their eyes, their senses, and their imagination. At length, they reached Zara; where they waited upon Dr. Stratico and Captain Gerousi, two enlightened and amiable men; who by the most affable reception, endeavoured to make them forget the storms of Carnero, and the pirates of the Punta Dura.

Zara is the most considerable place which was possessed by the Venetians on the Continent; and is a bulwark against which the Turks have often made violent, though useless, attempts. The nearer you approach to this town, the more distant seem the isles which skirt the coast; the channel becomes wider, and the navigation less dangerous, particularly for large vessels. It was known to the Romans by the name of Jadera. According to Pliny and Ptolemy it was a Roman colony, and the capital of Liburnia; that is to say, of that space of country comprised between the rivers of Zermagne and Kerka, called by them the *Tedanius* and the *Titius*. In the middle age it bore the name of

Diadora, and it is the only town which has survived both the hand of time, and the wars which so long ravaged these unfortunate countries. M. Cassas does not coincide with the opinion of Fortis, who asserts that in the progress of centuries it has rather risen to prosperity than continued to decline. On the contrary, he says, every thing indicates that it was once more considerable than it is at present: but particularly the ruins of certain public monuments, which, from their nature, must have been situated within the town, though their remains now lie at a distance without the walls;—these being now not more than two miles in circumference, and containing in their compass five thousand inhabitants.

But however this may be, Zara, by its situation, is a town of the first importance. It is built on a tongue of land, or peninsula, which was attached to the Continent by an isthmus of only about 30 paces in width, and which is now intersected by ditches; so that Zara no longer has any communication with the main land except by draw-bridges, and is entirely surrounded by sea. At the head of the bridges just mentioned is a fort, which renders the approach difficult. Its citadel, the fosses of which are cut in the rock, is excellent; and there have been added three bastions, which are countermined, lined with free-stone, and covered with counterscarps. The curtins are defended with excellent ravelins; and the whole is surrounded with covered ways and glacis. This fortification was the residence of the superintendant general of Dalmatia.

The Venetians acquired the above-mentioned town at the beginning of the fifteenth century; at the time of the fraudulent negotiation which was entered into with them by Ladislas, king of Naples, who pretended to be likewise king of Hungary. In 1498, Bajazet, emperor of the Turks, attacked it with success; but the Venetians soon retook it, since which time it has been subject to their dominion.

In 1154 its bishoprick was changed into an archbishopric, the suffragans of which are the bishops of Arbe, Vegia, and Ossuero. Our readers are, doubtless, surprised to hear of bishops in such small islands as these; but no one is ignorant with what prodigality such dignities were formerly lavished in Italy.

The public buildings in Zara are mostly magnificent: particularly the arsenals on land and water, the magazines or warehouses on the quay, the civil and military hospitals, the barracks, and the palaces of the superintendant (who has two; one in the town, and the other in the citadel already mentioned, in which latter he chiefly resides). The port is tolerably large, affords a convenient anchorage for vessels, and is defended by strong batteries.

Among a great number of churches at Zara, the cathedral almost alone deserves attention; but there is scarcely one of them which the best painters of the Venetian school did not think worthy of decorating with the master-pieces of their art. The cathedral contains two pictures; one by Tintoret, and the other by the elder Palma. There is another by the last mentioned master, at St. Dominick's. The organs of this latter church were painted by Schiavoni: the church of Santa Maria is still more richly decorated: besides a picture by the elder Palma, it has a Virgin, by Diamantini; a St. Francis, by Tintoret; and a St. Anthony, by Padua: but at St. Catherine's, we are particularly struck with a magnificent picture by Titian.

There is likewise in this tower a great object of admiration for devotees. It is the entire corpse of a holy Jew, and not of a *holy Catholic;* for it is the body of old Simeon, who was so famous for singing the *Nunc dimittis,* in Latin, in the Temple of Jerusalem, where they were always accustomed to sing in Hebrew. It is not known who conveyed him from Judea to Zara; but it is certain that he did come, for the priests and the people say so! And why not? If a connoisseur in sanctified relics were able to distinguish the body of old Simeon among the rubbish of a town which Vespasian and Titus laid in ruins, I know no reason why he might not have sent it into Dalmatia. The one circumstance is not more difficult to believe than the other.—However, this skeleton is inclosed in a fine case, the pannels of which are of crystal to those who know not what crystal is, and of Venice glass to those who have good eyes. These pannels are in silver-gilt frame-work. The body is exposed to the devotion of the multitude on certain days in the year, after which it is carefully concealed. Except on the festivals, it is never shewn to any persons but the supreme magistrates of Venice, or to sovereign princes who may come to Zara. Is this done to improve the princes, or to benefit the saint? Perhaps both; but the canons and sextons certainly derive most advantage from the exhibition.

The environs of Zara are in a tolerable state of cultivation. Formerly no person was permitted to plant trees within the distance of a league from the fort; but since the incursions of the Turks have become less frequent, and the alarm of the Venetian Republic in this respect has ceased, the decree in question is not regarded, and several of the inhabitants have their country-houses, with very agreeable gardens. Society here is regulated by that of Venice: they have the same manners, the same etiquette, and the same luxuries. Literature also is not unknown in this town: which has an academy numbering among its members

several distinguished men of science; and we must do them the justice to say, that they bestow much pains in acquiring a proper knowledge of their country, while in almost every other part of the world the learned men know every thing except what relates to such a subject. A few years ago, Messrs. Stratico and Balio honored this town with their presence.

The Roman antiquities have not been so much respected at Zara as at Pola; and though it was evidently as rich in monuments as the latter town, there now remain but few vestiges of this nature. We perceive, for instance, no traces of its amphitheatre, which was totally destroyed at the time of constructing the fortifications: the site is at present occupied with a ravelin. The antique monument which is in the best preservation, is the triumphal arch now forming the gate called St. Chrysogone. It was, like Porta Aurea at Pola, a testimony of affection from a woman to the memory of her husband; and we learn by the inscription that her name was *Mélia Anniana,* and that of her husband *Lœpicius Bassus.* The word *emporium,* which appears in the inscription, would seem to indicate that this arch decorated a market or other public place. There are likewise near the church of St. Helia, two magnificent fluted columns of the Corinthian order, and of which the architrave, capitals, plinth, and pedestals, are in the best style. An inscription discovered at no great distance from this spot, and which has been removed to the church of St. Donatius, gives rise to the opinion that these columns belonged to a temple of Juno. This inscription is a dedication to the August Juno *(Junoni Augustæ)* by a woman of the name of *Apuleia Quinta,* the daughter of *Marcus,* in her name and that of her son, *Lucius Turpilius Brocchus Licinius.*

These, however, are not the only inscriptions which were pointed out to M. Cassas by the learned men who gave him such a handsome reception. They shewed him one which appeared to indicate that the religion of Isis and of Seraphis was cultivated at Jadera or Zara: and this will be found to coincide with history; which states that when the Romans penetrated for the first time, into Illyria, they found the religion of Isis established in that country. In another inscription, Augustus Cæsar is described as the founder of the colony of Jadera; and as having built the walls, to which some towers were afterwards added by one *Tiberius Julius Optatus.* M. Cassas also observed in a private house an inscription likewise consecrated to the Emperor *Tiberius,* by the eleventh legion and *Publius Cornelius Dolabella.*

It is much to be regretted, that the various monuments to which these inscriptions were annexed, have been destroyed; as

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they might throw some light upon certain obscure parts of history. If, for example, we could now behold that which contained the inscription relative to Isis and Serapis, (whether it were a temple, altars, or statues,) it may be presumed, from the progress which has been made in the science of antiquities, that some information might be acquired as to the origin of the Dalmatians. The same may be observed with regard to those alluding to Augustus and Tiberius, which must certainly have been posterior to the famous Dalmatian war; so that, if such monuments were in existence, they might afford many inductions relative to that great event, of which history appears to have neglected various important details.

It is, however, doubtful, whether this loss could be repaired by digging: as it is probable that a part, at least, of the destroyed monuments were situated in front of Zara; and that the sea, which gains so rapidly on this coast, may have covered them. Fortis has ascertained that the ancient pavements of this place are now far below the general level of the water; and a short time ago, on clearing a part of the harbour, the ruins of some considerable edifices were discovered. If this observation be true, there is still less reason to expect that any of the monuments of Zara can be recovered: as it is well known that the Romans, in imitation of the Greeks, generally delighted in building, in their maritime towns, the finest edifices on the sea-shore; and it is proved that the sea daily encroaches upon the site of the ancient town in question. Hence those of Zara are lost beneath the waters, and buried, perhaps for ever, from the curiosity and investigation of the learned.

One of the greatest privations experienced by the inhabitants of Zara, is that of water, which is extremely scarce; and some remains of an aqueduct which M. Cassas visited in the environs, prove that in ancient times they were under the necessity of employing extraordinary means to procure it. The origin of this aqueduct is attributed to Trajan; but it is a question whether it was not constructed before his time, and some antiquaries think that it is only indebted to him for repairs. There is still less coincidence of opinion with respect to the extent of this aqueduct, and the place at which it received the water. Several writers have supposed that it came from the river Kerka; and, among others, Simon Glinbavaz, and Giovanni Lucia, quoted by the Abbé Fortis: but this learned author clearly demonstrates that they are mistaken. However, the remains of this aqueduct are still to be seen at a short distance from Zara; and by the direction of the arches, it appears, that it ran to some distance along the sea-shore: it is afterwards again perceived in the woods of Tustiza, whence it may be traced as far as Torcetta, at which

place it serves as a path for pedestrian travellers, and beasts of burthen. Some fragments of it are likewise apparent near San Filippo and Giacomo, as well as at Zara-Vecchia; but beyond this spot it is entirely lost. At present, and doubtless for many preceding centuries, the inhabitants of Zara, being deprived of this aqueduct, have no supply but from the water preserved in the cisterns; the unhealthiness of which, as well as of the air, is a subject of general complaint in this district, particularly in summer. It may reasonably be supposed that these two circumstances, together with the extinction of the Roman Empire, the ravages of the Barbarians, the wars with the Turks, and the diminution of commerce (which has almost entirely centred in Venice), have contributed in no ordinary degree to the depopulation of Zara, which at present contains only 5000 inhabitants, a number bearing no proportion to that formerly contained within its walls.

Among the men in this town distinguished by their learning and urbanity, and who were indefatigable in their attention to M. Cassas, he mentions Doctor Antonio Danieli, a professor of medicine, and an esteemed antiquarian. This gentleman possesses one of the most curious cabinets in these countries; and he took much pains in exhibiting it to our traveller. The ornaments of his house are sufficient to shew his love for the arts. Surrounded, in a manner, by the ruins of Roman grandeur, he has zealously and tastefully collected them as an offering to the study and admiration of the curious. He has, in particular, obtained an abundance of relics from the ruins of Nona, at a short distance from Zara. That town, which in ancient times was called *Ænona*, or *Ænonum*, is now nothing but a miserable village, inhabited by five or six hundred persons, though the soil contains all the vestiges of its ancient splendour. It is situated on a small island, in the middle of a port which was formerly the resort of numerous fleets; but the shoals formed by the mud deposited by a rivulet which here disembogues itself, have totally blocked up the entrance, and rendered it only an infectious swamp. Here, however, resided not only those haughty Romans who despoiled the world; but, after them, those Sclavonian kings, so pompous in their vain shew and pageantry. But now, of all their grandeur, there remain only reptiles, mud, and stones!

This ruined town has made ample returns for the considerable sums disbursed by Dr. Danieli in causing excavations to be made in search of monuments, by affording him several very rare specimens; among which are four antique Colossal statues of saline marble, which form a part of the decorations of his house. He possesses a very fine collection of Roman medals, and

three Greek tables which he procured from the Isle of Lissa: these latter were seen by Fortis, who supposed them to have formed part of some decree, and to be the fragments of the signatures of the senators. He also has a fine collection of stones which belonged to various ancient monuments, and which he has obtained from different parts of Dalmatia: among them is an inscription which was seen by Spon at the house of M. Tommasoni, and which, doubtless, has since been acquired by M. Danieli. It is that which was consecrated to Tiberius by the eleventh legion, and by the care of Publius Cornelius Dolabella lieutenant of the Prætor.

M. Cassas also observed at Zara an urn, likewise found among the ruins of Nona. It appears further that one of the finest gates at Zara, called the gate of San Gringona, or Saint Chrysogone, and which leads to the port, was constructed of the ruins of a triumphal arch at Nona. The cornice of this gate is not supported by two columns, as Spon has represented it, but by two pilasters of the Corinthian order, the lower part of which is entirely wanting: and they appear truncated nearly at the commencement of the arch; so that they not only want about two-thirds of their length, but also the whole of the bases; the capital (detached) and a part of the shafts being all that remain.

Although the country in which Zara is situated, is only known to the Venetians, and in general to the Italians, by the name of The County of Zara; yet the native inhabitants have preserved its ancient name of Kotar. The County of Zara, however, properly so called, is more contracted than was the ancient Kotar; which extended as far as the banks of the river Cettina, as is evidenced by a stanza of an old Illyrian song quoted by Fortis. This fragment of versification proves that the ancient people here had their poets, or bards; and it were to be wished that the productions of some of them could be collected and translated. By such means we might form an idea of the poetical genius of those people: perhaps, it might be found analagous to the poetry of Ossian, with which our modern bards are so much delighted; and thus we might make some discoveries, or at least some conjectures, relative to their origin. It appears that the Illyrian song of which Fortis has translated a fragment, described the misfortunes of some king. The following is the quotation, as he has written it:

" Ustanise, Kragliu Radoslave,
Zloga legga, i Zoriczu Zaspà
Odbixete Liika, i Karbava
Rauni Kotar do voda Cettina:"

which he has thus translated:

"Awake, O King Radoslas! fate pursues thee, even when thou liest down to sleep till the return of morning. *Korbavia* and *Licka* have revolted against thee, and the plains of Kotar, as far as the waters of Cettina."

Though these phrases, doubtless, present few ideas yet one cannot help remarking a sort of melancholy, which is a peculiar character in the songs of Ossian just alluded to. But it is not from a few words that we ought to form a comparison.

The district of Kotar, or County of Zara, is tolerably well cultivated; but is very unhealthy, particularly during summer. This season is here remarkable for its intense heat; and the exhalations from the mud and swamps diffuse an insupportable stench, and occasion violent fevers, which either in a few days terminate the life of the patient, or degenerate into the intermittent, and always obstinate, kind.

On travelling through Dalmatia, and particularly in the County of Zara, one is often astonished at observing, not only the number of towns which were formerly celebrated though now in ruins, but also that there is scarcely any of them in which the population has survived the destruction of the monuments. This is a kind of phenomenon which the ravages of time, and the desolation of war, do not sufficiently explain. Such is Nona, lately mentioned; such are likewise Biograd or Alba Maritima, Urana Asseria, and several others. One circumstance in particular, though not peculiar to this country, but to the powers by which it was conquered, may have given rise to this depopulation: It would appear extraordinary if we were to consider merely that the interest of all conquerors is to destroy the walls, to abolish the authorities, to mutilate the laws, but to preserve the people in order to profit by their slavery and industry: but the surprise will cease when we examine who were the powers that disputed the possession of these places; and, setting aside the Barbarians, whose incursions certainly did not contribute to the preservation of the people, it will suffice simply to see the Venetians and the Turks engaged in their various contests for dominion. When victory decided in favour of the latter, they always found that these countries were too far from the centre of their empire to afford them the hope of long retaining their conquests: and hence their only care was to despoil them of all their treasures; which were carried off, together with the greater part of the cattle, and the men conveyed away as slaves. Thus, the fields being deprived of the aid of the labourer, and the shores deserted by ships and commerce, misery soon opened her tomb for the feeble remnant of the population,

which had escaped the desolation of war and the gallies of the pirates. If, on the contrary, the efforts of the Venetians were crowned with success, this new power, which might be said to be then confined within the walls of a flourishing capital, and without dependent states, experienced the mania which afflicts all commercial people; namely, that of judging of their prosperity rather by the view than by the employment of their riches. The people of Venice, at the commencement of its grandeur, may be compared to the merchant who first occupies himself with filling his magazines, and then with contemplating the bales which he has accumulated, instead of reflecting that the advantage of his commercial speculations is far less in the goods which he has in store, than in the returns which he will derive from their future and distant circulation. Thus the Venetian people, at the beginning of their rise, attached no farther importance to their conquests than what resulted from the greater or less portion of spoil which flowed from these into their metropolis: and thus Dalmatia, whether it was in their hands, or fell under power of the Turks, was equally depopulated, plundered, and laid waste; because the empire of the latter was too extensive to allow them to retain it, and that of the former too contracted to permit them to protect it. In either situation, if the unfortunate remains of the people in that country existed for a short time without oppressors, they also lived without resources; and frequently parties of banditti, the impure remnant of the armies, the scum of the human race, dispersed in the forests, but who were always foreigners either to the Turks, the Venetians, or the neighbouring tribes, would frequently rush into the towns, and almost deserted villages, slaughtering the few inhabitants who remained, or forcing them to combine with these wretches themselves. Such outrages drew down the vengeance either of the Ottomans or the Venetians: fire and the sword again followed in their train, and the destruction of the people was complete; because it was necessary to treat as robbers and outlaws those whom they had not been politic enough to consider as subjects nor as slaves.

M. Cassas, having resolved not to prolong his journey beyond a certain period, made only a short stay at Nona and Zara-Vecchia. The latter town, which is now entirely ruined, was once a considerable city, called Blandona; placed, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, between Jadera and Arauna,—another town situated, in the time of the Romans, on the sea-shore, before we arrive at Salona. In the course of ages, Blandona became the residence of some Croatian kings; and this circumstance procured it the name of Biograd, or Belgrade, a general denomination which the Sclavonians gave to the towns inhabited by their sovereigns. Accord-

ing to some it was ruined, with many other towns on this coast, by Attila: but we know with certainty that it was completely destroyed by the Doge Ordelafo Faliero, at the time of the famous war of the Venetians against the Hungarians; and, as we lately observed when investigating the causes of the depopulation of these countries, some banditti, intermixing themselves among the very small number of inhabitants who had survived the military destruction, and thus soon effecting a deplorable change in their manners, the republic, in order to check their excesses, caused a general massacre of the robbers, and of the ancient inhabitants with whom they were confounded. If, however, Biograd be sometimes called Alba Maritima, it is, literally, because these two words are the latin translation of the Sclavonian name Biograd, which means *white*, to which has been added the epithet *maritime*, to distinguish it from other places of the same name. If, likewise, the Italians have given it the name of Zara-Vecchia, this must have arisen from the false opinion which some learned men have entertained, that it was the ancient Jadera; but it is now no longer to be doubted, that Jadera was situated on the spot which contains Zara. It is from some inscriptions found in this place, that we discover Zara-Vecchia to have been the ancient Blandona.

Vrana, or Urana, which is not far from Zara-Vecchia, is likewise a town in an entirely ruined state, being one vast mass of walls and demolished buildings: it is an additional monument of the ravages of war, and the vindictive fury of the Venetians. Here, however, there is no dispute on the subject of its antiquity, for nothing indicates that it existed in the time of the Romans. It was, however, a possession of some consequence to the unfortunate Templars, and was the residence of a grand-prior of this order. It also appears that the Turks had possession of it for a time, and that some of their great men thought it worthy of their residence. There may still be seen the remains of the gardens of a Turkish individual, whose riches apparently rendered him so famous that his gardens have been described by historians. His name was Hali-Beg, or Ali-Bey; and the cottage in which resides the priest of the few unfortunate inhabitants who may be said to vegetate, rather than to live, among the ruins, is built on a spot which still bears the name of Ali-Bey's Gardens. But in vain do historians celebrate these gardens for their extent, the magnificence of their cascades, their fountains, their reservoirs, their shady bowers, or beautiful cypresses, whose sombre verdure is so pleasant to Eastern nations. It is now impossible to form a single idea of their ancient splendour. Every thing is confounded, overthrown, destroyed: rushes and weeds cover the whole spot; and, the waters having run off from their

broken channels, have been absorbed by the soil, or remain stagnant in the vallies: the pavilions and the trees have disappeared, and melancholy and misery now prevail on the sites which were formerly occupied by voluptuousness and luxury.

The Caravanseray, though long since deserted, is nevertheless in a good state of preservation: one may, at least, distinguish its form and size; and it would be even now complete, if the neighbouring Morlachians had not been suffered to demolish some parts of it in order to employ the materials for building their shapeless houses. Few persons are unacquainted with the use of this sort of edifices, which in Eastern countries display the magnificence and hospitality of princes; and, among the Turks, the latter quality is not only a moral virtue, but a religious precept, which is rigorously observed towards both men and animals. These caravanserays are generally confounded with the *hans* or *khans*. The very word *caravanseray*, however, seems to indicate more plainly their destination for the purpose just alluded to; and in fact the caravanserays, particularly at the time of their origin, were built in desert places, where the distance from large towns caused inconveniences by the want of shelter to travellers and caravans; while the khans, which are most frequently built in towns, are made use of by foreign merchants who travel from commercial motives, and are large enough to afford not only a lodging for them, but also magazines for their merchandize. Thus, for example, by a private convention with the Ottoman Porte, the French had their own khans, which they exclusively occupied at Aleppo, at Syria, and Smyrna.

From what has been said, and from the situation of the buildings mentioned, we may suppose that the one in question was rather a khan than a caravanseray, since it was in a town near to the sea, and not in a road frequented by caravans. Nevertheless, the term *caravanseray* is known to be adopted in Asia for all these kinds of edifices; as it prevails not only in Turkey, but in Persia and the Mogul Country, while the name of *khan* is more particularly used in Turkey. In the last-mentioned empire, every person was not indiscriminately permitted to build a caravanseray; but this permission was considered as a mark of distinction. At one time the honour was conferred upon only the mothers and sisters of the sultans, the vizirs, and the bashaws who had gained three victories over Christian opponents!

But although much praise is bestowed upon the Turks for their hospitality, this virtue is literally confined to the *building* of the caravanseray, which affords a shelter for the traveller against the intemperance and injuries of the weather: for he finds here neither bed, kitchen, nor provisions; and it is necessary for him to bring every thing with him, or to purchase all he

may want after he arrives. The form, the architecture, and the arrangement of the caravanserays, as well as of the hans or khans, are nearly the same. They are both, in general, large square buildings, of one or two stories in height above the ground-floor: the interior façades, which form the court or hall, resemble the cloisters of convents, and on the ground-floors are the magazines: the chambers in which the travellers reside are above. In the middle of the court is a reservoir, from which the camels and other beasts of burden quench their thirst. The khans of Constantinople are famous edifices. That of which the ruins may be observed near Vrana, must also have been very considerable, as its façade is 150 feet in length. It was constructed entirely of a fine marble, with an extremely compact grain, and susceptible of the highest polish. The Abbé Fortis is inclined to think that these blocks of marble have been detached from some of the ancient buildings of the Romans.

But if, among the desolated towns which I have mentioned, and which are situated in the County of Zara, there be one which inspires a peculiar curiosity and regret, it is doubtless Asseria, now called Podgrage. The surrounding wall of this town, mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, is still entirely to be traced, and part of it is even standing. Fortis observes that the Itinerary of Peutinger places here Asseria; which is the same as the Assesia of Ptolemy, and the Assesia or Aseria of Pliny. I shall merely remark, that the Ancient Geography, which is inserted in the French *Encyclopædia* in alphabetical order, makes no mention of Assesia; but speaks of the Assesiates, which it supposes to be the same with the Asseriates, a people of Italy (who it asserts) were described by Pliny as residing among the Alps. Yet it is known that the Alps terminate at Carnero, unless it be supposed that the mountains of Morlachia are a prolongation of them; and if so, it will appear surprising that Pliny should have confounded Illyria with Italy. However this may be, if we form an opinion from the magnificence of its walls, this place must have been a rich depository of antiquities of every kind; and perhaps it would only be necessary to dig to a little depth, in order to procure an abundance of materials for archæologists. The circumference of the walls, which present a sort of irregular parallelogram, is estimated at 3600 Roman feet; and they are in almost every part eight feet thick, except at the shortest front, where they are nearly eleven feet. They are lined, inside and outside, with large blocks of Dalmatian marble, extremely well cut, in the way the Italians call *lavorati a bagno*, and the French *travaillées en ruche*. All these tables, or blocks, are of a considerable size,

and several of them are ten feet square. Some of these immense fragments of wall still remain, which are upwards of eight feet high; but it is probable that the greatest portion of these is buried, as we can perceive above-ground nothing but the arch of the only gate which is distinguishable.

There can be no doubt that these walls were fortifications; but what is very astonishing, is, that at one of the north angles we perceive the form of a bastion with its faces and flanks, such as are constructed *at the present day* by our scientific engineers. Indeed, numerous circumstances prove, that, if search were made, many valuable discoveries might be brought to light in this vicinity; as the environs of the town are strewed with mouldering masonry, consisting of carefully wrought pieces of marble, and other fragments, which evidently belonged to extensive buildings. Amidst all these ruins stands a solitary church, which has been constructed of the remains of the ancient architecture: as there may frequently be perceived in it pieces of cornice of an excellent style, and the remains of inscriptions, either too much decayed to be legible, or so mutilated that the words cannot be connected.

On surveying these ruins, it may be immediately seen that by a little expence in making excavations, there might indubitably be discovered many important relics, not merely for the study of artists, but likewise such as would tend to elucidate the history of this country, now so much involved in obscurity. The grandeur which may still be observed in the walls of Asseria, is a proof of the luxury and power of its ancient inhabitants; and in former times the luxury of any place was particularly evident in its public edifices, which, more than any other point, is capable of affording correct ideas of the people among whom they prevail. It is known in what degree of esteem the Romans held those states whom they allowed to enjoy their protection and municipal privileges; granting this favour only for services rendered by the inhabitants, for tried fidelity, or for wise conduct. The number of such places was by no means considerable, and the Asseriates were amongst the people who received these distinctions. They appointed their own magistrates, were governed by their own laws, and, in short, exercised all the prerogatives of a free nation. Hence, every circumstance proves their importance, and shews the propriety of neglecting no information which might be collected from the inquiries of well-informed men. Let us then adopt the hope expressed by Fortis, in his remarks on the County of Zara, on his return to the town of Asseria, that his exertions to overcome the repugnance of the Morlachians to assist in such investigations may be attended with success. The causes of

their apathy are their general indiscretion, and the avarice manifested by certain individuals who, in pursuing similar researches, caused these people to drag several pieces of antiquity as far as the sea-shore, without giving them the smallest remuneration. It has therefore happened that the Morlachians, apprehensive lest such unproductive jobs might be repeated, have, as often as they met by chance, on removing the soil, any objects of this kind, either broke them with their axes, or buried them again at a greater depth. Instead of permitting such outrages, it would surely be advisable to stimulate them, by rewards proportionate to their labour, to respect and preserve these valuable relics, the greater part of which we might thus enjoy the hope of recovering.

After having taken this rapid survey of the environs and country of Zara, M. Cassas and his companion re-embarked, and continued their voyage towards Spalatro. They had an excellent north-wind; by which, in four hours, they had advanced as far as Sebenico: proceeding constantly along a narrow sea called the Channel of Zara; on the left of which are the main land and the high mountain of Morlachia; and on the right, a long and narrow spot, called the Isle of Pasman. Although the whole of this voyage is in salt water, the multitude of isles with which the coast is covered prevents the open sea from being visible; and it is only at the opening between the east point of the Isle of Pasman, and a large rock called Morter, that, in the south-south west, the Isle of Cornata is perceived, and in the south the sea, across the shelves of Pougliana. In general, it was, as has been already observed, amidst those isles, which cover the coast from Fiume to the Gulph of Narenta, that M. Cassas pursued his voyage. On his return from Spalatro, however, to Trieste, it was otherwise; for then, having no object to excite his curiosity upon the coast, he kept on the outside of all the islands, and thus avoided those numerous rocks and shoals which are here so dangerous to mariners. If it were not for this, such kind of what may be properly called inland navigation is truly charming, by the variety of objects, and the singularity of the landscapes. On one side are beheld a multitude of rocks of every form, whose rugged summits sometimes rise forty, fifty, and even a hundred feet, above the water, while others scarcely rise to a level with the surface. Among this crowd of islands,—some, uncultivated, sterile, and sandy, calcined by a burning sun, and presenting a perfect image of the deserts of Africa, are contrasted by others possessing the most delightful vegetation, shaded by magnificent trees, enamelled with flowers, and watered by limpid springs, such as were frequented by the Naiads and Sylvans of Romance,

and which by their appearance recal to the imagination all the fables of the bowers of Tempe. On the other side are the vast mountains of the Continent, the enormous bases of which extend to the sea-shore, or are sometimes protracted in-land by fertile plains, while their distant and blueish summits seem to cut the horizon. In one part among the huts of the Barbarians may be seen occasionally high columns, the proud and solitary remains of majestic antiquity; in another large ponds, stagnant amidst the cultivation which surrounds them, and reflecting in their dull waters the obscure appearance of the extensive forests: or the sea, the earth, the air, filled with birds, some apparently floating on the waves, other skimming the surface of the lakes, or rising above the tops of the highest mountains; while now and then the eye is agreeably relieved by herds of cattle, a few labourers, monks, sbirri, &c. moving under the most beautiful sky. Such is a faithful representation of the constant and interesting appearance of the coasts of Dalmatia, and that immense archipelago in which we have traced the voyage of M. Cassas from Pola to Zara, and in which we have still to accompany him from Zara to Spalatro.

The first port at which our voyagers stopped, was Sebenico. To arrive at this fortress, they ceased to coast along the shore, and entered a very narrow canal; which they followed for some time between a high mountain on the left, which forms a kind of promontory at the entrance of the canal, and a flat country on the right, which extends as far as Vergolia; at the upper extremity of the canal, and at the bottom of a small gulph, striking in-land on the right, and receiving on the left the waters of the Kerka, is Sebenico.

This town is the strongest place in Dalmatia: it has four citadels, all of which are excellent. One of them bears the name of St. Nicholas, and is situated on an island which has thence received the name of San Nicolo di Sebenico. This island has been joined to the main land by a causeway or jettee. Spon, when speaking of Sebenico, makes the citadel to include the works which form the enclosure of what is properly called the town: but which, at the present day, should rather be called only the body of the place; for two of the citadels are built upon two neighbouring eminences commanding the town and port. These two are called St. André and the Baron.

According to the calculations of Spon, the population of Sebenico amounts to no more than seven or eight thousand souls; but he asserts that, before it was desolated by the plague, the number of inhabitants was nearly twenty thousand. In the

opinion of M. Cassas, formed during his short stay in this town, the number has not increased since the time when Spon visited these regions.

With respect to the origin of Sebenico, opinions are extremely different. Those whose enthusiasm leads them to consider the Romans as the founders of all the antient towns (and whose error may appear very excusable when we consider the great number of houses which that people inhabited or embellished in this part of Europe), pretend also that they laid the foundation of this place, and seem to think that it owed its commencement to a colony of veterans whom the Emperor Claudius sent hither. They support their hypothesis upon a passage of Pliny the elder, which is as follows: "*Tragurium, civium Romanorum marmore notam; Sicum, in quem locum divus Claudius veteranos misit.*" But in this they have evidently been misled by the connection between *Tragurium* and *Sicum*: and as it is indubitable that *Tragurium*, so famous among the Romans for its marble, is Trau (which will be spoken of hereafter), they have concluded that *Sicum* must have been in the same neighbourhood; and have not been able to find any place except Sebenico, to which they could apply this antient name, together with what has been said to Pliny relative to the veterans sent thither by Claudius. It is, however, certain, as the Abbé Fortis has justly remarked, that the Table of Peutinger relative to Dalmatia, mentions no place, the name of which bears any resemblance to *Sicum*, except *Siclis*; and this it places between Trau and Salona, whither we shall shortly attend M. Cassas.

It should be here observed, with regard to the Table of Peutinger, that all the learned are acquainted with this production; but having had occasion to mention it, there will be no impropriety in saying a few words on the subject, for the information of such readers as may not be deeply versed in geographical knowledge. —Conrad Peutinger was born at Augsburg in 1465, and was equally celebrated for his domestic virtues and his talents. He studied in the most celebrated universities of Italy, was afterwards secretary to the Senate of Augsburg, and at length obtained the confidence of the Emperor Maximilian. The Table in question bears his name merely from the circumstance of its having been first published by him. It is a kind of itinerary of the Roman armies, or rather a sort of map of the military routes of the Empire, prepared under the reign of the Emperor Theodosius the Great. One Conrad Celtes discovered it in the archives of a monastery in Germany, and presented it to Peutinger, who gave it publicity: but the least scientific observer will easily perceive that it is not the work of a geographer. The awk-

ward configuration of the lands and shores has sometimes amused the superstitious; and has led them to believe, that these irregularities concealed some mystery. The truth, however, is, that it was the production of an officer not very well informed, or perhaps even of a private soldier; who amused himself with inserting correctly certain names, but without precision as to their situation, of the different places through which he passed, or in which he rested or encamped in the Empire. In the first-mentioned point of view, it is an useful work, as it serves to clear up some apparent contradictions among the antient authors; but, in the second, it is an unsystematic production. A superb edition of it was printed at Vienna, in 1753, under the superintendance of Francis Christopher de Scheib, which is enriched with very learned notes and dissertations.

To return from this digression.—Some modern writers are inclined to think, that Sebenico was built by the Croats, about the period of the decline of the Roman Empire: but the most rational opinion is that which Fortis has quoted from J. B. Giustiniano, who wrote about a hundred years before him; and which for this very reason will be found to come nearer to the truth, as he lived at a shorter interval from the time when those men appeared whom he considers as the real founders of Sebenico. Giustiniano attributes the foundation of this town to the Uscocians, or Sclavonians: whose character has been briefly described in a preceding part of this work. "This town," says he, "was built by the banditti called *Uscoques*, of Sclavonia; who, before they constructed it, lived upon the rock on which the citadel now stands. When they descried vessels from this elevated spot, they descended from their haunts, and then sallied out to attack them in their barks, which they kept concealed at the foot of the rock, under cover of the woods. In the course of time they began to erect a few cabins, which were surrounded with poles called by them *sibice*, a word from which the town derived its name of Sebenico. By the union of these corsairs, the town gradually increased. It is also supposed, that after the reduction of Scardona, many of its inhabitants retired to Sebenico; which, having acquired the title of town, formed itself into an independent republic. Its liberty, however, was not of long duration: for the King of Hungary, who was at that time master of Dalmatia, took possession of it; and governed it in such a tyrannical manner, that the inhabitants, being unable to bear the insolence of the Hungarians, came to the resolution of delivering themselves from the yoke, and of surrendering their town to the Republic of Venice: and this resolution they executed on the 12th of July, 1412, under the reign of the Doge Michael Steno."

If, however, the total absence of any vestiges of antiquity do not afford sufficiently strong proofs that Sebenico is a modern town, it must nevertheless be admitted, that of all the opinions relative to its founders, that of Giustiniano is the least repugnant to reason. The choice of the place coincides with the manners of the people whom he describes as having fixed themselves in it; its situation is suitable to the nature and the supply of their wants, its increase is conformable to the events of history, and its name resembles a familiar word in the language of the native inhabitants.

Sebenico however, such as it remains at present, is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on the declivity of a hill, behind which rises a chain of mountains called the Tartari. The different kinds of marble which are very common in all this part of Dalmatia, likewise enter into the composition of these mountains; but it is not very valuable. Its colours are false and dull; and it is extremely gravelly, consequently harsh under the chisel, and not susceptible of a polish.

Sebenico, next to Zara, is the most agreeable town in Dalmatia. It is inhabited by a great number of noble families, whose palaces are rich and elegant. An architect, or engineer, named Sammecheli, who is celebrated in Italy by several wine works, directed the construction of the cital, or fortress, which defends the entrance to the port; and here may be observed a gate built upon the plan of that by the same architect, which is so much admired at Verona. The Dome, or cathedral, is a curious monument, on account of its strength and Gothic appearance; but it is not so much admired for the richness of the inside, where profusion is displayed without order or taste, as for certain parts of its architecture. The roof, for instance, is a truly extraordinary work; being formed of large blocks of marble, joined together with so much art and precision, that the lines of separation are scarcely perceptible.

Some individuals of the seventeenth century did honour to Sebenico by their talents in the arts and sciences. Antoine Veranzio, Archbishop of Gran, afterwards cardinal, and Michael, his brother, deserve to be mentioned. The first distinguished himself in politics: and was ambassador successively to Poland, France, and England, as well as to several popes. These functions did not diminish his taste for letters and the sciences. To him we are indebted for the discovery of some valuable inscriptions, and for the knowledge of several monuments unknown before his time. He wrote the Lives of some illustrious men of his age; a History of the feats and actions of King John, of Hungary; some geographical details relative to Moldavia;

Letters on the death of King John; some poetical pieces, under the title of Leisure-Hours; and several other works in Latin.

Michael, his brother, was less fertile in productions; and far less fortunate, if it be admitted that high situations confer happiness. It is supposed he was the author of a work, on the historical events of the Court of Hungary; but this is almost entirety lost, since Fortis speaks only of a fragment of it. Some of his sons acquired a degree of celebrity in the republic of letters.

Some others have dignified Sebenico, by their Illyrian and Latin poetry. Those most worthy of notice are Gaurinus, Tranquilleu, Jaques Armolusich, Pierre Difnico, John Nardino, and George Sirgorco. The arts likewise are under obligations to this town; as it produced two painters of considerable reputation, *viz.* Martin Rota, and Andrew Schiavoni.

Martin Rota, though the least celebrated of the two, was nevertheless a man of talents. He must not be confounded with Bernadino Rota, a Neapolitan poet, who was nearly contemporary with him; and whose verses, though almost forgotten at the present day, caused so much enthusiasm during his life, that his death, which happened in 1575, was regarded as a public calamity. Martin was both a poet and a painter. Few of his pictures remain, and it appears that he was most partial to engraving. In Italy, and particularly in Dalmatia, many of his prints are to be met with: the descendants of Cardinal Veranzio above-mentioned, have three portraits of that learned man, which were engraved by Rota As at that period the art of engraving was not divided into distinct classes, Martin did not disdain to execute maps, several of which are yet extant. They are considered as not very correct; this reproach, however, does not attach to him, but to the geographer who prepared them.

Sebenico was also the native country of a man who holds the first rank in painting. Andrew Schiavoni (or, as he is commonly called by way of distinction, *the* Schiavoni) was born there in 1582, and was one of the most expert masters of the Venetian school. His parents being in low circumstances, in his youth his poverty made him neglect some parts of the charming art to which he had attached himself; and the necessity of working with rapidity, in order to procure himself the means of existence, did not allow him to attain to perfection in his designs. But this defect was compensated by so many fine qualities, that he was considered as one of the first painters of the age in which he lived; an age too so fertile in men of genius. Titian, Georgian, and Parmesan, in particular, were the mas-

ters under whom he studied. He was uncommonly successful in painting women; and his heads of old men are highly spoken of. His strokes are easy, spirited, and graceful; his attitudes are well chosen and contrasted; his draperies tastefully disposed, and all producing an admirable effect. To so many qualifications he added a gift which Nature does not grant to every painter, and which she refuses sometimes to even the greatest masters; a gift which can never be acquired by study, and for which nothing can be an equivalent:—the *colouring* of Schiavoni was excellent; and it is asserted that Tintoret, on many occasions, had before him a picture of Schiavoni, while he was executing his own. Being sprightly, well-informed, and of an agreeable disposition, he reckoned in the number of his friends the famous Aretin; and to this connection he was indebted for a variety of ingenious ideas, of which he availed himself in his compositions.

If we are pleased in finding a sort of analogy between the virtues of men or of nations who exist at a great distance from each other, it is equally interesting to imagine occasionally a resemblance between their follies. Those who are acquainted with the history of the Gallican cathedrals, and have sometimes smiled at the details of those ridiculous festivals which, by the ignorance and licentiousness of the barbarous ages, were combined with the gravity of religious ceremonies; those, in short, who know, that for a length of time there were celebrated in various churches in France, the festival of the election of the King and the Bishop of Fools; at others, that of the Abbot of the district; and in some parts, even the Festival of the Ass:—those, I say, who remember that these ridiculous anniversaries were celebrated in the churches, will feel their curiosity excited by the discovery, in Sebenico, of one of the links of this chain of absurdities, forged by our credulous ancestors; and the only one perhaps which has hitherto escaped the attention of the inquisitive. It was, in general, from Christmas to the Epiphany, that the people in France abandoned themselves to these indecent Bacchanalian rites; the cathedrals of Dijon, of Autun, of Viviers, and other places, were the theatres in which such scenes were exhibited. At Christmas also was elected a *King* at Sebenico, whose reign lasted *a fortnight*. For a considerable time, this pantomimical king was chosen from among the nobles: but at present they think it beneath them to amuse themselves with such buffoonery; and this chimerical crown has therefore devolved to the dregs of the people. M. Cassas, who was at Sebenico in the summer season only, was consequently not witness to this ceremony: but Fortis asserts

that this *king*, notwithstanding the short duration of his authority, enjoyed several prerogatives of sovereignty; such, for example, as that of keeping the keys of the town, of having a distinguished place in the cathedral, and of deciding upon all the difficulties or disputes among those who compose his court. The town is obliged to provide him with a residence suitable to the dignity of his elevated situation. When he leaves his house, he always wears a crown of wheat-ears; and appears in public with a robe of purple or scarlet cloth, and surrounded by a great number of officers. The governor, the bishops, and other dignitaries, are compelled to give him a feast; and all who meet him must salute him with respect. When the fortnight is at an end, the king quits his palace, strips off his crown and purple, dismisses his court, and returns to his hovel. On considering this ceremony in a certain point of view, its folly might seem to have a philosophical end; it might furnish an annual emblem of the instability of human grandeur; but it is doubtful whether those who instituted it had such an idea in view.

One circumstance, extremely ludicrous, and which proves that pride is intimately connected even with our most ridiculous extravagances, is, that two of the suburbs of Sebanico (one called *di Terra Firma*, and the other *di Marina*) have each at the same period their particular king; but they appear to be of subordinate rank, and dare not enter the town without the permission of their superior.

Even poets have sung of this custom; as well of others no less laughable; but which have now fallen into disrepute. On this subject, Fortis quotes some Latin verses, by one John Nardino, bishop of Zagrat: and which make mention not only of the annual election of this ephemeral king, but also of another custom which was doubtless practised in his time:—it is a monument of the vulgarity of the people of those countries, and deserves no reflection. The following are the lines alluded to:

Sic Trino dicata Deo dum festa refulgent,
Civis in hac sceptrum nobilis urbe tenet.
Hic prius ostenso celebrat nova nupta Priapo
Connubium, et socias porrigit inde manus.

The gulph (or, as it should rather be called, the lake) in which Sebenico is situated, is the depository of the waters which form the lake of Scardona, before they reach the sea. Three rivers, the Kerka, the Goduchia, and the Jujossa, empty themselves into the last-mentioned lake; which runs into that of Sebe-

nico, by a canal, nearly three leagues in length: and that of Sebenico communicates with the sea by another, called the canal of St. Antonio. It was the latter which M. Cassas ascended, on his way to Sebenico, before he reached Scardona, for the purpose of visiting the cascade of the Kerka. These lakes, and also, generally speaking, the three rivers just mentioned, abound in fish, principally eels and trout, which are held in high estimation. They also afford a great number of crabs, called by the Dalmatians *shilloni*, of which the natives of the country make much use, and the flesh of which is peculiarly delicate. These crabs are about the breadth of a hand. The tunny also appears here at a certain period every year: but the inhabitants on the banks and shores are so indolent, that they derive little advantage from the riches which are thus offered to them by Nature; and all the produce of the fisheries is consumed at the tables of the few great men who reside among them.

Agriculture is equally neglected, though the two lakes are surrounded by hillocks, which require only the plough. The same deplorable indolence causes the numerous and excellent quarries of marble to remain unexplored; though, if they were in the hands of a more intelligent people, they would be made highly productive. But we shall not continue our observations on this subject; as natural history is foreign to the object of the present work, and as the interesting production of Fortis may be consulted for such a purpose. We cannot, however, but remark, that one great source of riches to this country, if the inhabitants knew how to appreciate it, might be found in two sorts of manna: one of which is acquired from the ash-tree, by means of incision, as is practised in Tuscany and Calabria; the other, which is merely a sort of farinaceous grain, is collected from a species of grass, such as grows in the environs of Cracow in Poland.

Before arriving at Scardona, there may be seen on the shore, between the rivers Goduchia and Jujossa, some vestiges of Roman monuments: there are, likewise, some remains of a Mosaic pavement, and the ruins of an ancient temple. Many more important fragments of antiquity might, doubtless, be perceived, if they were not buried beneath the water which has indubitably risen in this vicinity; as is proved by the dike that formerly joined the tongue of land which separates the mouths of the two rivers, at a rock called Sustipanaz, and on which the temple stood; for this dike is now entirely covered by the water, and is no longer perceptible, though its existence in its entire state may still be ascertained by sounding.

M. Cassas made but a short stay at Sebenico. Having resolved to visit the famous cascade of the Kerka, it was necessary that he should proceed farther towards the interior of the country. He therefore re-embarked, again ascended the canal which separates the lake of Sebenico from that of Scardona, and shortly arrived at the last-mentioned town.

Scardona, which by the Turks is called Skardin, was considered as a part of Turkey in Europe, and is situated nearly at the mouth of the Kerka; not exactly on the Adriatic gulph, but on the lake which bears the name of this town, or from which perhaps it derives its own. It was once a celebrated place; but is now of little consequence: it is, however, surrounded by walls, and defended by two small forts. In 1120, the bishopric of Jadera was transferred hither; and since that time it has always been the see of a bishop, who is the suffragan of Spalatro.

The Turks and Venetians have constantly disputed the possession of this place. The former took it in 1352, and kept it for 170 years. In 1522 they lost it in their turn; but soon retook it, though some time afterwards the Venetians again expelled them; and thus it has been alternately in the possession of each. It is indebted to these military and barbarous events, as well as to the ignorance in which its inhabitants have remained for so many centuries, for the abject state into which it has now fallen, as its population is extremely thin. The fine monuments which had been left in it by the Ancients, are entirely destroyed; and it is difficult at the present day to conceive that this was the beautiful town of Liburnia, and the place at which the States of that province assembled. Nevertheless, it would require only an enlightened government, to restore it in a short time to its former prosperity. Its soil is excellent; and it is famous for the good quality of its figs, the delicacy of its wines, and the abundance of its pasturage.

The river which contains the magnificent cascade that excited the curiosity of our author, is that called by the ancients the *Titius*, and which formerly separated Liburnia from Dalmatia. The present inhabitants call it Kerka, or Karka. The learned Fortis, who allowed no kind of fatigue to overcome his anxiety for research, proceeded as far as the source of this river; and ascertained that it not only penetrated to a less distance in-land than had been supposed, but also that the best geographers have confounded this river with a torrent which descends from the mountains called Hersowaz, and which is only supplied by the waters arising from storms. The following circumstance has occasioned the errors of geographers: The upper bed of the tor-

rent is more than a hundred feet above the grotto from which the Kerka takes its source; hence, when it is swelled by the waters of storms, or the solution of snow, it is precipitated with violence from this great elevation, and may be said to fall at the very place where the Kerka originates. It would appear as if the bed of this river was only the continuation of the torrent, or that the torrent is the origin of the Kerka itself: but this is not the case; for in summer, when the torrent is dried up, and its bed, which is nearly thirty feet wide, is exposed to view, there is no cascade at this place, and the Kerka is perceived flowing grand and majestically from its grotto.

It is, however, certain, that the name of springs may be given with propriety to the waters which issue from this grotto: and perhaps it would be more correct to say, that the subterraneous river here begins to see the light; for its course is even here wide and deep, since Fortis attempted to ascend it for some distance, by the aid of flambeaux. He is of opinion, that if he had been in a stronger boat, and had taken precautions for securing his lights from the drops of water which filtrate in abundance from the rock, he might have advanced much further, notwithstanding the resistance opposed to his progress by the rapidity of the current, and the embarrassment often occasioned by the stalactites, or by a species of sand-stone very common in these districts. Though this is generally called Kerka-stone, the waters of that river do not contribute to such kind of stony productions, but those of the higher currents; and among others, of the torrent lately mentioned. This kind of stone is successfully employed here for the construction of houses: the blocks are easily hewn, are extremely light, and consequently of great value for arched-works or vaults.—M. Cassas had not sufficient time to proceed as far as the source of the Kerka.

Before we speak of the beautiful cascade of Scardona, it will be necessary to give an idea of the river to which it is indebted for its origin.

The cascade of Scardona, the only one which was seen by our artist, is the fifth and last formed by this river in its course. It is also the largest and most majestic; although that of Rochislap, which precedes it by some miles, is likewise worthy of notice. It is to be regretted, that his time was not sufficient to allow M. Cassas to proceed as far as that fall: as we should then have been indebted to him, not only for an account of it, but also for some ideas relative to the ancient Burnum, or Liburnia, of the Romans (for writers vary as to the name). The ruins of this town consist of stones, dispersed along the road

which borders on the Kerka: many of them are often found within the space of a mile; and several still bear inscriptions, though they are extremely decayed. In the whole distance there is only one edifice which remains standing: this is composed of three arches; one of which is much higher and larger than the other two, and is twenty-one feet in diameter.

As the highest of these arches does not separate the smaller ones, it is obvious, that on the other side of it also there must have been small arches; which is further proved by the appearance of the origin of the arch, at the external façade of one of the walls supporting it. But it is not easy to ascertain whether these arcades were more than five in number, and hence arises an uncertainty as to the real intent of this structure. Its thickness will not admit it to be considered as a bridge, and its form does not correspond with that of an aqueduct; for in this latter case it must be supposed, that considerable masses of building were raised above the small arches in order to maintain a level with the larger ones. The question then arises, whether it could have been the entrance to a temple, or the portico of some palace? But this is equally difficult to discover; and if this obscurity be not cleared up by some inscriptions (which might be obtained by digging), it is presumable that no information will be acquired on the subject.

Some miles beyond these ruins, between the Convent of St. Archangelo and Rochislap, is the cascade which bears the latter name. If its fall be not as great as that of Scardona, its appearance, though of a different character, is not less striking. The river here is of considerable width. A bridge of sixty arches (an ancient work of the Turks), some mills, and several cottages, are the picturesque objects with which art has enriched the landscape. A considerable number of small islands divide the bed of the river into canals, which are shaded by high trees. The cascade does not possess the monotony of great cataracts: it is not an enormous mass of water, precipitated entire into an abyss; but consists of twenty rivulets, which differ in their form, width, and the rapidity of their descent. Some of them dart proudly above the summits of the rocks, and display these to the eye, beneath the parabola described by their form; others stream lightly through chasms of rock, that have been polished by the friction of their waters, whose course has continued for centuries; others rudely strike against the projecting fragments, which they cover with their snow-white foam, abandon them with a roaring noise, pass from one obstruction to another, fall from considerable heights, rebound, and finally descend-

ing, are lost in one general bed; others, still more gentle in their progress, and obscure in their fugitive course, have wrought themselves a passage through the vast body of the mountains, whence they slowly arrive at the lower bed of the river, and add their placid and languid waves to the impetuosity of those from the more elevated cascades. But if this cataract, by the agreeable variety of its numerous appearances, presents a striking object to the traveller, it must be admitted that its charms are effaced by the imposing and majestic aspect of that of Scardona, and perhaps there is no similar scene in the world, except the falls of the Niagara, that can be compared with this latter in magnificence.

This inimitable scene made such a deep impression upon our traveller, and so greatly excited his admiration, that we shall describe it in his own words; and thus enable the reader to conceive himself situated at the distance of four or five fathoms from, and in front of, one of the most superb spectacles in the world.

" At the place where I shall suppose our small boat to be anchored, the Kerka is the widest. Its calm and limpid waters may be said to slide, rather than roll, over a bottom of mud, reflecting on its surface the vacillating corn which ornaments its banks. The almost imperceptible boundaries of the river, permit the eye to wander to a distance over the meadows; or to rest upon the verdant plains, enamelled with flowers, whose brilliant colour renders more wild and picturesque the greyish slopes of the rocks and other barren eminences, the unequal sides of which form the limits of the valley. The white triangular sail, scarcely swelled by the zephyrs, is seen conveying gently, along the crystal stream, the frail bark; conducted by the spiritless and enervated Dalmatian, whose idle oar rarely disturbs the smoothness of the current. A mild and soothing melancholy here prevails. The tones of the shepherd, who, in some cavity of the rocks, breathes his Illyrian ditty, which his memory inherits from that of his ancestors, plaintively vibrate along the sides of the mountains. The awful noise of the cataract suffers no diminution, except such as is occasioned by the distance; and being thus continually alike, without any variation in its monotony, it does not seem to disturb the general solitude.

" As the narrow valley through which the Kerka passes, sinks diagonally to the right, the mountains which border on the two banks appear to join behind the cascade, or to inclose it in a semicircular form. The bushy trees, the willows, and poplars, which embellish the front of the scene, and rise above the dikes or terrachs, do not allow the eye to observe the course of the

river before it arrives at the spot where the fall commences; but it may easily be conceived, from a bluish cloud, or rather a kind of luminous vapour, which the limpidness of the water, contrasted with the celestial azure, reflect horizontally along the bases of the mountains. Above the beautiful verdure of the trees which are elegantly grouped, and profusely dispersed over the wide and rugged *glacis*, which bounds the valley, are seen a number of large hills, whose barrenness and grey appearance form a striking contrast to the vigorous and brilliant colouring with which the fore-ground is decorated. At the left and highest extremity of this *glacis*, is the solitary turret of a small and modest oratory, constructed by some devotees. It must be confessed, that the appearance of this little chapel produces a pleasing sensation in the heart. Yes, it is here indeed that man can form the most sublime idea of the Almighty: the great events of nature are the primary testimonies of a divinity; for human agency could not have forced a river to surmount rocks which seem to have been raised to oppose its progress. Art, it is true, may produce, in a garden, the captive waves of a few timid Naiads, and confide to the obedient marble the care of dispersing them in reservoirs of alabaster; but God alone taught the river to dart through these green and bushy masses of trees, whose majestic front shades and conceals from the eye the long chain of rocks which dispute its passage. The effect appears to be produced by magic: it seems as if the great number of streams proceeded from, or were propelled by, the tops of the trees, as their elastic foam apparently roll along the summit of the forest. To the left of this sublime scene, the river appears entire; disdaining, as it were, to collect the immense number of streams which have deserted it in the valley. It is here that, in all its power and majesty, it descends from three distinct and successive eminences; while the surface of the water, which may be said to receive a higher polish from the velocity of its fall, rivals the purest crystal.

"At the foot of the first three shelves or steps where the river divides, the united summits of a few trees, whose trunks are concealed by a variety of objects in the fore-ground, intersect with a verdant line the whole width of the cascade; but as the water approaches, it becomes still wider. A semicircular terrace, prolonging its colossal propulsion over the abyss which receives it, thus curbs its velocity. The immense body of water fills the noble contour of this long and heavy terrace: the land seems to tremble from a distance by the weight of its fall; the air, on being displaced by the water, seems at first to hiss or sigh; which sound at length increases, till the noise is so terrific that the ear is not able to sustain it: nor can the eye at last comprise the extent of

the view, or the mind sufficiently admire the awful appearance of the whole.

"But if the traveller feels inclined to take a more distinct view of the cascade, and for this purpose approaches nearer to this great work of nature; then the different circumstances which acquired a sort of harmony by the distance from which they were beheld by, and the order, arrangement, and unity, which seemed to prevail when the minute parts could not be inspected– all are changed, and nothing prevails but confusion, chaos, or the most horrid distraction! There are then no longer to be seen that uniformity of masses, that beauty in the groupes, that majesty in the combination; but we behold innumerable rocks, broken, steep, and dispersed, presenting frightful points, which appear to be rising from behind the water and the trees. It is no longer a river; but an ocean roaring and rushing with fury against the shapeless masses which obstruct its course. These, always attacked and always capable of resistance, seem to have sustained the struggle from the commencement of the world: while their terrible and fugitive conqueror strikes and overcomes them, then passes away and buries himself in the sea; whence arising in vapour, he swells the clouds which form tempests, and by thus transmitting him again to the earth, enable him, perhaps after a lapse of centuries, to re-commence his indefatigable career.

"But however magnificent such a spectacle may appear, there are times and circumstances under which its pomp is subject to variation: for example, when, by the return of spring, the snow is dissolved, and swells the bed of the river; or when, in the course of the summer, the waters are augmented by some accidental storm. On such occasions, the cascade entirely changes its character; and no longer presents that incalculable number of varieties, the aspects of which give it so many graces and embellishments; it becomes, as it were, more grave, or still more immense, and perhaps on this account alone more noble, but less attractive. At such a period, the enormous mass of water partly conceals the rocks which compose the bar, and even the trees which at other times seemed to sport amidst their pointed summits:—sometimes, even all these objects are concealed by the vastness of the inundation. The river then occupies the whole width of the valley; and no longer suffers itself to be divided into streams; but, rolling over the rocks, seems to bury them in its bowels. The weight is now increased a hundred-fold; the fall is terrible, and the noise incessant; the current carries away, in its course, trees which it has torn up by the roots, the ruins of cottages, and the carcases of animals which have been destroyed by its sudden and unexpected fury.

Thus though the pleasure of the spectator is great, his terror is far greater. He becomes sorrowful by the monotony of the picture; and the idea of a general destruction prevents those delightful sensations, which would otherwise be excited by the view of this grand master-work of Nature.

M. Cassas, after having staid as long as possible at this spot to satisfy his curiosity, again descended the Kerka to regain his boat, which he had left at anchor at Sebenico, and in which he was to continue his voyage to Spalatro. Before re-embarking, however, he took a cursory inspection of the valley and burgh of Slosella, which lie to the right on entering the bay and canal of Sebenico.

The valley of Slosella is a peninsula or long tongue of land, which advances between the canal of Zara and the lake of Vrana; and is finally attached by an extremely narrow isthmus to the high mountain situated to the right of the bay of Sebenico. The appearance of this valley is frightful; from the aridity of the mountains, their deep fractures, and the barrenness of the small portion of land, or rather of the dust collected in their chasms. In this obscure corner of the world live a horde the most savage, or rather the most weak and brutal, of any in Dalmatia, or perhaps even on all the continent. This truly degraded race has no other instinct than that of destruction. In these parts there are to be found neither corn, useful plants, trees, nor fruits; and the wretched people tear up, without reason or prudence, all that the land attempts to bring forth for their support. But their inconceivable ignorance may be imagined, when it is known, that while they actually root up trees, grain, and even grass, they respect rushes, broom, and thorns! Having by such madness become incapable of finding proper food to support their miserable existence, they are obliged to subsist upon shell and other fish, which the sea deposits on the sands, or which the pity of some fishermen from the neighbouring countries grants to the relief of their indigence. Without care, energy, industry, or even ideas, they remain all day sitting before the doors of their miserable hovels, or on the rocks which surround them: their physiognomy is wan, shrivelled up by the sun, and disgusting by filth; their looks are ghastly; their hair black and stringy; their body is meagre, and their stature is disproportioned. They are more timid than wicked, more brutal than ferocious: they do not appear to be susceptible of the most simple ideas; they are equally dull in comprehension, retention, and imitation; and seem to have no conception that the world is capable of affording any thing either useful, convenient, or agreeable.

If we were to describe these people as *savages*, it would be an insult to the human race; for they have neither the candour, the affecting simplicity, the pride, nor the independence, of that character. Savages are the first link of the chain of *human* nature: these people almost appear to be the last of some other. Their origin is unknown; but it is pretended that they formerly rendered themselves terrible to the Turks. Perhaps, if one were permitted to stop at conjectures, this circumstance, which doubtless derives its origin from some obscure traditions, would lead us to suppose that they are the unfortunate remains of the Uscoques or Sclavonians already mentioned; who, under the oppression to which they have been subjected, may have lost for ever, not merely the dignity, but even the intelligence and reason, of humanity.

These observations of our traveller agree with the opinion of the celebrated Fortis; who, when speaking of the natural history of this part of the county of Sebenico, and of the vast quantity of fish which arrive in all seasons in the environs of Slosella, says: "Notwithstanding the abundance and variety of these fish, the lazy inhabitants of Slosella neglect all the advantage to be derived from them: they pass the whole day in the open air; and devour, without bread, and often without cooking, all the fish they can procure. In the spring, these indolent peasants live entirely upon cuttle-fish; which they catch by immerging into the rivers the branches of trees, to which this fish adheres for the purpose of spawning. If a more difficult method were necessary to procure this kind of food, they would, I firmly believe, rather starve than resort to it. They are the enemies of their own welfare, as well as of that of others; for, in order to oppose the introduction of drag-nets, which had been attempted by their lord the abbé Jerome Draganich Varenzio, they threw large stones into the ponds, rivers, and about the shores, though that method of fishing would have been of the greatest advantage to them all."

It is impossible not to experience an involuntary sentiment of regret, on reflecting that such a brutal horde should have succeeded a people who astonished the world by their victories, their science, and their power; and one cannot but feel compassion for those great nations, which, from the summit of their glory, prophesied their own immortality, and from whose example the sages have intreated the gods to grant them every thing but pride!

Not far from this valley of Slosella is supposed to be the *Colentum* mentioned by Pliny. At present, the isle on which this town is believed to have been built, is called the isle of *Morter:* its vestiges were considered by M. Cassas of but small importance, and he did not pay them much attention. Some fragments of wall, of handsome cornices, of antique vases, and

of sculptured stones, were all that he met with. A few medals and inscriptions have been found here; but they have all been taken away by curious visitors, probably to enrich their private cabinets. However it can not be doubted that this isle contains many of such relics, which, if discovered, would be of importance to geography and history; but the suspicious jealousy of the inhabitants will not permit them to be sought for. They indeed exhibit, as well as the people of the neighbouring districts, that ill-humour which results from the ingratitude with which their exertions to acquire antiquities (as I lately observed) have been repaid: the Turks also having more than once resided here, the people are no strangers either to their ignorance or their prejudices; and they concur with them in the opinion that the excavations proposed by men of science have no other object than the acquirement of treasure; so that, under this idea, their avarice induces them to preserve in the earth whatever may remain there, though they will not give themselves the trouble to look for it! The isle of Morter, the extremities of which are rather steep, rises towards the centre; and from the summit of the hillock formed by this elevation, it is said that the greatest part of the remains of the ancient town was formerly perceptible: but barbarism has paid even less respect to them than time, and they have been destroyed to build the walls of a church consecrated to the *Madonna di Gradina*.—I say barbarism, not because this censure applies to the erection of the Catholic temple; but because the reproach is applicable to the men who, for the purpose of building it, destroyed the monuments of the arts, in an isle which, like all the rest of this coast, is like one uninterrupted quarry of fine and excellent marble.

But if the traveller here finds his curiosity little satisfied with respect to the study of antiquities, he is repaid by the richness and the magical appearance of the country. From the top of the hillock the view extends over an arm of the sea, which being almost always concealed by the numberless coasts and isles that cover it, the wrinkles of its surface by the motion of the winds are scarcely perceptible; but it reflects incessantly the golden rays of the sun, or the azure of the skies.

In the north horizon, at an immense distance, may be seen the highest summits of those famous Alps which seem as if they descended by steps to bury themselves beneath the sea. To the east is seen a prolongation of a chain of the steep mountains of Morlachia: to the south and west the view is lost in the vast depth of the Gulph of Venice, and hovers over the Dalmatian archipelago which separates Morter from the waves of the Adriatic; while, nearer to the eye, the capes which intersect the shores of the county of Zara display a charming whiteness.

But what gives a considerable addition to the beauty of the picture, is that multitude of small shoals and islets, which, nearly all covered with wood, and ornamented with the most brilliant verdure, seem, by their mysterious shade, their agreeable retreats, and their peaceful solitude, to realize those enchanting fictions of the poets, those fabulous times of ancient Greece, when every bower was inhabited by Gods, Cupids, Nymphs, and Pleasures.

Nevertheless, this striking view of the graces of nature, so delightful to minds capable of reflection, is totally lost upon the ignorant inhabitants, who would be unable to enjoy the pleasure afforded even by the appearance of Elysium. How unfortunate is the man who possesses property in these districts!—his tenants are his tyrants; his revenues are alms: if he complains, they threaten him; and, to save his life, he is obliged to kiss the hand by which he is plundered. The frequent incursions of pirates, the facility of evading the laws by flight, the convenience of this labyrinth of inaccessible and mostly unknown recesses, and that spirit of independence which originates in avarice and owes nothing to the virtue of liberty,—these are the causes which excite in those men that sentiment of injustice towards the proprietors, who entrust to them the cultivation of their lands. This is the melancholy, though inevitable, result of long-continued discord; of the wars which arise from it, of the vices which accompany them, and of the impolicy of the contending powers, whose only ambition is to enslave the people, without having any regard for their morals. Hence the inhabitants of Morter do not cultivate the land, but plunder it: the plough is guided by caprice and cupidity; and they never think of what would be best, but only of what will be rapid: they care not whether, by their bad management, they waste or exhaust the soil;—they will have produce, and to obtain it they destroy.

But though these people seem to be ignorant of, or to despise, the general principles of agriculture; though they prefer the criminal advantages of piracy to the legitimate resources of the commerce which might arise from their situation; though they neglect fishing, even for the tunny, which, from the abundance of this fish, would be extremely beneficial to them; there are, nevertheless, some branches of industry to which they devote themselves,—such as extracting threads from the broom, which they employ in the manufacture of a kind of cloth. They go in search of this plant to a considerable distance from their houses; and, in order to procure it, they travel over all the isles from Capo d'Istria to the extremity of Dalmatia, and even on the coasts of Istria. They adopt nearly the same process as is used to strip the bark from hemp and flax: they do not steep it either in rivulets or ponds, but in the marshy grounds which are covered with

sea-water; they afterwards leave it to dry, and then break it with a kind of flail to separate the flaxy portion. This substance, though very coarse, in consequence of their not having studied the means of bringing it to perfection, they spin and form into cloth; but it is of such a harsh nature, that it can only be employed for making sacks, or packing up merchandize, and the most hardy peasant can scarcely venture to wear it for apparel.

Not far from Morter, but on the continent, and in the environs of a burgh called Vodizza, they collect the *marasques;* a kind of cherry, which is employed at Zara to make the liquor so celebrated in most of the cities of Europe by the name of *marasquin.* The learned Fortis is of opinion that this burgh, whose name of Vodizza is derived from *voda,* (which signifies *water* in all the dialects of the Sclavonian tongue), is situated over a subterraneous river; which he compares with that which supplies all the wells at Modena, though he supposes it to be smaller, not so deep, and to run between stratifications of marble. It is indeed a fact, that on digging in several parts of this territory, the current has been met with at an equal depth, and its course is always in the same direction: these circumstances tend strongly to support the opinion of that learned writer.

M. Cassas, having re-embarked at Sebenico to proceed to Spalatro, left on the right, when passing through the channel, several small isles which appeared to be more sedulously cultivated than that of Morter: the largest of them is the isle of Zuri. Fishing is a general avocation in all these islands. The inhabitants salt the fish; and its sale procures them a considerable revenue, so as to enable them to live in easy circumstances. The vine and the olive-tree grow equally well in these spots, and the oil and wine extracted from them are of an excellent quality. There is no doubt that the Romans had considerable establishments in all these islands; which is fully attested by the ruins to be seen in every direction, as well as by the medals and inscriptions frequently discovered. One of the latter, found in the sixteenth century in the isle of Zlarin, attracted the attention of many learned men of that period. It consisted of the epitaph of a queen named *Pansiana.* Their embarrassment arose from the silence of history; which says nothing of this pretended queen. After long and useless researches, they were obliged to resort to conjectures; and the most probable hypothesis which occurred to them was, that this epitaph related to some queen who had been made captive by the Romans, and banished to this isle after having appeared in the triumphal procession of a consul. But it may be asked, did these learned men see the

inscription in question? Did they examine it; is it known what is become of it; or may they not have been deceived by spurious copies? Was *Pansania* the name which was read? or might not the letters have been effaced or badly formed (which was frequently the case with those sculptured anterior to the reign of Augustus), so that they may have read *Pansania* instead of *Pausaniæ*, which would have shewn the inscription to relate to the *Pausania*, or festival instituted in commemoration of the victories of Pausanias? As to the title of *queen*, said to have been found in this inscription; it might have related to Juno, to whom the ancients gave it as an honorary term, and who presided at the festivals, particularly among the Greeks.—Besides, it might have been a votive inscription, and not an epitaph: but, in short, these questions which I am proposing rest likewise only upon conjectures, and certainly suppositions are not to be refuted by the same kind of argument.

Of all these isles, however, that of Zuri, besides being one of the largest, is also one of the richest in Roman antiquities; and it would be well if they would excite the attention of some learned men of the present age. It is to be hoped, that the century which has lately commenced will be distinguished by this kind of study and research; and that their promoters will repress the prejudices of ignorance and avarice, which cause the resistance, on the part of the different hordes, to the making of excavations, the importance of which is well understood; and that, in short, this science, which may be considered as hitherto only superficially known in consequence of the opposition and indifference of governments and the ridicule of interested individuals, will cease to be conjectural. This hope is founded upon the direction which the events at the close of the eighteenth century have given to mankind, relative to glory and the arts. Every age thinks itself called upon to adopt, and be proud of, the reigning taste; but taste is only a relative term,—it is a sentimental impression received from the surrounding objects; and when it is refined, it does not prove that men are more learned, but that they are better.

Our traveller, leaving on his right the isle of Zuri, directed his course eastwards, in order to discover the great canal of Braza, on which Spalatro is situated. He passed between the two little isles of San Marco and Pianca, left to the south the isle of Zivana, and rounded the western point of the isle of Trau, having on the south-east that of Solta. Though the isle of Trau is only separated from the continent by what learned travellers conceive to be an artificial canal, yet this work, if it proceeded from the hand of man, is doubtless of high antiquity; for Ptolemy and Strabo speak of Trau only as an island; and yet, on

consulting Spon, we find that the opinion of this canal being a work of art, is derived from the assertion of a learned man who lived in his time, John Lucius, who was born in that country. The authority of Lucius ought, in the present case, to be of some weight:—he was a man of distinguished merit; who, being born at Trau, but educated at Rome, acquired by his knowledge the esteem of all the men of science who flourished in Italy in the beginning of the seventeenth century; and by the advice of the celebrated Ughelia, wrote the history of his country, under the title of "*Dalmatia illustrata, seu Commentaria Rerum Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*," which he published in 1666; it was re-printed at Vienna in 1758, and also forms a part of the "*Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*."

A wooden bridge forms a communication between the continent and the isle of Trau, which appears likewise to have been separated from the isle of Bua by a canal cut expressly for the purpose: this is lined with a solid wall, and intersected by two stone bridges, on which drawbridges have been erected to facilitate the passage of vessels. Hence the houses which cover the shores of the isle of Bua appear to be, and in fact are, the suburbs of the town of Trau, which is built on the opposite bank of the canal. This canal is three hundred and fifty feet wide; and serves principally as a harbour for the barks, which, being too slight to brave the storms of the sea, navigate from shore to shore between Istria and Ragusa. The first establishments formed upon this territory are attributed to the Greeks: and this supposition is an additional tribute to the sagacity of that people; who, when about to found a colony, could not choose a more advantageous situation; a more fertile soil, than that of the two islands and the neighbouring coast; a climate more analogous by its mildness to that of Greece; or a country more generally variegated and agreeable. Pliny has spoken in high terms of the marble of Trau, and some naturalists consider it to be that known in the arts by the name of marble of Istria. Fortis, however, does not exactly coincide with this opinion, and he gives exellent reasons for his doubts; but these are foreign to our purpose.

There remain but few fragments of antiquity at Trau and Bua. Spon has faithfully given the inscriptions which had been discovered there, and which even now exist entire. None of these are of a public nature; but belong to family monuments, consecrated by conjugal love or fraternal piety. The circumstance, however, which rendered Trau celebrated in the latter ages, was a literary quarrel which took place in Europe on the pretended discovery of a fragment of a manuscript of Petronius.

Europe was divided into three opinions; Italy and Dalmatia supported its authenticity, France and Holland denied it, and Germany remained neuter. Spon saw this manuscript, and seemed to think it genuine. It must, however, appear very singular, that in the same page in which he decides upon it as an original, he a few lines lower discovers it to be only a copy; since he owns, that in page 179 may be found the date of the year and month in which it was written; viz. on the 20th November, 1423. But what induces him to believe that this was a copy made from the original, and not a fabrication, was the knowledge that in that age there were no persons who possessed such talents as Petronius, or who could have succeeded in passing off their own compositions under his name. Besides, when Spon saw this copy, it belonged to a learned man named Slatitius, who then resided at Trau; where it formed a part of his library, or rather part of a volume made up of a variety of pieces. This volume was of the folio size, tolerably thick, and contained copies of the poems of Tibullus, Catullus, and Propertius: then followed the works of Petronius, as they were known before the discovery of this supplement: and lastly came the supplement in question, which was the subject of so many disputes, under the title of "*Fragmentum Petronii Arbitri, ex libro decimo-quinto et sexto-decimo.*" This fragment contained the Feast of Trimalcion, such as it appears in modern editions. The manuscript, or rather the copy of the manuscript of the author, if it be true that this fragment was written by Petronius, is not now at Trau, and Fortis did not see it. According to Spon, the writing was fine, and very legible; all the pieces contained in the collection were done by the same hand, and the heads of the chapters and poems were written with blue or red ink. There is certainly no doubt that this is a manuscript of the fifteenth century; but does this prove that it is a copy made from the original, or from a copy itself so ancient as to be contemporary with the time of Petronius, and thus to remove all doubt relative to the subject? However this may be, the discovery of the manuscript in question is generally attributed to doctor Pierre Petit, physician, of Paris; who successfully devoted himself to the cultivation of Latin poetry, and was one of the seven who formed what was then called the Latin *pleiade* of Paris. He died in 1687. In 1665 he found at Trau the manuscript alluded to; it was printed in 1666 at Padua and at Paris; and then began the literary warfare, which ceased on the manuscript being deposited in the library of Paris, where it still remains. Equal success, however, did not attend other fragments of the same author which, it was pretended, were afterwards discovered at Belgrade.

The isle of Bua, under the Empire, bore the name of Boas: and was rendered of importance by the exile of several celebrated personages;—if those persons should be called *celebrated*, who, by theological disputes, which were termed heretical, disturbed men's consciences, and excited doubts, which are always more fatiguing than absolute belief, or negative incredulity; and who, by their vain subtleties, infused discord into states, and fanaticism into parties. The agreeable situation of the place, however, and the mildness of its climate, did not render their exile rigorous. It is highly favoured by nature; since it produces the fruits of both Europe and Asia, while the palm-trees of the burning soil of Africa are naturalized in it with success: the dates, however, do not attain that maturity which is necessary to make them valuable. This isle furnishes that precious bitumen known to naturalists by the name of asphaltes; and which is asserted to have been employed by the Egyptians for embalming the remains of their kings.

Trau, as well as Bua, is sedulously cultivated: but principally along the shore, to the width of about a quarter of a mile inland; because the hills of the internal parts present many obstacles to a more enlarged tillage. Trau gives its name to a county the extent of which is not confined to the isle in question, but comprises also a considerable part of the continent in front of it.—It was there that our traveller saw the fine plain of *Castelli*, so greatly extolled by all authors who have written upon Illyria, and which extends from Trau as far as the ruins of the ancient Salona. It may be truly said, that in no other country is the art of cultivating the vine and olive-tree carried to greater perfection; for there are exported annually from the little county of Trau thirteen thousand barrels of excellent oil, and fifty thousand hogsheads of very fine wine: figs and almonds are also among the number of its natural riches, but it does not furnish wheat in proportion.

Amidst so many agreeable circumstances, however, Providence has sent a plague, which is unfortunately inextinguishable; it is that of insects. The temperature and short duration of winter, which is in general very mild, and in all the low parts of this country is felt for scarcely two months in the year, preserves them from death, though their delicacy would prove their destruction if they were subjected for two or three days to even a slight frost. All the grain is generally infested by a worm, which is here called *Magnacoz*. These insects blast the hopes of the most abundant harvests; and perhaps the impossibility of opposing their ravages is partly the cause that the industrious agriculturist prefers the culture of the vine and olive to that of wheat, to the

success of which the general fertility of the soil is so well adapted. But man here finds this destruction of the articles necessary for his support an inferior misfortune: his very life is every instant in danger, from the assaults of two species of venomous tarantula. These are known in the Illyrian dialect by the generic name of *Pauk*, which is applied to all species of spiders; but one of them is the the real tarantula, so well known, and justly dreaded, in Calabria. The other is the tarantula of Corsica, known in that island under the name of *Malmignata*, and which differs from the first by having shorter legs: but they both have the common property with those of Naples, of being hairy and speckled; while, if any variety be perceptible, it is only in the colours. These odious creatures, whose very appearance is disgusting, do not possess the timidity of other kinds, which flee from the sight and approach of man; but they are at once mischievous and ferocious. Their attacks are not confined to the purposes of defending themselves or of procuring food; and it is only by continual vigilance, that those whose labours keep them in the fields the whole of the summer, can guard against them, and all their precautions are often unavailing. Sleeping in the open air must be particularly avoided; either in meadows, at the foot of trees, or on the stacks of grain which are got in.

Fortunately, these insects seldom penetrate into the houses; so that the fields are the theatre of their animosity. Their bite produces here the same effect as in Calabria and Corsica; and their poison is communicated to the blood with dreadful rapidity. The most effectual remedy is to cut off immediately the piece of flesh which has received the impression of their teeth, or to cauterize the wound with burning charcoal or a hot iron. The least delay often proves fatal: in such case a heaviness is speedily felt over the whole frame; the circulation is checked; the blood coagulates; drowsiness succeeds, attended with convulsions and delirium which terminate in death. A violent agitation is the only means of preserving the patient from the destruction which threatens him; and it is the acknowledged necessity of this which has given rise to the opinion, that the venom of the tarantula is to be expelled by music. It is however certain, that in the county of Trau they do not have recourse to music; but exercise the patient violently, and for a long time, in a kind of swing:—this produces abundant transpiration, and sometimes nausea; which saves the person's life, by diminishing the mass of venom absorbed, and restoring the blood to its proper circulation. But though life is thus preserved, it is, unfortunately, very seldom the fibres of the brain are unaffected; so that the patient often loses his senses.

After taking a rapid glance over the isles of Trau and Bua, M. Cassas doubled the most eastern point of the latter; and his pilot leaving the cape to the north, he was soon in sight of Spalatro, which is situated at the bottom of a bay of the same name. To the left, and before entering this bay from the sea, there is a deep gulph: closed to the south by the coasts of the isle of Bua; to the north, by the shore which extends from the Punta di San Stephano to San George; on the west, by the coast of the continent; to the east is the opening by which this gulph empties itself into the canal of Brasa. On proceeding westward up this gulph, we find in the north angle the *channel* of Salona, where the river of that name discharges itself: but in order to discover this it is necessary to seek for it in the extremity of the gulph; because, lying in an angle, it seems in the perspective as if the coast of Spalatro adhered to that of the continent, though it is on the opposite side of this canal.

On arriving from the sea we find the bay of Spalatro closed on one side by a tolerably high cape, called Punta di San Stephano; and on the other by a kind of promontory, on which are still perceptible the ruins of a fortification, called the fortress *Delle Boticelle*. This fort defended the isthmus by which the promontory is attached to the continent; and as the fortified part commands the land, it seems to have been constructed for preventing the enemy, in case of a siege, from occupying this position, by which he might be able to cut off the communication between Spalatro and the sea. The fortifications, however, were inconsiderable; and they derived their principal advantage from their elevated situation, whence the attacked could fire down upon the plain separating the promontory from the high mountain on which is built the fort of La Grippe, which we shall presently speak of. They consisted of a single wall, flanked by two irregular and two demibastions.

At the entrance of the bay we discover Spalatro; and nothing is more interesting than this perspective. The first range of buildings which strikes the eye, are the high and long walls which inclose the Lazaretto: at one end they reach to the great mole which encircles the port; and at the other they join the fortifications of the town, and seem of themselves an immense and formidable rampart made to cover this part of Spalatro. In front and on the edge of the quay, which extends along the port, there appear, with undescribable majesty, the august remains of the long and stupendous colonnade which decorated the maritime façade of the palace of Diocletian: it immediately gives an idea of this Colossus of architecture, particularly to those who know that this colonnade occupies only one of the narrow faces of the

parallelogram which formed the palace. Beyond the colonnade we perceive, with some difficulty, the roofs of the modern buildings constructed within the walls of the palace; but the eye is delighted to behold, rising from the midst of this prodigious mass of ruins, a square tower, five stories high, and decorated with different orders of architecture. It belongs to the cathedral, or Duomo, which is likewise inclosed within the walls of this palace; while at one of the angles of these mural structures, rise the thick sides of another gloomy and embattled tower, the gothic aspect of which excites a melancholy recollection of those barbarous Vandals who effaced as it were from the earth the sovereign people of the world; as well as of those great monarchs the Cæsars, who even in the midst of disgrace were able to lay the foundation of monuments which empires could scarcely raise in the height of their splendour. To the left the town is more exposed, and sinks beneath the view, while the appearance of the modest roofs of the simple citizens tends to console the mind for the melancholy impression it has received from viewing the ruins of the imperial palace, the lazaretto and the feudal towers, those mute evidences of the most fatal enemies of mankind, pestilence, war, and pride! But while through the trees with which the ramparts are shaded, we distinguish the walls forming the defence of Spalatro, and the two extremities of which terminate on the shore, the view extends agreeably across the irregularly united houses that compose on one side the suburbs of Lucio, and on the other of Borgo-Grande. It is there that in the trees which crown them, in the cheerful opulence of the orchards, and in the verdure of the gardens, we are charmed on beholding the beauty of nature in a picture from which, in all ages, the arts appear to have been inclined to banish it, though in vain. Here nature is still great, even by the side of all in which man has endeavoured to appear greater. What, in short, are the gigantic ruins of Spalatro, when compared to the Mount of Marigliano; the feet of which seem to repel the waves of the bay, while its summit defies the tempest? What is Spalatro itself at the base of this enormous mountain, on whose top the defiance and fury of man have built the bulwarks of war, and deposited the apparatus of battle? How does that pyramid appear which was erected by the art of man at a prodigious expence to decorate the temple of the gods; when it is seen from the prodigious range of steep rocks, of "mountains heaped on mountains," which bound the horizon, and form the frame-work of that incommensurate colisæum in the centre of which Spalatro, notwithstanding its magnificence, may be said to disappear. Hence, on entering the bay, the high mountain of Marigliano, or Margliano, on one

side; on the other, the promontory and its escarpement; further on, the rock which supports the fort of La Grippe; in the valley, Spalatro, its lazaretto, ruins, and steeples; in the horizon, a chain of the mountains of Morlachia:—such are the masses which at once strike the eye; and remind the observer of the perishable state of human power, the indefatigable destruction of time, and the boldness of savage nature.

Spalatro is one of the keys of Venetian Dalmatia. In the historical monuments, the date of which may be traced for five or six centuries, it is called *Spalatum, Spaletum,* and *Aspalatum.* In observing however that these monuments are five or six hundred years old, I shall appear to contradict the statements of the French Encyclopædia, which states their antiquity to be only four hundred years: but I must remark, that on this occasion, the editors of the Encyclopædia appear to have literally copied the words of Spon. Now, Spon wrote or travelled in 1674; the Encyclopædia did not appear till a hundred years after him, and consequently the date, according to his statement, must now be five hundred years. If this little inaccuracy were to be imitated,—if in several centuries hence, for example, when writing about Spalatro, one were to copy from the Encyclopædia and Spon, without quoting the authority; it might happen that the reader, either from inattention or from want of information, would attribute the date of these monuments to the time mentioned by those who wrote about them; namely at four hundred years: I may even add, that perhaps the uncertainty which prevails in general as to dates, in historical accounts, may have arisen from such kind of negligence; and that historians, on copying chronicles or memoirs which were several centuries anterior to their labours, forgetting to take into their calculation the periods when they wrote, have transferred themselves imperceptibly to those when the materials were produced which they have consulted. Hence, what in the time of Spon composed a period of four hundred years, and which should have been calculated at five hundred by the editors of the Encyclopædia, must be reckoned by me at between five and six hundred.

Of the various appellations abovementioned, Spon prefers the name of *Spalato* as most conformable to the original; in preference to that of Spalatro, which however has prevailed. He supposes that the names *Spaletum, Spalatum,* and *Aspalatum,* which have since been converted by the Italians into Spalato or Spalatro, are derived from the Latin *Palatium;* probably given to that place in particular, on account of the palace of Diocletian; which, as we learn from local traditions, as well as from the writings of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, was distant only one league from Salona, the native town of that emperor.

This opinion is supported by the exactness of the distance, which is to be proved correct even at the present day: and it refutes the error of those who have pretended that Spalatro was the ancient *Epetium;* while it ascertains that the ruins of the latter are seven miles distant, which may be seen at the mouth of the little river of Zarnovissa.

In a commercial point of view, Spalatro was a town of great importance to the republic of Venice. It was the staple of the trade carried on by land with the Turks; and all the caravans from Turkey proceeded thither, where they deposited their merchandizes, which were afterwards conveyed by sea to Venice, while this capital dispersed them throughout Europe. These caravans did not merely secure to it the commerce of, and communication with, the continent; but the safety and convenience of its port permitted the largest merchant ships to anchor in it, and thus procured the most advantageous export trade with the islands of Greece, the archipelago, Egypt, and the whole of the Levant. Hence it was this perpetual intercourse bebetween the Oriental people and the inhabitants of Spalatro, that determined the latter to build the Lazaretto, certainly one of the finest edifices of the kind in any of the maritime towns of Europe.

The commission or staple trade of this town comprehends a vast number of articles which are received principally from Turkey, but likewise from Bosnia, Croatia, &c.—Among other manufactures are those of iron, copper utensils, a very coarse kind of cloth, elastic woollens, leather, cotton, wheat, silk, orpiment, wax, dried fruits, and several kinds of pulse. For a long time, not only Venice, but all the other republics and states of Italy, the Barbary powers, and even the French and Spaniards, came to this port to take in cargoes of those various goods; and till the middle of the eleventh century there arrived in crowds the vessels of the Genoese, Tuscans, Tunisians, Marseillois, &c. but the discovery of the New World, and the voyage to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope, having imperceptibly increased commercial speculations, and given a new direction to navigation, the trade of Spalatro was affected by the change. This however was diminished gradually without being entirely destroyed; and it even now possesses a more enlarged commercial intercourse than all the other maritime towns on this coast except Trieste.

The opulence which arises from an extensive commerce, has a sensible effect upon manners; which it brings to a combination of luxury, urbanity, and politeness. The inhabitants of Spalatro are obliging, affable, and hospitable to strangers; and appear to attach much value to the labours which inquisitive and well-inform-

ed travellers and artists are inclined to undergo in examining the monuments of their town. They are pleased when speaking of the magnificence of these relics, and seem anxious to explain the most minute particulars. In their conversation on this point they appear like men who have a perfect knowledge of history. They may be said to have a little of that boasting manner which distinguishes the *Ciceroni* of Italy; but in justice it must also be added, that they cannot be reproached with the ignorance of the latter. They have made inquiries with respect to most subjects, have scarcely any doubts which they cannot clear up, and hear few objections which they do not discuss in an erudite manner. It must be understood, that I speak only of that class of men who have received a liberal education: for the populace, who are more laborious here than in any other part of Dalmatia, devote themselves entirely to trade, general industry, and maritime occupations; and their information is consequently limited to the means which are absolutely necessary for their existence. The uniform politeness of the inhabitants of Spalatro is in a great degree owing to their continual communication with foreigners. The majority of the opulent individuals send their children to be educated at Venice, Rome, Padua, Vienna, and even to Göttingen and Holland: hence they receive at an early period not only the first rudiments of general knowledge under distinguished professors, but likewise ideas of the manners of different nations;—ideas which it is useful for all men to acquire in their youth; because they tend to abolish national prejudices, while they enrich the juvenile mind with what is necessary to be known with respect to others: and teach it, by affording objects of comparison, to value in its own country that only which is founded on good principles.

These various qualities are, however, covered with a sort of Venetian varnish, which is rather injurious to their candour; and which imparts to them a kind of tinsel ornament or affected uniformity which disparages them, particularly in the eyes of a Frenchman. Their ceremonious behaviour is extreme, their etiquette fatiguing, and their expressions of respect inexhaustible; and it is well known that the manners of a capital degenerate, in the provinces, into ridiculous affectation. With the exception however of this trivial inconvenience, I found here all the wisdom and firmness of mind which distinguished the ancient government of the republic of Venice. The continual and well-managed vigilance of its police was perhaps too superficially condemned by the journalists of our time; who, by not properly studying its motives and results, seemed to consider it only as a state-inquisition; but it was in fact the most perfect police in Europe, and the most secure for the man of wealth; since it was

terrible only to criminals; and by penetrating even into the thoughts, was the most certain safeguard of innocence, and the best means of rendering virtue tranquil, as well as of drawing merit from its habitual obscurity to the advantage of the state. It was likewise best adapted to republican principles; because in its researches, pursuits, and punishments, making no exception of persons, it was founded upon a protective basis, by comprising on every occasion all classes of society, from the Doge to the lowest of his subjects: it thus secured society from the attacks of ambition; from those machinations so often engendered by rivalry; from those factions which are frequently excited by the love of novelty, by the disorders of the great, and the turbulence of the vulgar, by the abuse of riches in the one, and the tendency to corruption in the other. In short, it was the greatest protector of liberty and the most favourable to religious toleration, in a country where the catholic faith possesses its greatest latitude, but where the pope notwithstanding, in political affairs, had no more authority than a protestant prince, or a Jewish rabbi.

The women of Spalatro are in general handsome. They appear subjected to nearly the same usage as that which has enslaved the women of Italy; but they enjoy rather more liberty, particularly in comparison with the women of Sicily. They have a great propensity to dancing, music, and gallantry; their rage for luxury is excessive, and dress is with them the first and most essential article. But to these inclinations, which are common to their sex in general, they unite the virtues by which it is honoured: they are good mothers, sincere friends, and faithful wives; and Spalatro is very seldom the theatre of those scandalous anecdotes which derive their origin from the prevalence of dissipation.

It was at the commencement of the twelfth century that Spalatro fell under the dominion of Venice. The catholic religion had been established there for a number of centuries previous to that period; and from the year 650, the apostle who governed the church, had dignified it with archiepiscopal honours. Its archbishop takes the title of primate of Dalmatia and Croatia; but he is dependent upon the primate of Venice.

The chapter of the cathedral is considerable; and it consists of ecclesiastics who are no strangers to literature and science. They retain in their library or archives several valuable manuscripts relative to the history of these countries. The learned *Lucio*, or *Lucius*, whom I have already alluded to, and another man of letters named *Beni*, have made from them several extracts. These two erudite scholars did not belong to Spalatro. I have already said that *Lucio* was born at Trau; and *Paul Beni*

came from the isle of Candia. He was educated at Gubio, in the duchy of Urbino: and was at first a Jesuit; but quarrelled with that order because his superiors opposed the publication of his Commentaries on the Festival of Plato. He was professor of belles-lettres at the university of Padua, and was of a whimsical and irritable character. He distinguished himself by his enthusiasm for Tasso and Ariosto; which he carried to a ridiculous extent, not hesitating to rank them as superior to Virgil and Homer. The best of his voluminous writings is a Treatise on History, written in Latin, printed at Venice in 1611, and which is mentioned by the abbé Langlet.

The archdeacon *Tommaso, Michael Spalatinus,* and *Mark Marcello,* are the principal writers whose talents have done honour to Spalatro: but their works are known only to bibliographers, a few erudite individuals.—This however cannot be said of the celebrated Mark Anthony de Dominis, who graced the pontifical chair of this town. He was born at Arbe; was a relation of pope Gregory; and remained twenty years in the order of the Jesuits, where his profound learning carried him through all the dignities of that society. The emperor Rodolph procured for him the bishopric of Segni: here jealousy gave rise to some disagreeable controversies, to free himself from which he solicited and obtained the archbishopric of Spalatro. The repose however, which he procured here, was not of long duration. The dissensions which broke out between pope Paul and the republic of Venice are well known. Dominis had received benefactions from the Venetians; the generosity of his nature induced him to take up their defence, and he wrote in their favour. The inquisition condemned his production; and, this circumstance exciting his disgust, he went over to England, where his celebrity and his talents procured him the esteem of the English, and the favour of James, in consequence of which he became dean of Windsor. The defection of a man of his merit alarmed the court of Rome; and Gregory XV., who was one of his friends, solicited him, through the medium of the Spanish ambassador, to return to that city. He acceded to the request; but none of the promises which were made to him were ever performed. Gregory XV. died; and Urban VIII., his successor, caused the too credulous Dominis to be confined in the castle of St. Angelo, where he died by poison.

Some writers have accused this celebrated man with inconstancy and avarice: asserting that these failings caused him to lose the confidence of James I., an event which was facilitated (as they pretended) by his imprudence in retracting in full convocation at London all that he had written against the catholic

church; and that, finally, after his return to Rome, it was proved by intercepted letters, that he repented of his conversion: but none of these charges have been proved; and it is too well known how much learned men are thwarted by the reproaches and decisions of party-spirit, and by the prevailing opinions of bodies and individuals, which sometimes give a bias to the conduct of the future historian. Besides, there is a general inclination to believe a man innocent, when he has died an unnatural death in a prison in which he has been immured by his antagonists, and in a country especially where the inquisition causes the body and the writings to be consumed upon the same pile.

But whatever may be thought of my opinion (which, though it may be disputed, must at least be considered as one that will do no injury to my memory, because it is founded upon that sentiment of humanity which appeals to the hearts of all men who have not been blinded by fanaticism),—I feel no hesitation in asserting, that even the enemies of Dominis cannot refuse him the title of a scholar of the first rank. He possessed an extraordinary genius; and his work "*De Radiis Visûs et Lucis in Vitris perspectivis, et Iride, Tractatus,*" as well as another on the flowing and ebbing of the sea, will always secure to him a distinguished place among philosophers of the modern ages. He was the precursor of the great Descartes; and it must have been no common man, to whom the celebrated Newton, by his own admission, was indebted for his first ideas on the theory of light.

Spalatro is divided into two parts: the first is contained within the circumference of the walls of the palace of Diocletian; the second is to the north-west of that palace, and is inclosed by the walls of the ancient fortifications, which commence at the gate of San Rainerio, and terminate between the little mole and the great tower in front of the office of health. In consequence of some late wars, it has been found necessary to give a greater extent to these fortifications; but they even now consist of only a simple wall, with three bastions and two demi-bastions, without fosses, external works, or glacis. Beyond these ramparts are the suburbs, in the following order: On leaving the church of St. Francis, which is situated on the shore of the bay at one of the extremities of the town, the suburbs of Borgo-Grande, those of Pozzo, Marcusio, and lastly of Lucio, which lies at the other extremity, and the houses of which extend as far as the *Punta delle Boticelle:* it is this last mentioned part that we pass, to reach the ancient fort *Delle Boticelle,* already alluded to; and to ascend by a path cut with much art in the form of steps, to the citadel, called the fort *La Grippe.* This, as well as the town, has no external works: it consists of a wall, flanked with

five irregular bastions: on the inside is a second wall, or rather a sort of redan, of which the gorge is open. Its southern angle is defended by a small bastion; and the branches of its curtins end in two square but unequal towers. It thus is evident that this defence is by no means formidable, as almost its only strength is derived from its situation. As for the town, it is commanded from almost every point, and could not without difficulty be secured from a *coup de main*. These modern fortifications are the work of the chevalier Vernede.

If, generally speaking, the greater part of the merchants reside in the second moiety of the town, still the finest edifices are built in that contained within the walls of the palace of Diocletian. Here are situated the cathedral, the palace of the archbishop, and several other considerable structures. The market, the hospital, and several convents, are in the other part of the town. The government of Venice maintain here only a feeble garrison; which was at most composed but of a few companies of cavalry and infantry, and intended merely for the police of the place. At the fortress of Clissa the Venetians generally kept the forces which they stationed in this part of Dalmatia; because it defends the defiles through which the Turks, the only enemies they have long had to fear in this country, would be obliged to pass before they could arrive at Spalatro.

Though there still exist in this town a prodigious quantity of the remains of the magnificent palace of Diocletian, one of the greatest fragments of antiquity in Europe, it is impossible not to regret that the inhabitants are allowed to erect modern buildings in the inside of this palace: for, besides that this practice offers infinite obstructions to those researches which would conduce to determine its ancient and earliest compartments, it is also evident that its superb materials have been applied to the construction of recent habitations; and it cannot be doubted that the ruin of monuments which for centuries yet to come might have attracted the admiration of travellers, and served for the study of historians and antiquaries, has been facilitated by such proceedings of avarice and ignorance. Yet who would believe that the inhabitants of Spalatro, not contented with thus despoiling the palace of Diocletian, have likewise seized upon all the finest remains of Salona to build houses, and even to make simple enclosures?

A few hours before arriving at Spalatro, M. Cassas fell in with four beautiful Venetian galleys. The republic often sent these vessels in time of war towards those countries, where they remained to cruize for the protection of commerce from the attempts of the pirates, who, as has been already observed, frequent these seas, and would so to a still greater extent but for this

precaution of the government. These four galleys cast anchor at Spalatro almost at the same instant in which our traveller arrived there. On landing, his taste, as much as the object of his voyage, guided him immediately towards that part of the town contained within the walls of the palace of Diocletian, and he took up his lodging at an inn situated between the columns of the great vestibule. He devoted the first evening to rest; which was necessary after the fatigue he had experienced in visiting the cascade of Scardona, and in the passage from Sebenico to Spalatro. The next day he delivered letters of recommendation to several inhabitants of this town; who procured him the acquaintance of his excellency count Peruta, the archbishop Garaguini, count Cambi, the chancellor, M. Borguettichi a learned antiquarian, and several other individuals of high respectability. The whole of his subsequent employment was in visiting the ruins; but, before we follow him in these various excursions, we shall attempt to give an idea of that magnificent palace, such as it was when inhabited by the emperor whose name it bears.

We have already observed that its figure was a parallelogram: it was six hundred and thirty feet long, by five hundred and ten in width. Its principal façade is supposed to be that towards the sea. This was decorated by the superb colonnade that still remains almost entire, and which consisted of fifty columns, though at present only forty-two are standing. This colonnade formed a gallery twenty-five feet in width, while its length occupied the whole of the façade: and in the interior of this gallery were the apartments exclusively inhabited by the emperor. The entrance to this amazing place was, and still is, by three principal gates. The first is at the north front, and is called *porta aurea*, or the golden gate; the other two are at the east and west façades; their particular denomination, if they had any, has not been transmitted to posterity. Each of these gates had two octagonal towers, the height of which did not exceed that of the edifice in general. There was also a square tower at each angle of the palace. Each of these towers was eighteen feet higher than the walls. Two of them contained four stories, while the others had only three: this difference arose from the elevation of the façade with the colonnade, being seventy-four feet, while the three other fronts were only fifty-five; so that the two towers corresponding with the two ends of the colonnade were of necessity carried higher than those which were built at the opposite angles. Lastly, in the interval between the octagonal towers of the gates and the towers of the angles, there was an additional square-tower, but the height of which did not exceed that of the wall.—The total number of these various towers was six-

Remains of the Palace of Diocletian at Spalatro.

teen, because the façade of the colonnade had no others than those which corresponded with its two extremities.

A large portico was erected on the inside, along the wall of the north, east, and west façades. On entering by the golden gate, there appeared in front a large street, formed by a vast portico, and which extended as far as the peristyle of what was properly called the palace, or the part which was actually inhabited by Diocletian. This street was intersected at a right-angle, and nearly in the centre of the whole edifice, by another street of equal width, and likewise decorated with a portico which extended from the eastern to the western gate. Hence on entering, for example, at the golden gate, you would have on the right and left two large ranges of building, equal in proportion, but not so in point of interior arrangement: these were surrounded at two of their faces by the portico lately mentioned; while the two other faces, which looked towards the external walls, were separated by large courts formed between these buildings and the general portico. Of these two edifices, that on the right was appropriated to the women, while that on the left was occupied by the principal officers in the service of the emperor.

After passing these buildings, and quitting the transverse street, you would find yourself in a superb colonnade, which was terminated by the steps and façade of the peristyle. Between the columns there appeared on one side the temple of Esculapius, and on the other that of Jupiter:—as both of these are still entire, we shall speak of them hereafter. To enter the grand building, or that part of the palace inhabited by Diocletian, you must ascend the peristyle just mentioned, by a flight of steps. The front of this peristyle was supported by four columns; and it led to a magnificent circular vestibule, admirably proportioned, which derived the light from its cupola, and was decorated with four niches containing statues. In front of the door of this vestibule, was that leading to the principal hall of the palace. This apartment was ninety-five feet long, by seventy-five wide. To the right and left six columns, of a prodigious elevation, supported the vault or cieling of this hall; leaving on each side, between them and the wall, a kind of side-way or walk not quite so long as the hall; and at the end of which were two flights of spiral stairs, leading to the subterraneous parts, and to the back-door of the palace, which opened on the sea-shore. This grand hall had a large and majestic door, admitting to the great gallery already mentioned: the hall was denominated *atrium*.

All the palaces of the Romans contained halls of this kind, and bearing a similar name. Writers differ in opinion as to the nature of those apartments; but they all agree that the *atrium*

was situated at the entrance of the palaces and great houses. Some, however, think that it was a kind of court which preceded the vestibule; while others consider it as the vestibule itself; and lastly, several assert it to be the hall which succeeded the vestibule. As for example:—Martial, when speaking of the *atrium* of the celebrated palace of Nero, seems to indicate that it was placed in the same situation as we have described that to be in the palace of Dioclesian. "It was in the *atrium*," says he, "that you saw the colossus of Nero, and the machines which belonged to the theatre, *Pegmata*." He denominates it *atria regis*. Suetonius, however, seems to cast some obscurity on this definition, by calling *vestibulum*, what Martial denominates *atrium*. It cannot, however, be doubted, that they both mean the same place, since Suetonius says, "*Vestibulum ejus fuit in quo colossus*," &c.

It is nevertheless certain, that the *atrium* differed from the courts; for it was covered in, and was situated at the entrance of the mansions. In the virtuous times, however, of the republic, the mothers of a family frequently passed their time in this hall; where they employed themselves amidst their numerous domestics, and attended at once to their children and their household affairs. During winter the *atrium* was heated by chafing-dishes, and fires placed in tripods. In process of time, and when luxury had made that alarming progress which led Rome to slavery and destruction, the *atrium* was abandoned to the vassals, who attended in it to receive the orders of their masters. It was here that the crowd of clients who served in the streets as a retinue to the consuls, senators, magistrates, and tribunes, assembled to await the egress of their patrons. The emperors came into the *atrium* to give audience to the ambassadors of foreign kings and princes: and the haughty patricians decorated it with the images of their ancestors; the generals, with the trophies of their victories; and the pro-consuls, with the spoils of provinces, and the fruit of their rapine. In common, the cieling was hung with purple; and the columns which sustained it were of porphyry, granite, or other marble still more valuable. In short, the pump or the simplicity of the *atrium* was a criterion of the vices or the virtues of the master of the palace; and on entering this part of the building, one might form a tolerably just idea of his pride, his simplicity, or his avarice. We may judge for example, by the gigantic proportion of that of the palace which we are describing, of the means which Diocletian took to preserve the remembrance of the colossal power he had enjoyed; as well as of the invincible propensity

which accompanied him throughout his life for grand and majestic monuments, the remains of which now form at Spalatro the subject of wonder and admiration.

The two parts of the palace which were on the right and left of the *artium*, were exactly similar in their distribution: and from this circumstance it may be supposed that the emperor occupied each division alternately; perhaps according to some etiquette founded upon the change of seasons, to some prejudice which prevailed in those distant ages, or to a religious practice respecting the worship of the gods, with the ceremonies of which we are unacquainted. This last motive may reasonably be imagined; since one of the divisions contained the temple of Esculapius, and the other that of Jupiter, while the interior apartments led through each other immediately to those temples. It may be asserted too as a reason for this extraordinary resemblance in the arrangement of the two parts, that Diocletian—presuming that Maximian Hercules, his colleague in the empire, and whose abdication (which was solicited by Galerius) was of the same date as his own, would visit him in his retreat,—might be anxious to give him in every respect the same accommodation in his palace as he enjoyed himself; or that his intention might be that there should always prevail between them in their private life that amicable equality which was never altered by the division of the sovereign power.

It will, however, be sufficient to give a description of one of these parts; since the other was exactly similar in form,—the only difference being in the names given to the apartments, which doubtlessly corresponded to the uses to which they were devoted. It would appear from the distribution of this palace, that the architects of the early ages did not attach the same merit as we do to those majestic communications between the large divisions of an edifice, and which at the present day we distinguish by the French appellation of *enfilades*. It is, however, certain, that if the entrance was by means of handsome lateral doors from the halls on each side, the magnificence of the view would be increased: on the contrary, in order to arrive at those halls or chambers, it was necessary to pass from the *atrium* into two very narrow coridors; which were besides so awkwardly placed, that, of the three doors in which they terminated, and which opened into three magnificent halls either to the right or to the left of the *atrium*, two of the doors were situated in the angles of these halls.

Of the two divisions which on each side of the *atrium* were parallel to the great gallery, the first was appropriated to concerts and theatrical representations, and the second to certain regular

festivals: they were eighty-five feet long by fifty-eight wide, and their cielings were supported by eighteen columns. The distance between these columns and the walls was ten feet in every part, so that there was a sufficient space for walking round the hall; or for placing rows of seats for the accommodation of the spectators, while the middle remained entirely free for the amusements. That which was destined for the festivals was not, however, the only one appropriated to that purpose: in one half of the two first-mentioned halls there were also two other smaller ones, yet of a very considerable size, and used only for repasts. They were distinguished by the epithets Corinthian and Cizician; which names they derived either from their decorations, or from the nature of the festivities which took place within them. But even these were not sufficient; for there were, on the sides of the latter, two other tetrastyle halls, which were likewise appropriated to feasting; and as they were nearest to the two temples, they doubtless served for the repasts which followed the sacrifices.

Beyond the halls or chambers just mentioned, were the hot baths. They were large and commodious, and the descent to them was by steps constructed at the four angles. Three chambers were attached to these baths. The first was the *apodyterion;* the use of which, as well as its name, was derived from the Greeks: it was either the place where the hot water was prepared, or that used for wrestling or gymnastic exercises. The Romans frequently called it by the generic name *apodyterium;* but sometimes *spoliarium, tepidarium, cærium,* &c. These names, however, had other acceptations. Hence, for example, when they gave the name of *tepidarium* to the *apodyterium,* it was like taking a part for the whole; for *tepidarium* signified the warm quality of the bath, or generally a warm bath.—*Spoliarium* was likewise the generic name for all places in which the Romans undressed themselves for any purpose whatever: thus for example, the *spoliarium* was applicable to the baths, the same name was also given to the place in which the gladiators undressed themselves to fight; to that in which the citizens were stripped who had been killed by accident at a distance from their houses; as well as to the spot on which any person had been robbed or murdered by banditti.

But with respect to the *apodyterium* in its first-mentioned acceptation, we must observe, by the way, that the finest *apoditerium* known in ancient times was erected by order of Diocletian. It belonged to the thermal baths which were constructed by his directions at Rome, and which still bear his name. It was an immense saloon of an oblong form, with eight sides or faces, each of which was of itself semicircular; the arches which

bound the roof of this saloon, were of a prodigious height, and the walls were covered with the finest marble and the most elegant ornaments.

But this was a public edifice; and the *Apodyterion* of Spalatro, which was intended only for the use of the emperor and his houshold, had not, nor did it require, any of the magnificence given to that of Rome. It was only a simple chamber, by the side of which was the *Sphæristerium* or place of exercise; in which, according to Pliny, was played the game of tennis or fives. It is not a subject of surprise that this hall was contiguous to the baths, because it is well known that the Romans mostly amused themselves with active exercises before bathing. These baths were used only at the close of day, and for this reason also they were accompanied by the different chambers devoted to evening-repasts. These meals, after the manners of the republic had become corrupted, were nothing else than the orgies of debauchery; for they were not what the Romans called the supper. Their supper was commonly taken at the ninth hour of their day, which corresponds with our three o'clock in the afternoon; while their dinner took place at the fifth hour, or eleven o'clock in the forenoon. This dinner was however, properly speaking, nothing more than a light breakfast; and of such little consequence, that it was considered as a breach of politeness to invite their friends to partake of it.

Instead of imagining, as we do, that the bath immediately after a meal is dangerous to health, the Romans ran thither as soon as they quitted table, but particularly after they had indulged in intemperance; and for this custom they have been reproached by Juvenal. Hence, if it were with them a means of promoting digestion, it is not astonishing that originally the necessity of the evening's repast was the result of the bath; and we will add to the disgrace of that enlightened people, that it was natural, when the passions had been excited by the indiscriminate mixture of the sexes, so long tolerated in the public baths, that these nocturnal repasts should in a little time have degenerated into the revelries of voluptuousness, though they were at first resorted to as a measure of necessity. The emperors Adrian, Marcus Aurelius, and Alexander Severus, wished the two sexes to have their baths apart; but the prevalence of licentiousness constantly induced the people to evade the decrees on this subject, and these disgraceful proceedings were not entirely abolished till after Constantine; and even then, perhaps, only to give place to a corruption of another kind, and to satisfy the jealous though not less libidinous passions of a few innovators.

In the upper story of the warm baths at the palace of Spalatro,

and in the contiguous chambers, there were two other kinds, the cold and the vapour baths. The latter tended to promote perspiration; and on quitting them the bathers entered a room which was always kept of an equal and moderate temperature, in order to prepare the body to pass without danger into the external air. —On this floor also was the chamber in which the emperor reposed. It was formed of three semicircular parts; in one of which was his bed, and the entrance to which was through a portico consisting of two columns and three arcades; these were closed by curtains of purple, and separated the chamber from the gallery in which the soldiers attended who were appointed to guard his person.

Such was the magnificent palace of Spalatro; of which we have attempted to give an idea, though without being able to avoid the obscurity inseparable from this kind of description.—Here for the space of nine years lived, forgotten as it were by mankind (though not by the infirmities and sufferings which are the ordinary companions of age, often the result of the fatigues attendant upon grandeur, and sometimes also the just reward of immoderate pleasures)—here lived a man who was the son of a miserable slave; but whose valour, audacity, talents, and good fortune, raised him to empire; who successful in battle, wise in politics, and skilful in administration, was also great in the arts, and covered his country with monuments, the splendid ruins of which still command, even after the lapse of fifteen centuries, the respect and admiration of every beholder:—a man who took Augustus for his model, and imitated him only in his virtues; whose memory does not enjoy the entire veneration of posterity, only because new circumstances gave to princes of a subsequent period, who were not equal to him, a high renown for their supposed virtues, the fame of which obscured those of their predecessor; and to degrade his memory in the eyes of those whose support was necessary for the preservation of their power, accused him of a spirit of persecution, very opposite to his real magnanimous and generous character. In short, Diocletian was an emperor who ought to be considered as one of the greatest princes of antiquity: and a memorable instance, by his elevation, of the extraordinary caprice of fortune; by his reign, of the power which a single individual may sometimes accidentally acquire; by his retreat, of the melancholy condition to which a superior mind may be reduced in old age; and lastly, by his death, of the alarm which even the shadow of a great man is capable of exciting in the tyrants who succeed him. His death alone was sufficient to tarnish the memory of Constantine; even if this were not besides rendered execrable by the assassination of his son, his wife, and his brother-

in-law. He hastened the end of that monarch, by a barbarous letter; in which, from the summit of his prosperity, he dared to accuse this wretched old man, already deprived of his reason, of being a criminal, for maintaining the friendship which he had contracted during the course of an honourable life.

The greater part of the interior buildings of the superb palace at Spalatro are now effaced or destroyed. On entering at the golden gate, there is no longer to be seen the grand range of edifices which was formerly on the right, and among which was the *Gynæcium* or apartment of the women: it is entirely replaced by modern habitations. Of that to the left, which was occupied by the great officers of the houshold, there are only to be seen some walls, against which also houses have been erected. The vestibule of the palace, the colonnade before it, and the temple of Jupiter, still remain; but all the rest of the buildings occupied by the emperor are demolished: while houses, streets, and even squares, occupy the sites of those vast halls which we lately described; though at one extremity, some of the walls which remain standing, remind the spectator of the apartments which belonged to the baths. The temple of Esculapius is entire; but the grand place through which we must pass to arrive at its peristyle, is encumbered with inns, shops, and magazines. It may therefore be truly said, that there is only the external shell of this great edifice, which has been respected by barbarism and ignorance, and which has sustained no other outrages than those of time: the lateral towers also, as well as those which belonged to the three principal gates, are totally destroyed, and only those at the angles remain. It may, however, be supposed, that war has contributed its share to this destruction; for it is easy to perceive that the inhabitants have used the external walls of the palace on many occasions as a means of defence. The top of these walls, which was formerly terminated by a cornice, is now in many parts embattled; and loop-holes have been made above the old arched windows which were formed in the different faces. Several of these windows are now stopped up, which could only have been done from motives of precaution: and the ruins that have in some parts fallen down and raised the soil, while they obscure the building, appear rather to have been the effects of premeditated attacks than of gradual decay.

At present the name of *Piazza del Duomo*, the Place of the Cathedral, is given to the magnificent colonnade which leads to the peristyle of the grand vestibule of the palace. The Corinthian columns, the arcades which they support, the entablature, the architrave, the friezes, the cornices, the front of the peristyle, the three doors of the vestibule, the cupola which covered it,—all these objects are still in every respect complete. The

twelve columns which occupy the lateral parts of this place, as well as the four higher columns which support the façade of the peristyle, are of granite. On calling to mind the general description of the palace which I have given, such as it once must have been, it will easily be perceived that this Piazza del Duomo is only the prolongation of the street or colonnade which led from the golden gate to the peristyle of the palace, and was intersected by a similar colonnade extending to the two gates at the east and west. By this recollection, an idea may be formed of the magnificence which must have prevailed in the communications. To the right and left of the peristyle (but beyond the four columns of which it consists, and in the space between these columns and the steps) were placed upon pedestals two sphinxes of a colossal magnitude: there now remains only one of these ornaments; the other has been carried off, but is still to be seen in Spalatro. Of the latter statue I have had the opinion of M. Visconti of Rome; one of the most celebrated antiquarians in Europe, and now keeper of the Museum of Antiquities at Paris. He says it is an Egyptian work, of an early period. Its breast and plinth are covered with hieroglyphical characters: it is mutilated, and the head is wanting. It is probable that Diocletian had caused it to be conveyed either from Rome or Egypt, to Spalatro.—The other sphinx is not an Egyptian production. It is likewise made of granite, but is evidently a copy; and the plinth, instead of hieroglyphics, is only ornamented with a kind of plaiting. It is, however, very curious; for instead of lion's paws, it has human arms and hands. In this respect it resembles the sphinx on the summit of the obelisk formerly placed by Augustus in the centre of the *Campus Martius* at Rome, and which is now erected in the place of Monte Citorio.

In the intercolumniation there might formerly be seen the beautiful pillars of the octagonal portico which surrounded the temple of Jupiter; but this temple having been converted into a cathedral, the great tower or steeple that has been built in front of the temple hinders the rich perspective. This steeple, however, is of considerable height, and possesses some dignity. I have already observed, that the materials of which it is constructed were brought from Salona. It is composed of four orders of architecture, not including its base. It is of a square form, and well-proportioned; the antique columns and friezes are not decayed, and have been appropriated to the present edifice with much taste and ingenuity.

After passing this tower, we enter the temple of Jupiter, now called *Il Duomo*. M. Visconti is astonished, and with reason, that it should be supposed this temple was dedicated to

Outside of the Temple of Jupiter, at Spalato

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Jupiter: in fact, it is not known on what circumstance this opinion is founded. The surname of *Jovius*, which was assumed by Diocletian while his colleague Maximian took that of *Herculias*, may perhaps have given rise to it: the bas-reliefs, however, with which the interior frieze is ornamented, and which represent hunting Genii, as well as the busts in modillions which appear between them, would afford much greater reason to suppose that this Corinthian temple was dedicated to Diana.

The scale of this monument of antiquity is considerable. Its external height, from the pavement of the gallery which surrounds it, to the top of the roof, is fifty-three feet and a half, and sixty-three including the base of the colonnade. Each face of the octagon is twenty-five feet and a half in the interior of the edifice, and thirty-five feet and a half at the external gallery. The height of the columns, including their bases and capitals, is nineteen feet, by two in diameter; their base is two feet, and their entablature seven. It was surmounted with statues larger than life, but these have disappeared. The elevation of the octagonal roof, which covered the interior arch or dome, was twenty-two feet. This gave to the whole edifice, from the ground to the summit, a height of eighty-five feet.

This monument is internally of a circular form; and presents a fine rotunda, the diameter of which is forty-two feet. Its height, from the ground to the bottom of the dome, is forty-five: Eight Corinthian columns of the proportion of twenty-four feet support an entablature, of which the architrave, friezes, and cornices, are extremely rich in sculpture; and this is followed by a second composite order, *en retrait*, on which the dome rests. These composite columns are twenty-two feet high, including their capitals. The dome, which is all of brick-work, is in a good state of preservation; and there may in some places be perceived the mortar or stucco with which it was covered, and on which there were doubtless either *fresco* decorations or paintings. Eight niches, of which four are square and four semicircular, surmounted by arcades with imposts, are made in the walls round the rotunda.

Though this edifice must be allowed to possess some dignity, and its inside has a grand and magnificent appearance, it must nevertheless be admitted that its style is not pure: the juttings of the cornices of the two orders, the columns surmounted by others, the excessive heaviness of the entablatures, and several other defects of a similar nature, produce a disagreeable appearance; and it may easily be discovered, that at this period architecture had made rapid progress in its decline. These defects are to be attributed to the false taste which pomp and riches, al-

ways eager for ornament, had forced the architects of that age to adopt; and it may readily be supposed that princes who, like Diocletian, had quitted the simplicity of the Roman *toga* for the costume and luxuries of Asiatic sovereigns, were inclined to value every decoration in proportion, not to its beauty but to its richness. For when we consider the pure style of the door of this temple, and of the external gallery, it is easy to be conceived that the architects were still sensible of the beauties of the antique, and knew how to study them with advantage.

Of this gallery there still remain some very considerable fragments; and several large portions of the cieling are to be met with. Nothing is at once more noble, grand, and simple: and if the ruins still excite so much respect; if the involuntary melancholy which the mind experiences on viewing these colossal remains, the destruction of which reminds one of that terrible decree of fate attached to the works of man, *that all shall perish*.—If these reflections cannot prevent the admiration of the beholder; what must it have been when this superb portico appeared as at first in all its harmonious unity and indescribable splendour!

According to the custom of the ancients, this temple had no apertures for the admission of light; but since it has been converted into a church, windows have been made in it. A great part of the external colonnade still remains; and the only parts that are entirely wanting, are the three faces of the edifice which looked towards the southern points: while, from the arrangement of the modern buildings, which on this side stand quite close to the temple, it is very probable that these have been voluntarily destroyed by ignorance. At the five other fronts, all the columns are preserved; but the communication is here and there interrupted by houses which have been made to rest against the walls of the temple. Thus only the façades which are contiguous to the door have been left free; and here also have been placed, between the columns, large sarcophagi; some antique, and others of the earliest ages of the church; which, not having been made for their present situation, produce a disagreeable effect, and give to these fine ruins a character totally foreign from their object.

On standing in the centre of the rotunda, and turning towards the grand door, we perceive an opening which has been effected by chance rather than taste, between the buildings that encumber the great portico before the vestibule of the palace, and which is called (as I have already observed) the Place of the Cathedral. This opening exposes to view in the distance the façade of the temple of Esculapius. The perspective certainly has in it something grand and theatrical: the profound silence of the

View of the Temple of Esculapius at Shalafro.

edifice in which the spectator is placed; the majestic height of the columns which serve as the avenue; the immense number of arcades and pilasters between which is the distance which separates us from the temple of Esculapius; this temple itself, whose façade is of the finest style, but much decayed;—altogether force the admiration back to times of antiquity, and excite a sort of admiration, I had almost said of religious awe, of which it is difficult to divest ourselves. It might be observed, that the compass which describes around us the circle of life, is opened in the hands of nature; and that the mind can no longer attain the extremity of the line. It seeks in the immense space for man, but finds only the works of his genius; yet what remains of his understanding?—nothing but the filiation of ideas of the divinity. Every thing is dead, except the sentiment of immortality!

The temple of Esculapius was much less in size than that of Jupiter or Diana, which we have just described. It was internally not more than twenty-four feet long, by sixteen wide. The order of its architecture was Corinthian: its lateral walls, which were six feet thick, were without any ornament on the sides; but within, a beautiful cornice, richly sculptured, ran all round, and the cieling was also of a fine sculpture, while on the outside four fine pilasters supported the frieze which crowned the whole circumference. A beautiful peristyle of four columns occupied the façade, by which was the entrance to the temple, and the ascent to this was by a flight of fifteen steps. The pediment of this peristyle occupied the whole width of the façade: the columns, including their capitals and bases, were twenty-two feet high, and the entablature eight feet. It does not appear that any inscription has existed in the architrave, or in the tympan. The door was sixteen feet high: it was of a square form, and decorated by a rich entablature supported by brackets. At present, this fine and simple ornament has almost entirely disappeared: the four columns also of the peristyle have been overthrown; their entablature and pediment no longer exist; and the vast flight of steps is partly demolished, leaving only a narrow and difficult ascent. The door, and the two Corinthian pillars at the angles of the edifice, are yet standing. At the left, on quitting the temple, a column which still sustains a portion of the arcade, and against which have been erected some wretched huts, is the only vestige or indication of the portico that led to it. The inhabitants have converted this temple into a small oratory: and above it has been erected a miserable square tower, with fronts of an awkward and irregular size, and terminated with a bad roof of tiles; while the *important* necessity of

adding bells to a church, determined them to disgrace one of the finest specimens of antiquity in Europe, and to destroy by this disgusting structure the beautiful harmony which resulted from the systematic proportions of the various parts of the edifice. By the decay which has taken place, the foundation and subterraneous parts of the temple are exposed to view; but these degradations enable us to form an idea of the solidity which the ancients gave to their buildings. The enormous hewn stones which are employed for these foundations, are placed *de champ;* a circumstance which is rarely to be met with.

Such is nearly the state of the still subsisting ruins of the beautiful palace of Diocletian; which, in point of magnificence, surpassed all that can now be exhibited by the pomp of the cities of modern Europe; with the exception of the colonnade of the Louvre, which rivals every thing that could have been produced by the splendour of Palmyra or Balbec. It only remains for me to say a word on the principal external gate, called *Portea Aurea;* and on some bas-reliefs, inscriptions, and sarcophagi, found at Spalatro, which some preceding travellers have either not explained or misinterpreted.

This gate has nothing which in any respect entitles it to the name of Golden; and is far from possessing any of the beauty of that which bears the same name at Pola, as has been already mentioned. A circumstance very remarkable is, that the stones of the arch are mortised into each other; a kind of building which is sometimes discoverable in ancient monuments; and which was employed by the architects as being a more solid method, particularly for arches. Whether this gate is viewed from the interior of the palace, or from without the circumference, it seems to exhibit nothing remarkable, except the thickness of its walls. Two niches, not very tastefully executed, accompany the arcade, and were doubtless intended to receive statues; above them may still be seen, as well within as without, some arched windows; which indicate, as has been before observed, that an upper floor or story was built all round the walls. On the country side the soil has risen, and the gate is no longer proportionate on the inside, however this increase of the earth is not so perceptible. A guard-house has been established at this gate, and is preceded by a small square court, formed of columns which appear to have belonged to some apartment within the palace, as they are of a moderate height. In front of this guard-house is a large mast, exactly similar to those which are to be seen in St. Mark's Place at Venice; and which is doubtless employed for hoisting the Venetian Standard on particular occasions: it is fixed in a round pedestal.

Venetian Lion is represented rampant on this pedestal, and enclosing in his paws the main part of the mast.

I shall not here quote the inscriptions which Spon has collected, because they are sufficiently known. There are two upon the front of the steeple, which are in a good state of preservation: they both relate to the Emperor Tiberius, and are the pledges of public gratitude, for the orders he had given for the repair of certain roads. They prove, in an irrefragable manner, that the materials employed in this steeple were not taken from the ruins of the palace of Spalatro, the construction of which was long posterior to the reign of Tiberius; but that these, among other inscriptions, must have been brought from Salona, since they relate to the roads in the vicinity of that town. Though even flattery might not have introduced into the Roman empire the custom of celebrating by pompous inscriptions the acts of the emperors, particularly when of such trivial importance as that alluded to, which related only to one of the most common acts of an ordinary administration, it nevertheles is not astonishing that it should be found in Dalmatia. Tiberius had exercised great authority in that country, which was one of the principal theatres of his military exploits, and where he resided during several years: and it is well known how much a vanquished people, and more particularly, those who submit to the yoke after a valiant resistance, which was the case with the Dalmatians, are puerile in their servility, as is also the minute attention which they pay to commemorate the smallest benefits bestowed upon them by their conquerors, in order to appear favourable in his eyes. It is very seldom that people do not degrade themselves by the means they take to efface the recollection of an unfortunate revolt, and that degradation does not obtain the ascendency over every other method which they may adopt.

The various inscriptions mentioned by Spon, relate to private families; but there are some others found at Spalatro, which, in all probability, Spon never saw, as he does not mention them, though they are rendered worthy of attention by historical circumstances, or by their relation to the manners of the Romans. M. Cassas noticed with care and accuracy, the monuments to which they belonged; and in my revision of his itinerary, I have consulted, with respect to these inscriptions, the learned Visconti, whose opinion I shall give.—I shall first speak of three sepulchral cippi.

The first belongs to a veteran: the frieze is ornamented with trophies; underneath, lions, which bare rings between their lips, indicate the door of the sepulchral chamber: this ornament is frequently met with in antique cippi. The bust of the warrior

is represented in the dress of a citizen, that is, covered with the toga; he holds in his hands a roll or volume, of which the following is the inscription:

L. CAESIUS. L. F.
CAM. BASSUS
DOMO PISAVRI
VET. LEG. VII. C. P. F.
AN. LIII. STIP. XXXII.
H. S. E. T. F. I. H. P.
IN. F. P. VI. IN. A. P. X.

This interesting inscription should be read as follows:

" Lucius Cæsius, Lucii filius
Camilla *(tribu)* Bassus
Domo Pisauri
Veteranus Legionis VII. Claudiæ Piæ Fidelis
Annorum LIII. Stipendiorum XXXII.
heic situs est. Titulum fieri jussit hæris, posuit
in fronte pedes VI. in agro pedes X."

This monument serves to explain a disputed point in history, relative to the Cam. Camilla, or Camillia. This inscription proves that it was not one of the tribes formed by the Italians when they rose in insurrection at the time of the Social War, and which disappeared on the re-establishment of peace: this is, however, what has been hitherto believed of the tribe Camilla. The marble in question announces a period far posterior, both by the title of Claudia, given to the seventh legion, and by the beard which is perceptible on the chin of the portrait, which indicates the second century of the vulgar æra, that is, of the times which are not anterior to the reign of Adrian. As to the title of Claudia, applied to the letter C, it is confirmed to the seventh legion by imperial medals.

The second monument represents the images of four persons, whose mortal remains it without doubt contained; but the inscriptions are so much defaced that they are no longer legible.

The third is curious, as it relates to two women: the following is the inscription:

PROSTINIA. C. F.
PROCVLA. V. F. SIBI. ET
FAVENTINIÆ DELI
CATÆ DEFVNCTÆ
ANNORUM XXI.

This inscription must be read as under:

"Prostinia Caii filia
Procula viveus fecit sibi, et
Faventinæ deli,
catæ defunctæ,
Annorum XXI."

At Rome they gave the titles of *delicati* and *delicatæ* to slaves, or freed people, of both sexes, whose beauty or talents had excited the esteem or affection of their masters: they were their favourites; and the epithets given to them proves that their masters experienced delight in them. In general their education was more carefully attended to than that of the other slaves, and they were instructed in every accomplishment which could add to the charms of society. We find no example of this kind in the days when republican virtue was at its height: it was corruption that introduced the custom of having such domestics, and the institution must be sought for in the ages of luxury and the voluptuous effeminacy of Roman manners.

M. Cassas, who, throughout the whole of his journey, displayed considerable sagacity in the choice of the monuments which he examined, found at Spalatro, among the great number of cippi, tombs, and sepulchral stones, covered with inscriptions, only the three just mentioned, which appeared to him to be worthy of the attention of the learned. He was less eager after bas-reliefs; but the remarkable subjects, as well as the fine state of preservation of those which he particularly noticed, will induce me to mention them in a cursory manner.

I have already spoken of those which belonged to the frieze of the Temple of Jupiter, and the figures and attributes of which, gave the learned Visconti reason to think that this temple was dedicated to Diana, and not to the King of the Gods: I shall add that this opinion seems to be confirmed by the Table of Peutinger; and I cannot conceive why the place which it indicates by these words, "*ad Dianam*," is applied to a church of St. George, which is situated in the western extremity of Spalatro, towards the port, and where nothing proves the existence of an ancient temple, while at four paces thence we find that in question, the allegorical figures of which are still discernible, and all bear a direct reference to the worship of that goddess. Is it not more reasonable to suppose that it is the pretended Temple of Jupiter, to which the Table of Peutinger makes allusion by the words "*ad Dianam*," rather than the church of St. George;

and is not the proximity of one place to the other, an indication of the same circumstance?

I shall not dwell any longer upon these bas-reliefs of the temple of Spalatro, because all argument must be reduced to this explanation, that they could not have belonged to a temple of Jupiter, and that the ancients were not guilty of improprieties of this nature. I shall only call the attention of the reader for a moment to some other bas-reliefs which were discovered by M. Cassas. Of these there were three, the largest of which is susceptible of a double interpretation, under the idea that it belonged to a sarcophagus, or that it formed part of the decoration of a monument of another kind. If we were to stop at the first idea, that is, if we were to agree that it formed part of a sarcophagus, an opinion towards which the learned Visconti appears to incline, then it may be said that this bas-relief was intended to commemorate the exploits of some governor of a frontier province of the Roman empire. In this case he would be represented in his car, accompanied by armed cavaliers, and repelling an incursion of the Barbarians; by Roman citizens in their togas, by their children, by young girls playing on a kind of drum or tambourine, and by young men blowing a kind of hunting-horn, who would appear to be issuing from the town, before the conqueror. The various circumstances combined in the bas-relief can only relate to some military expedition. After the epoch of the Antonines, the incursions of the Barbarians became so frequent, and the unfortunate events which followed them multiplied to such a degree, that the sculptors employed themselves in preparing bas-reliefs of this kind before hand, in order to apply them to tombs, or to have them in perfect readiness for the death of the Roman governors of provinces. They were always sure to dispose of them, because it rarely happened that public gratitude had not some homage of this kind to pay to the memory of its governors; or, even in the contrary case, servility was so general, that flattery always found pretexts for consecrating monuments to the memory of men in power, though they were little deserving of this honour.

But if we suppose that the bas-reliefs in question did not form part of a sarcophagus, and that, from being discovered at Spalatro, it may have served for the decoration of the palace of Diocletian, then the principal personage must be the emperor himself, received in triumph in some town of the empire, after a fortunate expedition against the Barbarians, whom, in the course of his reign, he had often an opportunity of fighting and conquering. The oriental dress worn by the hero, far from operating against this explanation, will increase its probability, since, as I have

already remarked, and as all his biographers agree in asserting, Diocletian had abandoned the Roman costume, and adopted that of the eastern monarchs: then the little couching figures that are perceived at the bottom of the bas-relief, between the legs of the horses belonging to the car of the hero, and those of the warriors who follow him, might be easily explained: they might represent the nymphs or genii of the rivers, forests, and mountains, which were the theatre of those exploits, the memory of which the artist wished to transmit to posterity; and they may be considered as applicable, either to the sanguinary expedition of Diocletian against Achilles in Egypt, or to his victories in Rhætia and Pannonia over the Germans, the Sarmatians, the Juthongians, the Caspians, and the Goths.

With respect to the other two bas-reliefs, the sculptor has, in the first, made choice of a subject strictly poetical, and which can have no reference to the history of Diocletian: it represents a combat of the centaurs with the Lapithians, a warlike people of Thessaly, and who were celebrated in the fables and poems of antiquity, which had for their subject the adventures of Theseus. According to all appearance this bas-relief, which is purely decorative, must have belonged to some hall in the palace, each of which, as has been already shewn, had a particular destination.

The second appears to represent some divinities, and, perhaps, may have some reference to the reign of Diocletian; but either from the figures being so much decayed as to render their distinctive characters no longer perceptible, or from their being at too great a distance from the observer, M. Cassas could not properly understand them; but he thinks that their denominations cannot be completely discovered, either from their attitudes or their attributes. All that he suggested is, that the two principal figures which are crowned by victory, are Hercules and Jupiter, the tutelary divinities of Diocletian, who took the surname of Jovius, and of Maximian, his friend and colleague, who called himself Hercules. Hence it might be supposed, that the two other male figures, who appear in the bas-relief, are those of the two Cæsars, who were partners in the empire, while those of the two women were meant as allegorical of the two parts of the world, the east and the west, over which representations their power extended.

There are also several others, which are equally worthy of attention. Some fragments, consisting of figures, undoubtedly belonged to the same monument, and there is no doubt that this monument was a sarcophagus. The personage whose remains it contained, was undoubtedly a sportsman. The custom of representing upon the bas-relief the figure of the entombed, is very an-

cient, and was introduced in Grecian sculpture many ages before the time of Diocletian. Lysippus represented the friends of Alexander as sportsmen, and Philostratus, in his Life of the celebrated sophist Herod Atticus, informs us, that this extraordinary man had caused almost all his friends to be executed in sculpture, in the hunting costume. The custom of representing as hunters the most distinguished persons amongst the Romans, was continued till the decline of the arts; and we find an instance not only in the Hunter of the Capitol of Rome, which is known to be the portrait of a Roman of the third century of the vulgar æra, but another equally interesting, namely, the celebrated engraved saphire, in the cabinet of Rinuccini, at Florence, which represents the Emperor Constance, son of the Emperor Constantine the Great, in the act of irritating an enormous wild boar in the forest of Cappadocia; and the real intention of the engraver of this saphire cannot be doubted. The Greek inscription legible upon this valuable jewel, fully proves its authenticity.

The personage for whom the abovementioned sarcophagus was executed, was certainly a Roman; but if this were to be doubted, some figures covered with the toga, which are to the left of the bas-relief, and in company with the hero, would tend to prove it: in this piece, which according to every appearance was placed in the principal front of the sarcophagus, the sculptor has represented the chace of the wild boar; the artist has given to his figures the heroic costume. The three other bas-reliefs, which ornamented the remaining three faces of the sarcophagus, exhibit the preparations for the chace.

Another piece of marble is a fragment of bas-relief which probably decorated the palace appropriated to festivities or pleasure; it relates to the vintage. The Nymphs and Genii of Bacchus are loading an ass with grapes, which they are in the act of plucking from an arbour.

There is another bas-relief which is scarce and interesting.—In this three Water Nymphs are represented as in almost all the monuments dedicated to Naiads; each of these divinities carries the emblem of a reed, a plant which delights in the environs of rivers and springs: by their side is the god Pan, in his ordinary figure, with his shepherd's crook in his hand, and holding a goat by the horns, while a hound is couchant at his feet. It is not a matter of surprise to find Pan in this bas-relief. This rustic deity is often represented in monuments in company with the goddess of woods and fountains; and I am indebted for this remark to the learned Visconti, whose intelligence has been of much service to me in the examination of these fragments. In the *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca* is a bas-relief which bears a great

resemblance to that we are describing, but the former has a Greek inscription, and the latter a Latin one, of which there only remain the letters CA. L. POS. This inscription is only a fragment; the name of the woman who had consecrated this sepulchre, was probably engraved on the upper frieze, which is destroyed: there remains only the last syllable CA, which had projected at the bottom of the bas-relief. These examples are very frequent. As to the following letters L. POS. they signify the formule, *libere posuit*, which was used in all monuments or other objects consecrated to the gods.

M. Cassas after having taken sufficient time to examine, admire, and make drawings of the magnificent remains of the palace of Diocletian, would not take his final leave of the country without visiting the remains of Salona, where that emperor was born; the fortress of Clissa, formerly *Andetrium*, so famous for its celebrated siege under Augustus, at the time of the revolt in Dalmatia; and lastly, the admirable fall of the river Cettina, formerly called *Titurus*, which is one of the finest spectacles that Nature, in her romantic wildness, presents amongst the numerous phenomena of these mountainous regions.

There are still to be seen between Spalatro and Salona several arches of the aqueduct which supplied the first-mentioned town with water; it may be presumed that this was another of the magnificent works of Diocletian, since there were no habitations of consequence at Spalatro, before his palace was built there. It is known that after his abdication at Nicomedia, he immediately set off for Salona, the place of his nativity, and that he resided in that town during the time his palace was building. Doubtless nothing that could render his residence agreeable was omitted; the want of water must have been one of the first objects on which the architects employed themselves; and every thing indicates that the construction of the aqueduct must have preceded that of the palace. There remain only some fragments of the aqueduct, but these are very considerable, and in several parts still present long rows of arches in a good state of preservation, and, from the irregularity of the ground, many of them have been elevated upon piers. The whole, however, is entirely barren and exposed, and not only have the upper canals disappeared, but also the masonry which supported them, so that the tops of the arches are entirely bare, and the stones of which they are formed exposed to the action of the air, which cannot fail to hasten the destruction of this beautiful structure. The road from Spalatro to Salona crosses it, and in this part it forms a very striking addition to the landscape. On the left it seems as if it issued out of a very high mountain, while on the right it passes through a thick wood in the valley, where its arches, pro-

jecting far above the summits of the trees, form a commanding and majestic appearance.

Salona, or it should rather be said, the place which was once occupied by that celebrated town, is only four miles from Spalatro. If we may believe an inscription found by Gruter, it was called *Colonia Martia, Julia Salona*. Spon has justly observed, that it was built in a fine plain, or circle, formed by the high mountains, the passages to which are defended four miles farther by the fortress of Clissa, and which afterwards extend to Bosnia. Salona was a maritime town, situated on the lake or canal of the same name, and the mouth or bay of which, so difficult to be found by mariners, is, as I have before observed, at one of the angles of the gulph of Spalatro, or, to speak still more exactly, at one of the angles of a kind of inlet, formed by the canal of Braza, between the isle of Bua, the continent, and the coast of Spalatro, and which cannot be perceived while landing at the latter town. Those who wish to enter it, must therefore seek for it some leagues to the west of Spalatro; but these directions are at present of no great importance, as the entire ruin of Salona has for ever stopped the trade that once enlivened its flourishing banks.

I cannot help remarking, that it seems to me, that of all beings man alone retains after his death, something of that majesty which accompanied him during his existence. When an animal expires, death reigns over it in triumph; but on the forehead of man, dignity resists the injury of his decease: with the former, death is absolute; with the latter, it is only conditional. No, the level of equality is not between animals which are no more, and man, who has only ceased to exist. If we cast our eyes on a field of battle, man, though his life is extinguished, still threatens; his blood is chilled, but his courage respires from his motionless limbs. Disgust makes us quit the remains of animals; but if we meet with those of man, his dignity seems to live, and command us to stop, while we are detained by veneration near his coffin. That affection for tombs so rooted, and general amongst all the people of the earth, is, perhaps, indebted for its origin much less to the memory of our relatives, to our regard for our own feelings, or to the noble sentiment of gratitude towards our patrons, than to a respect for certain ineffaceable traces which follow man to his sepulchre.

What a spectacle is afforded by the place which contained the splendid Salona! It once gave masters to the universe, and now it scarcely affords grass for the support of reptiles: a superficies of the extent of two miles, covered with broken pillars, capitals, and sepulchral stones, scattered at random: such is the deplorable state of one of the finest towns of antiquity. A small river

runs through these ruins and empties itself in the gulph: it still abounds with those excellent trout which the Romans were so fond of, and procured at a great expense. When calumny makes choice of a victim, it varies its language according to the understanding of those whom it addresses: hence for example, while it borrowed that of humanity to gain belief for the persecutions of which it accused Diocletian, that of modesty when imputing to him disgusting debaucheries, and a thousand other similar subterfuges to dishonour his memory in future ages, it also adopted the tone of sobriety when reproaching him for fixing his retreat at Spalatro, with the addition, that he abdicated the empire in order to live more at his ease, and gratify his appetite with the trout of Salona!

If we compare the present state of the ruins of Salona, or even that in which they were when observed by Spon, about a hundred and thirty years ago, with the account given of them by the Senator John Baptist Giustiniani, in a valuable manuscript, with which Fortis was acquainted, and which was written in 1550, it is indisputable that their destruction has advanced with ten times greater rapidity in two centuries, than it had in the space of fourteen preceding. The following is the account of them, to which I have alluded:—

"The size and magnificence of the ancient town of Salona may be discovered by the ruins which at present remain; namely, by the vaults and arches of a wonderful theatre; by large blocks of the finest marble, which lie scattered over the fields; by a fine pillar composed of three pieces of marble, and which is still erect, in a spot extending towards the sea, where it is asserted the arsenal was formerly situated; by several admirable arches, over which passes an aqueduct that conducts the water from Salona to Spalatro; there may also be seen the ruins of great palaces, and ancient epitaphs upon many handsome stones; but the soil, which gradually increases and rises, has buried the most ancient and valuable relics."

If this account be true (which will scarcely admit of a doubt, since it was written by an eye-witness, and a man whose birth and employment rendered that country familiar to him,) it may be presumed that the encroachment of the soil of which he complains, has enormously increased since the period when he visited these regions: for not only have the vaults and arches of this theatre disappeared, but at the present day, it is impossible to ascertain the spot which it occupied. Some of the large blocks of marble alluded to in the above-mentioned account, are still to be seen above ground; but the fine column which pointed out the arsenal, is no longer visible. I have

spoken of the ruins of the aqueduct; but its arches are now totally bare; the free-stone blocks, of which its piers consisted, are completely exposed to the air, and there does not remain a single vestige of those fine columns of marble, with which they were formerly embellished. There are no walls now standing, which can impart the idea of their having belonged to great palaces, temples, or porticos, and the numerous materials with which the soil is encumbered, are dispersed promiscuously; and whoever attempts to assign to them their original rank, undertakes a task which he can never accomplish. With respect to the inscriptions which were seen there by Giustiniani, the learned Fortis asserts, that an industrious inhabitant of Spalatro had made an extremely curious collection of them; but this learned individual, being either jealous of his labour, or subject to some inconsistency from which even men of talents are not always free, constantly refuses to communicate his discoveries, and his treasure will consequently be lost to the scientific world, till some fortuitous event shall bring them from their obscurity. Fortis, also, has not published those which he transcribed on the spot, but announces that he preserves them for one of his friends, Count Jerome Silvestri de Rovigo.

It can, therefore, only be by excavating that we can succeed in the recovery of some of the beautiful remains of this town; and by this means, the arts would doubtless receive the addition of some fine pieces of architecture, valuable statues, vases, and bas-reliefs, and perhaps, likewise, some paintings; a desirable circumstance, which would tend to decide the doubts entertained with respect to the state of perfection to which the ancients had arrived in this art. There might, likewise, be discovered the manuscripts of some works which are unknown to us, or with which we are acquainted only by some fragments. But to effect this object, it would be necessary that government should attempt to overcome the repugnance of the natives to permit these researches, and to oppose all the obstacles which ignorance, prejudice, and particularly cupidity, may throw in the way of general discovery. By means of a few thousand franks or florins, which the French and Austrian governments might disburse amongst the peasantry, they might even be induced to assist in this deterration, and the advantage that might be derived from it for the advancement of archæological knowledge would be incalculable. And it should be considered, that there would not here be the opposition of private interest, as at Spalatro, Pola, and Zara; because, to make excavations at those places, it would be necessary to sacrifice or injure the habitations of individuals; but in the vast extent of the spot in question, there are only a few miserable huts, and a small church, while the whole

collection can scarcely be called a village; and as long as three caves were respected, which the inhabitants consider as the tombs of St. Dominic, St. Athanasius, and St. Rainier; whom they assert to have been bishops of Salona, and which places they never fail to shew to travellers as worthy of veneration, they would voluntarily permit researches to be made, particularly if they were to receive any trivial recompence.

On expressing my wish to see these researches carried into effect, my readers will perhaps be surprised that I have intimated, that the French and Austrian governments ought to bear the expense: I might with equal propriety mention every other government in Europe; for I do not acknowledge the right which this or that people arrogate to themselves of possessing the remains of antiquity. No, the monuments which it has left us do not belong to one nation more than another. A people whose time is come to submit to the law which decrees that all things shall have an end, can leave no privileged heirs to the conceptions of their genius. They leave the soil which they occupied either to the conquerors who deprived them of it, or to nature who reclaims it; and it is repeopled or remains desert, according as human interests ordain. But whatever may be the fate reserved for the place which a nation has occupied upon the globe, the monuments which they have erected are the inheritances of no one, because they belong to all mankind. Works of genius are left for general instruction, as virtues are left by reason to be a guide to man; and a nation has no more right to say, I inherit the monuments of the one which has preceded me, than it has to say, I alone will enjoy all the advantage of the laws which it adopted. People whom victory or chance places around the monuments of exterminated nations, have only the right to preserve them: when they watch over them they do their duty; when they secrete them, they act like robbers and become criminal. It is from a love for the arts, that we experience the melancholy sentiment which arise from the appearance of monuments dilapidated by the axe of barbarians: if we go a step further, we shall discover that this sentiment owes its origin to the wound made in what is a general property. The Russian, like the Japanese, if he be well-informed, will feel that the monuments of Rome and Persepolis belong to him. Though time or distance may separate individuals, human knowledge is indivisible; and what does it signify that such or such stones were collected under the reign of Pharamond or Marcellus? This is effected merely by the mechanism of strength, but knowledge alone directed the collection to be made; and in this respect, the man of the present age may be with as much propriety said to have built the monuments as

he who existed three thousand years ago. But there will arrive a time, when these great monuments will behold in their turn destruction approach towards them, the mighty hand of centuries will press upon them, their joints, if I may use the expression, will give way, and the earth, our common parent, will receive and envelope them in its bowels.

Fortis, with his usual sagacity, observes, that the text of Cæsar must have been corrupted, as he describes Salona to be situated on a rising hill: "*Salona in edita colle.*" It is not to be supposed, says he, that he was unacquainted with the real scite of so well known a place: I am of the same opinion. Cæsar must have alluded to *Anderium*, which was in the vicinity of Salona, and some ignorant or careless copyist confounded the one with the other. But errors with respect to the geographical position of ancient towns are often met with, particularly of such as stood in this part of Europe. It was the Hyader, which runs near Salona, and takes its source in the mountain of Clissa, whose waters abounded with those delicious trout which were held in such esteem by the Romans. Fortis mentions that he read a work, the author of which asserts, that the motive of Diocletian for retiring to this town, was to enjoy the luxury of this exquisite fish. I do not know who is the author to whom Fortis alludes, but I pity the men who attempt to write history, and are so little acquainted with the character of the prince of whom they presume to speak; I, however, pity their readers still more.

The road which leads from Salona to Clissa bore the name of *Via Gabinia;* an inscription which Spon discovered, makes mention of this circumstance. I have already remarked that the distance from Spalatro to Salona, is equal with that from Salona to Clissa. M. Cassas did not extend his journey to this fortress, on the extreme boundary of the Venetian States, which Pliny calls *Mandetrium*, Ptolomy *Andecrium*, Strabo *Andetrinum*, and Dio Cassius *Anderium*. The description given by this last-mentioned writer of the siege of that town by Tiberius in the Illyrian war, proves that this place was then as strong as it is at the present day. "The mountain," says he, "on the summit of which it is situated, is steep, inaccessible, and surrounded by precipices." It cost Tiberius much time and labour before he could reduce it. A Queen of Hungary is asserted to have rebuilt it at a subsequent period; but what will not admit of a doubt, is, that it belonged to the Turks, and that a governor of Dalmatia, named Fusculo, took it from them. One of those superstitious notions of which mankind is so readily the dupe, facilitated the capitulation. While the Turks were at prayers, a bomb fell on the mosque, and beat in one of the arches, which buried several of the attendants in its ruins: from that time they con-

ceived that their prophet Mahomet had withdrawn his protection from the town, and they immediately entered into a treaty. They were allowed to march out with the honours of war; but they did not derive any advantage from the clemency of the Venetians; for the Morlachians, their most implacable enemies, followed them and cut them to pieces. The Venetians, after they had become masters of the fortress, increased its strength, not by extending the old fortifications, but by blowing up the greater part of those which remained, and by giving a greater escarpement to the rock; so that the sentinels now absolutely command the road, and there is no other way to the fortress, at least not without making a considerable circuit. This is a complete barrier, yet the fortress itself is commanded by the two mountains which form the gorge; but the difficulty of their ascent would render them of no advantage to an enemy.

The republic of Venice kept but a feeble garrison in this place; but this was sufficient on account of its excellent position: it consisted only of two companies of infantry, and a detachment of cavalry. One of the great inconveniences of Clissa, and which in time of war assumes the character of imminent danger, is, that this fortress wants water; and from being built on a solid rock, it is impossible to dig wells. Though this rock, which by being arranged in platforms, and cut into walls, serves so well for the purposes of defence, there are obstacles to the garrison's making a long resistance, as its elevated situation renders the cold of winter excessive, and the difficulty of procuring fuel is an inconvenience of no trivial kind. Hence a place to which nature has refused both wood and water, may always be easily taken. It was the residence of a governor of the Serene Republic, but he remained only two years in his office; for it was considered an act of patriotism to accept it, as there is scarcely in nature a more wild and disagreeable situation, a more rigorous climate during a part of the year, nor an asylum more destitute of every thing that can contribute to the enjoyment of life.

Though curiosity did not direct the steps of our artist towards Clissa, it operated differently upon him with respect to the grand and famous cascade of the Cettina.

The Cettina is the *Titurus* of the ancients. Its sources take rise in a village called Zarebiza: I say its sources, because they are at a certain distance from each other, as are the rivulets which they feed, and which after running several hundred fathoms, unite in the same bed, and may all be considered as the origin of the river itself. Several geographers and naturalists, and amongst others, Büsching and Fortis, consider these sources as the first appearance, or to speak plainer, the propulsion of a subterraneous river; they are four in number, and two of them are more

curious and larger than the others, in respect of their singular position, their extent and depth. The inhabitants of the country agree in asserting, that it is impossible to find the bottom of either; but this is doubtless one of those errors into which all nations run from their propensity for the marvellous. Indeed man is so constituted, that every thing makes a stronger impression upon him than what is founded upon reason: and the more improbable a thing may be, the greater is the credit which it gains. It must, however, be admitted, that they are very deep; and, it is certain, that the stones thrown into them, disappear, notwithstanding the clearness of the water, before it can be supposed that they have reached the bottom. One of these springs, the bason of which is of a considerable diameter, is almost entirely concealed by rocks which project over it; its water is extremely limpid, and it appears motionless. Nevertheless, its motion, though imperceptible, must be great. A very extraordinary circumstance is, that excellent trout are caught in it, of a considerable size, and it will scarcely admit of a doubt, that these fish come from the subterraneous river. The second of the two large springs is not so much covered as the other, and appears like a great circular bathing-place, which nature has lined with perpendicular banks of marble.

The Cettina does not pass through many plains; for in general, nothing can be more wild than the country through which it runs; even the Alps themselves, with all their formidable irregularities, do not present a more terrific appearance.—This river runs sometimes for several leagues together, confined between two mountains entirely perpendicular, which form a precipice of an inconceivable depth, the whole width of which is filled with the current. It absolutely appears as if the river had cut them from their superficies to the very bowels of the earth, and that it wished, by means of its two enormous banks, to conceal itself equally from the eye of man, and the rays of the sun.

In this manner it arrives at the cascade called Velika Guboviza, and as if it did not find itself sufficiently concealed by the tremendous precipice through which it runs for several miles, it seems to possess itself with ardour of one still more horrible and gloomy. At this spot the bed of the river is narrow, its width being scarcely from seventy to eighty feet. The rock over which the Cettina falls, must doubtless have been vertically split from its summit to its base, for the water falls perpendicularly from an elevation of an hundred and fifty feet. This cascade is in no respect like that of Scardona, which has already been described: for here every thing is terrific and horrible; the sombre and melancholic appearance of its defile, its dark and deep abyss, and the barren state of the enormous rocks heaped one upon another,

whose irregularity, boldness, and prodigious elevation, seem like the ruins of that monument of hatred towards the gods which was raised by the temerity of the Titans. It has no longer the appearance of nature, but of chaos; and it was doubtless in this dreadful disorder, that the elements were confounded before the hand of the Creator reduced them to order. Vultures seem to be the only inhabitants of these desolate shores, and their stature is proportionate to the horrors of their residence: they are of the largest size, and I might add, that they possess all the rudeness of appearance exhibited by the country they inhabit.

In a fantastic mood, nature has marked by two immense pilasters the origin of the new course which the river pursues, after its fall: both of these are of marble, detached, and barren from the base to the summit, one only presenting a little grass and a few shrubs at the top.

The Cettina then runs to the distance of about a quarter of a league between the colossal walls of this precipice, after which it reaches the Mala Guboviza, or little Cascade: the fall of the latter is only twenty feet. Here vegetation again appears, nature resumes her influence, trees, verdure, and flowers are visible in all their beauty, the valley opens and becomes wider, the mountains decrease, and are succeeded by hills covered with wood; the mind then becomes released from the melancholy with which it was oppressed, the eye is relieved by plains, and the Cettina slow and majestically glides through the meadows, till it sinks beneath a brilliant and azure horizon; thus affording a fine resemblance of a man, who, having overcome reverses and misfortunes, advances towards the period of his existence resplendent with innocence and virtue.

The month of July had nearly passed, and M. Cassas, who had quitted Rome two months before, and might be said not to have enjoyed a single day of rest, now began to think of returning; and having visited, as has already been shewn, the ruins of Salona, the cataract of the Cettina, and other objects worthy of remark, he travelled back to Spalatro, where after having devoted two days to return thanks for the kind reception he had received from the principal officers of the town, and the learned men already mentioned, he embarked on the 24th of July to return to Trieste, and thence to Venice. The coast which he had already passed offering on his return no subject that could again excite his curiosity, he did not wish to encounter a second time the continued dangers of the difficult passage amidst the innumerable shoals and isles of every size, which cover the coasts of Dalmatia from the Quarnero to Spalatro, and thence as far as Ragusa: he therefore sailed from the canal of Braza, betweeen

the little isle of Zivana and that of Solta, when gaining the open channel, he continued his voyage entirely free from that archipelago.

At length, after a favourable passage of seventeen days, during which he landed and remained a week at Pola, in order to make drawings of some monuments which he had admired on his passage, he arrived at Trieste, on the 10th August, 1782, where he met with the party of friends who had intended to bear him company; but whose resolution was changed by the inconvenience they experienced at sea, as has been already mentioned. The French Consul M. Bertrand, and the son of the Prince of Pars, who by fatigue had been obliged to separate from our artist at Fiume, expected him with impatience, as they had received no account of him since his departure. The Duke Bonelli, and the Marquis Visconti of Milan, had returned to Italy; some of the other gentlemen had set off for Vienna, but he here met with his amiable companion M. de Beauharnois.

On his first arrival at Trieste, he had examined every subject worthy of notice, which was contained in that town; it therefore only remained for him to observe the environs, where several interesting spots, particularly the castle of Luegg, the fall of the Ruecca, and the castles of Novoscoglio and San Canciano, claimed his attention.

After having rested a few days, he set off to view the castle of Luegg, or Predjama. He took the great road which leads from Trieste to Vienna, by which he shortly arrived at the foot of the Lanos, and soon after at Residerta; here he left the main road, and turning to the left, travelled through a delightful country every where covered with the finest vegetation, and containing a number of country seats. The whole landscape received the most agreeable variety by the occurrence of various hills, shaded by beautiful trees, and terminating in meadows of an admirable verdure, through which passed innumerable limpid streams. On approaching Luegg, the appearance of the country assumes a wilder form, and the road, which is of a considerable elevation, enables the eye to comprise a great extent of landscape. The traveller sees before him a deep valley, the rugged soil of which is covered with precipices and hillocs, interspersed with various kinds of trees, amongst which some firs spread their sombre verdure: on one side may be viewed many cultivated enclosures, and on the other a number of cottages, through which a rivulet passes in a tortuous direction. In front, beyond the valley, is a prodigious mass of perpendicular rock, and in the middle of this rock you behold a vast arch, formed by nature, which appears like the entrance to an immense grotto: at the mouth of this grotto, and on the platform which supports it, is the antique

and irregular façade of the castle of Luegg, which appears as if it hung over an abyss, while the arch of the grotto, which is much higher than the turrets of the castle, covers it with a deep shade, and seems about to bury it beneath the mass of rock which it supports.

On beholding this singular scene, it would seem as if the castle has been built for the express purpose of defending the entrance of the grotto. From the eminence on which the traveller discovers the castle of Luegg, his view extends over the summits of the rocks, and he perceives, at the horizon, the mountains of Carniola, rising in the form of an amphitheatre. This landscape is at once singular and interesting, while the strange situation of the castle of Luegg gives it a character which is no where else to be met with; it reminds one of those castles inhabited by enchanters, the descriptions of which are formed only by the imagination of romance-writers or poets; and one is induced to believe, that this is the asylum of some necromancer, like those of Ariosto or Richardet.

When the traveller has descended into the valley, and arrived at the foot of the rock itself, on taking a view of its enormous perpendicular height, which is only interrupted by the projection of the castle, that seems as if it stood over his head, the spectacle is at once astonishing and tremendous, and he cannot conceive what caprice could have induced men to make choice of so wild and inaccessible a retreat. But we can discover, that this extraordinary choice must have naturally owed its origin to the two most common passions, and those which are most fatal to the human race, namely, the rage of war and the love of power. The pride of feudality could alone have inspired courage to form such a palace. The first building with which you meet on searching for a path to ascend to the castle, is a mill built of shingles, and which is turned by a rivulet that issues from the mountain: behind this mill is the path, which could not, however, be discovered without the aid of guides: it is narrow and steep, takes a difficult direction over the anfractuosities of the rock, and leads to a wooden draw-bridge, erected about half way to the castle. The external end of the bridge is supported on a stone pier, and the opposite extremity on the rock; then follow about 20 steps cut in the rock, by which you arrive at a gate defended by two towers; this gate leads to a grotto formed by nature, but of a much less size and height than the great and upper grotto, at the entrance of which stands the castle. After passing the lower grotto by the aid of torches, you again meet with the path, which in some places is cut in steps, and at others has a sloping direction; this path leads to the castle, which is a

shapeless mass of different kinds of buildings; they are of a considerable height, but heaped together without order or taste, and appear to have been adapted to each other, only as necessity dictated. On the inside, however, there prevails a considerable degree of magnificence; but it is that Gothic kind of majesty, which is more indebted to pride than to grandeur, while it affords a stronger idea of tyranny than of power. A few gardens, which in later and more polished times have been cultivated around the walls, do not soften the horror which their appearance inspires. This dreadful cavern, with the grotto so formidable from its darkness, depth, and silence, seems to shew the ferocity of the founders of the castle. One is not accustomed to meet with the habitations of men at the entrance of the dens of leopards and tigers; and when they have the hardihood to erect them in such situations, it is like making choice of a pit, to involve and destroy their victims, while they secure for themselves a retreat within the bowels of the earth; though they have the presentiment, that the time must arrive, when the people, excited to vengeance by the despotism of these tyrants, will cause that retreat to be their tomb.

Although M. Cassas, as an artist, was charmed with the castle of Lucgg, yet, when considering it as a philanthropist, he left it without regret, and returned to Residerta, where instead of taking the road to Trieste, he followed that which leads to Senosequia, and hired guides to conduct him to the banks of the Ruecca.

In these districts, highly-cultivated land is no longer to be seen; the soil is gravelly, dry, and barren, and from Senosequia to the valley of the Ruecca, its appearance was melancholy in the extreme. This river runs between rocks of a considerable height, whose ruggedness is insurmountable, even by the most adventurous herdsman: above these rocks appear the antique and dismantled towers of the old castle of Novoscoglio, exhibiting the vestiges of savage feudality in the bosom of more savage nature. Not far from this spot, is the village of San-Canciano, or Saint-Kosiau, which is likewise situated on the summit of the rocks. At the foot of this village, the Ruecca affords to those who take delight in the phenomena of nature, a spectacle the like of which is seldom to be found in the world:—in this part the fissures in the rocks are so vertical, that they appear to have been cut by the hand of man, and this steepness is every where alike, however various may be the lines which they follow in their superposition; but what adds still more to their singularity, is their summits, which are cut with a sort of symmetry, and appear like so many square towers, that command and seem to defend those gigantic walls, or they might rather be taken for battlements.

At the base, that is to say, in the almost unfathomable abyss formed by these natural ramparts, the Ruecca winds and runs with a sort of majestic slowness, seeming to disdain the opposition of the blocks with which its bed is every where interspersed, till it suddenly arrives at an immense cavity, the frightful and sombre peristyle of a subterraneous gallery, of which the terrified imagination can neither guess nor measure the depth. Into this enormous gulph, the waters of the Ruecca fall with a tremendous noise, and are lost from the observance of man; but whither they go, to what depth they fall, or how long they have disappeared in this receptacle, he has never been able to ascertain during thousands of generations, and many ages will doubtless yet pass away before this mystery will be discovered. No one can conceive the dreadful and incessant roaring of the water in the deep cavities of this impenetrable abyss, nor the terror which seizes on the spectator at his first view of the gulph. It is here, by his unexpected humiliation, that man is compelled to acknowledge the limited extent of his mind; and though every where else he may be proud to think and act like a God, he here, perhaps for the first time, perceives his information to be only that of a subordinate creature. But this is not all; for the traveller, if he proceed no further, will have but an incomplete idea of the singular destiny of the Ruecca; he must, if possible, pass this mountain, or rather this gigantic wall, the fractured sides of which absorb the river. The other side affords a spectacle not less extraordinary, and perhaps still more wild; the same ruggedness and nudity in the rocks, but more disorder and confusion: the masses, which are equally vertical here, obstruct, intersect, and pass each other in various directions, while the summits frequently come in contact, and at other times appear at a considerable distance from each other; in short, the whole presents the most shapeless and terrific chaos. It is in the midst of these numerous blocks, that the Ruecca, after meandering through the bowels of the mountain, issues violently from a deep and narrow fissure, and disgorges itself into a large bason, 600 feet below the level of San-Canciano, which is so shaded by the elevation of the rocks, that it is constantly inaccessible to the rays of the sun. It is pretended, that all attempts to ascertain its depth by sounding have proved ineffectual. In fact, this may be considered as the tomb of a river, so remarkable for its adventures: the threads of water which trickle from the overflowing of the bason, after having run for some time across the rocks that lie dispersed below this kind of crater, diminish till they at length become imperceptible, and thus the Ruecca disappears for ever.

At this spot the object of M. Cassas's journey was at an end; and when the fatigues inseparable from a tour of five or six hundred leagues are considered, it will be admitted, that he deserves the gratitude of every admirer of the arts. Few men, perhaps, were more capable of executing such a task, and none could have delineated with more grace or exactness the singular and interesting objects afforded by nature or art, in a country so worthy of attention, though now so little known. It would perhaps have been highly gratifying if M. Cassas had united to his excellent skill as an artist, the talent of political and general observation; the reader would then, to the satisfaction of learning the present state of the vestiges of antiquity in those regions, have added the pleasure of ascertaining more intimately the manners, customs, laws, and origin of the various tribes with which they are at present inhabited. But this was not the object of the journey of M. Cassas; it only remained for him to fulfil the duty imposed on him, and of this he has satisfactorily acquitted himself.

At the end of August he left Trieste on his return to Venice, and thence to Rome, where he resided some time in order to arrange the materials which were the result of his journey.

THE END.

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SWEDEN, DENMARK and NORWAY.
NORTHERN OR FROZEN OCEAN
GULF OF BOTHNIA
GULF OF FINLAND
GULF OF LIVONIA
BALTIC SEA
SKAGER RACK
LITHUANIA
PRUSSIA
LIVONIA
WHITE SEA
LADOGA
Longitude East of Greenwich.

TRAVELS

THROUGH

DENMARK, SWEDEN, AUSTRIA,

AND

PART OF ITALY,

IN

1798 & 1799,

BY

CHARLES GOTTLOB KÜTTNER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

Complete.

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1805.

ADVERTISEMENT

OR

THE TRANSLATOR.

THE Writer of the following pages is a literary character of considerable eminence in Germany, and not unknown in England, with which a long visit has rendered him intimately acquainted. His observations are evidently not the result of a superficial mind. A residence in different countries has furnished him with an opportunity of seeing objects in various points of view, and has enabled him to draw more accurate conclusions from those which fall under his observation.

M. Kuttner himself remarks, that this Work should not be considered as a complete description of the countries through which it conducts the Reader; but, at the same time, he assures us that all the remarks have been made on the spot or place to which they relate; because he was resolved to write on no subject but what he had himself seen. This stamps his work

with the character of extraordinary accuracy and impartiality; which, combined with the Author's statistical and political knowledge, and the information he acquired by conversing with the most enlightened men in the places he visited, renders these Travels peculiarly interesting.

The Translator has judged it proper to dispense with the desultory observations on Hamburgh and other well known parts of Germany, and has conducted the Reader at once to the Author's entrance into Denmark; a country, the present state of which is little known to the English Reader.

London, Oct. 26, 1804.

TRAVELS

THROUGH

DENMARK, SWEDEN, AND NORWAY,

IN THE YEARS 1798 & 1799.

LETTER I.

JOURNEY FROM KIEL TO SLESWICK.—THE EYDER.—CANAL BETWEEN HOLSTEIN AND SLESWICK.—ECKERNFÖHRDE.—SLESWICK.—THE CASTLE OF GOTTORP.—THE COUNTRY OF THE ANGLES.—FLENSBURG.—THE ISLAND OF ALSEN.—SONDERBURG.—AUGUSTENBURG.—APENRADE.—HADERSLEV.—CHRISTIANSFELD, A MORAVIAN SETTLEMENT.—KOLDING.—MIDDLEFAHRT.—GENERAL OBSERVAVIONS ON THE DUCHY OF SLESWICK.—ODENSE.—NYEBORG.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE ISLAND OF FÜNEN, AND THE DANISH DOMINIONS IN GENERAL.—PASSAGE OF THE GREAT BELT.—SPRÖE.—ICE-BOATS, WHICH CARRY THE POST OVER THE BELT IN WINTER.—KORSÖER.

COPENHAGEN, *June* 1798.

LEAVING Kiel, we soon arrived at the canal at Knox, which has, in this place, a very fine sluice. The river Eyder, which forms the boundary between Holstein and Sleswick, is navigable from Rendsburg to the North Sea; so that, to establish a communication between the latter and the Baltic, nothing more was necessary, than to render navigable the six miles between Rendsburg and the Baltic. On account of the fall in this part, six sluices were constructed; and that which I saw, was equal, both in neatness and convenience, to any I ever met with in England and Holland. I was so fortunate as to arrive just at the moment when a large vessel was passing through, on its way to the Baltic. During the passage, which was performed in about half an hour, I entered into conversation with the captain; from whom I learned that this canal is capable of admitting vessels of upwards of 200 tons; but if they draw more than nine feet water, it is necessary to lighten them.

If we consider the vast circuit round all Sleswick and Jütland, which is avoided by ships navigating this canal, we should be led to suppose, that this advantage is of sufficient magnitude to counterbalance every other consideration. This, however, is not the case; for vessels are subject to so many delays in the passage, that, though the length of the canal is only 22 German miles, they are sometimes detained in it a whole month; especially if the wind happen to be contrary. A passage of 48 or 50 hours is reckoned uncommonly expeditious. The toll paid at each of the six sluices is four shillings; the same is required for two bridges; so that the whole sum does not exceed 32 schillings, (about two shillings and six-pence English).

On the north side of the canal is situated the charming residence of the count Von Bauditz. The grounds are laid out in the English style; and the house has been lately rebuilt. The road is tolerably good; and, like most of those in the duchy of Sleswick, paved with very large stones. Though they enable the passenger to proceed with greater rapidity, than on a sandy soil; yet they are productive of no small inconvenience to the carriage and every thing within it.

Before the traveller reaches Eckernföhrde, he enjoys a beautiful view of the bay on which that town is situated. This tract contains a great portion of wood-land; whence it has been denominated *Sylva Danica*. Eckernföhrde is neither a handsome nor a large place; but it has some trade. Close to the town is a fresh-water lake; which is, however, connected with the bay. Over the place where they join, is a wooden bridge, across which lies the road to Sleswick.

The distance from this place to Sleswick is 14 miles. This tract consists principally of moors and sand; it contains little wood, and few inhabitants. The Schley, a long, narrow bay, which runs from the Baltic up to the town of Sleswick, affords, however, some pleasing views.

Sleswick is a charming place; greatly resembling the capitals of the democratic Swiss cantons. In some parts, it has less the appearance of a town, than of groups of country-houses. It consists principally of one street, about two miles and a-half in length; in which many of the houses stand detached. Almost all of them are small, many having only a ground-floor; and few being more than one story high. They are built, in general, of wood; and have a neat, clean, and pleasing appearance. The town is situated at the bottom of the Schley; and, when seen from the water, or from an eminence, it makes a considerable figure; as all the best houses then appear most conspicuous. These, in general, belong to the nobility, who come from all parts of the duchy, and from the islands, to spend the winter in this place. Sleswick is the re-

sidence of the governor of the province: but it has very little trade, notwithstanding its secure and capacious harbour; because there is not a sufficient depth of water at its mouth. The cathedral, though a very old and insignificant structure, is, however, an interesting object to the observer; because it contains, in some measure, the history of the arts and of the progress of taste, in this country, during several centuries. I scarcely ever saw an edifice of this kind so much crowded with monuments; but they attest the splendour and opulence of the families which are here interred. All the pillars are hung round with busts, statues, pictures, &c. Many families have distinct chapels, in which the deceased are deposited, in immense coffins of marble, lead, and copper. One of these chapels contains the remains of the ancient dukes of Sleswick; and its walls are decorated with their effigies, in white marble. Several bishops are likewise interred here. The large marble monument of Frederic I. of Denmark, who died in 1534, is embellished with a great number of statues of white marble; the execution of which is by no means contemptible. I was particularly struck with an altar-piece, of ancient workmanship. The figures upon it, which are almost innumerable, are of wood; and represent Scriptural histories. They are richly gilt all over, by which the workmanship is, in some degree, disadvantageously concealed.

The castle of Gottorp, though situated close to Sleswick, is not generally considered as belonging to the town. It is a large structure, and was formerly the residence of the dukes: the garden is terminated by a hill, which commands a delightful prospect. On the eminence stands a pleasure-house, where was formerly the celebrated globe, which was afterwards removed to Petersburg. It contains nothing worthy of notice; and is now the ordinary residence of Prince Charles of Hesse-Cassel, governor of Sleswick and Holstein; and consort of the princess Louisa, daughter of the Danish king, Frederic V. and mother of the Crown Princess.

SONDERBURG, *in the island of* ALSEN, *June* 23d.

We left Sleswick early this morning, and ascended on foot a considerable eminence, in order to enjoy another view of the town, the bay, and its islands. We then crossed a tract of the worst land in the duchy; while the contiguous country of the Angles, from which the Anglo-Saxons are supposed to have derived their origin, or at least their name, is equally distinguished for the excellent quality of its soil. It extends about 18 miles each way; and is bounded on the south, by the Schley; on the east, by the Baltic Sea; on the north, by the Bay of Flensburg; and is sepa-

rated by the high road from Sleswick to Flensburg from the interior provinces of the duchy.

Flensburg, though not the capital, is the most opulent and important place in this country. It is not small, and the streets, which are rather narrow, swarm with inhabitants, and exhibit a continual scene of bustle and activity. The houses are neither so neat nor so clean as those of Sleswick; but they are constructed in a more solid and durable manner. Like that town, Flensburg principally consists of one very long street. The back of this street looks towards the harbour; on that side, each house has a small garden, separated from the water by an alley, which forms an agreeable promenade. To the right is the port, with the vessels, which produce a lively spectacle; and, to the left are the gardens, each of which has a door leading to this alley. They all command the most delightful view of the harbour, the bay, and the opposite mountainous shore. The port is very good, safe, and convenient; and was full of ships when I saw it. Close to the town, it is narrow; but the whole bay, which is denominated Flensburg Wisk, is 18 miles in length, and terminates at Flensburg, may be considered as a harbour; for it is encompassed by hills, which shelter it from every wind, and is of sufficient depth for the largest vessels.

From this place, we resolved to turn aside to the island of Alsen; whose capital, Sonderburg, is five miles distant from Flensburg. The country through which the road at first leads, is neither fertile nor agreeable, till you reach the place called Sundewit: where the duke of Holstein Augustenburg possesses a considerable estate, and the mansion of Gravenstein. As we approached the latter, the country assumed a more pleasing aspect; and we found the road kept in excellent repair. Upon our arrival at Gravenstein, we immediately proceeded to the palace: a square building of considerable magnitude; though one of the wings has been burned down;—and the duke does not intend to rebuild it. The grounds about the palace are fine, and contain some noble and extensive woods. Art has had little share in the formation of the scenery: Nature created an English park on a grand scale; and it was thought sufficiently beautiful to be left in that state.

Between Sleswick and Flensburg, I almost imagined myself in Ireland. The similarity, in the appearance of the country, is so striking, that one of our servants, an Italian, who had once been in that island, could not refrain from continually repeating to himself, *Irlanda, Irlanda!* Of the road from Gravenstein to Sonderburg, two miles and a-half lead through a country that is extremely beautiful, and presents the most delightful views; many of which strongly reminded me of England.

Proceeding, for a considerable distance, along a small bay, you continue ascending; and, at length, discover the island of Alsen, with the town of Sonderburg, which appears to great advantage; and, being situated on the declivity of a hill, seems much larger than it really is. To the right, you see a part of the Baltic; and to the left, the streight which divides Alsen from the continent. Here, at the distance of four miles, you behold the white towers of Augustenburg, peering above the verdant trees, with which it is surrounded; and commanding a small bay, extended at its feet. The whole made an extremely pleasing impression; and produced sensations similar to those which certain scenes in Italy once excited.

We now kept descending to the narrow streight which separates Alsen from the continent. Here is a ferry-boat, guided by a rope fastened, on each side, to the shore; but, as we should have been detained some time by the carriage, we took a small boat, which landed us in six minutes on the opposite side of the streight.

APENRADE, 24th *June*.

We set off very early this morning from Sonderburg, in order to visit Augustenburg, the principal residence of the duke. Here, as at Gravenstein, we found a good road; both being, probably, maintained at the duke's expence. We proceed, principally, through meadow-land, to the small village of Augustenburg; at the extremity of which the palace is situated. The external appearance of the latter, its spacious court, and extensive stables, give it an air of grandeur which renders it worthy of a prince. The garden is in the French style.

We went back to Sonderburg by the same way, and hastened to the ferry; in the vicinity of which stands an ancient castle, likewise belonging to the duke; but which has long been uninhabited. Here is the burial-place of the family.

The distance from Sonderburg to Apenrade is 18 miles. On the way to the latter place, I remarked that the habitations of the country-people had, almost without exception, an appearance of neatness and cleanliness. They are very small and low, but are, in a high degree, what particularly pleases an Englishman, and what he calls a *snug neat cottage*. The windows are all whole, not patched with paper, and kept perfectly clean: the roof is of thatch, very thick, and formed with the utmost accuracy and regularity: in a word, the *tout-ensemble* gives an idea of warmth, comfort, and convenience. The people in general, in this district, are particularly clever in the art of thatching, and are not excelled even by the inhabitants of the country about Hamburg. Many

things here likewise reminded me of the more improved parts of Ireland. I thought I perceived a considerable difference between that portion of Sleswick which belongs to the Duke of Augustenburg, and the rest of the country, though the whole of it exceeded my expectation. I was informed that the Duke is a good master to his vassals, and has relieved them from several oppressive burthens. There are no such large farms here as in many parts of Germany, nor any very opulent individuals among the peasantry. Every thing is on a very small and limited scale, but they have sufficient to satisfy all their wants.

Apenrade is a tolerably large, handsome, populous, and very opulent town. The houses are entirely in the Dutch style. A peculiar kind of luxury strikes the eye of a stranger in this place: I mean the paintings, with which great numbers of the door-ways are decorated. On some you see gardens, or architectural subjects, strange figures, but most frequently landscapes, and, here and there, views of the town and harbour of Apenrade: the town contains a great number of shops, and its trade is said to be pretty considerable. This, however, relates more to its domestic consumption, than to extensive foreign commerce; for in this respect Apenrade cannot sustain any comparison with Flensburg. The harbour, indeed, is not of sufficient depth for the purposes of navigation. It is situated at the bottom of a bay, surrounded with hills of considerable height, covered with wood. These eminences, which gradually grow higher as they recede from the coast, afford, with their woods, such delicious views, that I imagined I was beholding several contiguous country-seats of English gentlemen.

MIDDLEFAHRT, *in the island of Fünen, June* 25, 1803.

Leaving Apenrade, we crossed some of the hills which had yesterday given me such pleasure. By ten in the morning we had reached Hadersley, though above twenty miles distant from Apenrade. This is likewise a tolerable town, is situated on a bay, and has some trade. The mountains continue increasing in height, from this place to the frontiers of Jütland, and the country becomes more picturesque and woody, but likewise assumes a wilder appearance. It is remarkable, that all the woods consist principally of beech, and that the fir which I expected chiefly to have met with in the north, is so rare, that I scarcely think I saw between Eutin and Jütland, a single fir, larch, or pine, which did not appear to have been planted either in a garden or near a house.

Notwithstanding the roughness of the road, we proceeded with great rapidity over the eighteen miles to Kolding, the first place in Jütland, making, likewise, a circuit to Christiansfeld, or, as

our postillion called it, The Holy Town. It lies at some distance from the high road, nearer to Hadersley than Kolding, and in neatness, beauty, and cleanliness, exceeds every town I have seen for a long time. The whole place has not been built above twenty years, and might be taken for a group of country-houses belonging to opulent Dutch citizens. Every thing is laid out by line; before the houses, on each side of the way, is a row of trees, whose verdure forms an agreeable contrast with the pale yellow of the buildings. Each house is separated from those next to it by a small square court or garden. The place is inhabited by a congregaten of Moravian, or, as they stile themselves, Evangelical, Brethren. They built it under the protection of his present Majesty, Christian VII. and it is named after him. All articles manufactured here, are said to be of excellent quality, but they are considerably dearer than at other places. I was informed that they have the character of being good, peaceable, and industrious citizens. For the rest, their discipline and institutions are the same as at Hermhut in Lusatia. This place is neither mentioned in Busching, nor laid down in any of the maps which we took with us.

Travellers, in general, go from Hadersley to the island of Aroe, and from the latter to Assens in Funen, proceeding directly to Odense, the capital of that island. This route is considerably shorter and consequently cheaper than that which we chose, but the Little Belt is, in this place, 19 miles over. Partly with a view to avoid the sea, and partly to see something of Jütland, we went through Kolding, Snoghöe, crossing the Little Belt to Middlefahrt, where it is scarcely two miles and a half broad.

I have frequently made the observation, that it is with towns and countries exactly as with persons: there is something in the first look that prejudices us for or against them; and if several unpleasing circumstances successively occur, ill-humour is the consequence, and then every thing is disagreeable and disgusting. This was perhaps the case on my entrane into Jütland; it is likewise possible, that there may exist between this province and Sleswick that difference which is frequently found between two countries bordering on each other, and separated, like them, merely by a brook.—Be this as it may, the first view of Kolding produced an unfavourable impression, which the post-house, very different from those I had recently visited, was not calculated to remove.

We had scarcely alighted, when we were informed of the arrival of two custom-house officers, a description of men to which I have a great aversion, and by whom the traveller is not molested in Hanover, Holstein, and Sleswick. This is strictly the commencement of Denmark; and Kolding may consequently

be considered as the first frontier town. The constitution and form of government of the Danish States, properly so called, to which Jütland belongs, varies in many respects from that of the duchies of Sleswick and Holstein; and there is likewise a considerable difference in the currency.—We went to see an ancient royal palace, situated close to the town, on a hill commanding a fine prospect. The greater part of it is now in ruins, but it must once have been a place of some consequence, as it was inhabited by several kings.

The distance from Kolding to Snoghöe is about 11 miles, in which the hills, mostly covered with trees, and the bay which runs up to Kolding, and is here and there seen on the way to Snoghöe, augment the beauty of the various prospects. The latter part of this stage is particularly delightful, as the traveller is separated from the island of Funen only by the Little Belt, which here winds among a great number of promontories, that are seen successively projecting, with the sea between them.—You likewise now and then discover Fridericia, a fortress, which at this distance produces an agreeable effect.

Snoghöe is remarkable only for its ferry over the Little Belt, and is composed of a few houses, among which is an inn. The ferry-boat is not large, but is capable of transporting three carriages at once. The evening was fine, the wind strong and favourable, and in 17 minutes we were in the island of Funen.

We had still time sufficient to walk about in the town of Middlefahrt, where there is very little to be seen. The houses, in general, have only a ground-floor, and the diminutive Dutch style, which commences in Holstein and continues throughout Sleswick, dwindles away, in Funen and Seeland, into absolute meanness, without possessing that cleanliness and neatness which in the former countries produce such a pleasing effect. We found very decent accommodations at Söer Nolsens, for here the inns seldom have any sign; but are called by the name of the landlord.

NYEBORG, *in the Island of Fünen, the 26th June.*

Before I proceed any farther, give me leave to make a few general observations on the duchy of Sleswick. I scarcely know a country, excepting England, in which travelling is more agreeable. From Kiel to Jütland you meet with a continual succession of plains and moderate hills, and a country which, though not equal to the finest tracts of Germany, is, however, very well cultivated, where the charming verdure of the corn-fields, meadows, and pastures, is shaded by the darker tints of the woods and groves. It is only here and there that small tracts of barren heath, turf or moorland, intervene.

In the towns every thing exceeded my expectation. The inhabitants are more conveniently lodged, and better clothed; they are more cleanly; in a word, they appear to possess greater affluence than persons of the same class in most of the small towns of Germany. I almost every where fancied myself in Holland. The houses are small, low, and frequently consist only of the ground-floor; but they are extremely neat, and have a great number of windows, which are kept so clean, that, in passing, I often had an opportunity of witnessing the order, cheerfulness, and comfort which prevail within.

Nor is this the case only in the towns; I likewise saw a great number of good houses in the country. The inhabitants appear not only to be acquainted with the conveniences and comforts of life, but likewise with a species of luxury, generally found among people who live near the sea, and who, by navigation and their proximity to seaports, procure things which the lower classes in more inland provinces scarcely know even by name. Even the smallest cottages have an appearance of cleanliness and affluence highly agreeable to the feelings of the philanthropist.

Between Eutin and the Great Belt, that is, in the bishopric of Lübeck, in Holstein, Sleswick, and Jütland, I did not meet with a single human creature but what had shoes and stockings. In Fünen, and only there, the shoes of the common people are mostly of wood; and that island, in general, cannot sustain a comparison with Sleswick. I observed scarcely any beggars.

But, as, on the one hand, every individual appears to possess a competence, so, on the other, no traces are to be found of opulence, grandeur, and splendour. Most of the houses in Leipzig would here pass for palaces, and the habitation of many a German farmer would be taken for the residence of a nobleman! Large store-houses, extensive manufactories, and magnificent public buildings, are as rare as splendid equipages and smart livery-servants.

The roads, if not always good, are at least tolerable. Here and there we met with sand, but we always went twenty miles in about five hours. The extra-posts ought by right to proceed at the rate of nearly five miles an hour, and I could discover how rigorously this injunction is enforced by the government, from the anxiety manifested by the postillions, on their arrival at the end of each stage, to obtain a written certificate, in which the traveller testifies his satisfaction. They were, at the same time, extremely civil, good-tempered, and always contented with what I gave them. I likewise travelled, without opposition, with only four horses; whereas in both Upper and Lower Saxony, and also in Pomerania and Silesia, I was subject to incessant vexation on this account, and was frequently obliged to take six.

I was particularly pleased with the houses of public entertainment. Between Eutin and the frontiers of Jutland, I was in none that was not superior to any that I am acquainted with, in the various towns between Berlin, Dresden, Prague, Leipzig, Magdeburgh, and Brunswick. But Hass's at Sleswick, and the post-house at Apenrade, are two of the best inns that I know any where, though they are not so large and so splendid as the Polish Hotel at Dresden, or the most celebrated houses at Frankfort.

On the GREAT BELT, *the 27th of June.*

Leaving Middlefahrt early yesterday morning, we proceeded with the same horses to Odense, the capital of Fünen, a distance of 28 miles. Though we baited our horses at Gripswad, yet, notwithstanding the delay, we were not more than six hours in going that stage.

I had, hitherto, scarcely been under any difficulty with regard to the language. In the north of Sleswick, I indeed met with persons who did not understand German; for Danish begins to be spoken between Flensburgh and Jütland; but I readily found others with whom I was able to converse. The same was the case in Jütland. At Middlefahrt nobody, besides our host, could speak German, but his daughter understood almost every thing I said. At Gripswad, a single detached house, I for the first time found not a creature that understood me. In such cases you are obliged to apply to the females, and it is ten to one but you obtain what you want. I spoke German and the landlady Danish, and yet, partly by words and partly by signs, we at length made shift to comprehend each other.

At the inn at Odense we found a waiter who could speak German, and immediately engaged him for a guide through the town. He shewed us the cathedral, with its gilded altar and numerous monuments; the bishop's palace; the Grey Friars, an old church, in which several kings and queens are interred, and where I met with another altar of the same kind as that at Sleswick, and which was indeed extremely handsome. You see upon it an immense number of figures, about eight inches in length, carved in wood in relievo, and representing circumstances recorded in the Old Testament. The whole was very rich and well guilt.

Odense, though the capital of the island, does not contain much that is worthy of notice. It is a place of tolerable extent, but the Danish style of architecture gives it a mean appearance. The houses themselves are old and not well built. The royal palace where Frederic IV. expired, is unworthy of a monarch: the adjacent garden would not deserve to be mentioned, were it not the only one of the kind at this place. It is open to the public, and, at least, affords the inhabitants shade, which is not

easily met with in the vicinity of Odense. Several attempts have been made to introduce the English style into this garden, which was originally laid out in the French or Dutch taste.

Articles of leather, and particularly gloves, are made in this place, to a considerable amount. The few shops which I saw, were insignificant, and destitute of elegance and taste, and very few of the inhabitants whom we met were well dressed. Our guide at length took us, at my request, to a tower, where I enjoyed a view of the whole island, which is a dead flat, and at the same time, remarked the injudicious situation of Odense. About two miles from the town is a good harbour, which is considered as the port of Odense, and is used by the citizens for the purposes of trade. But this distance, though small, makes a great difference in commerce; for all commodities sent thither from Odense, or from the port to that place, must be re-loaded and conveyed on a miserable canal to and from the town.

The stage from Odense to Nyeborg, which is 19 miles, we passed so slowly, that we had more than sufficient time to take a survey of the latter, which is a mean place, with an insignificant fortress, and to enjoy the charming views upon the Great Belt. The town was not long since burned down, and many of the houses are not rebuilt, or only in part. All those who cross the Great Belt at this place, are obliged, in addition to the ancient toll, to pay a certain sum for the benefit of the town. Nyeborg is situated on the pleasant and tolerably fertile borders of a bay.

Fünen is accounted the best of the Danish islands, and is reported to produce considerable quantities of corn. I entertained great doubts on this head; but was, however, assured at Copenhagen, that this was a fact, and, among others, by a gentleman who himself possesses considerable estates in the island.

There is little to be seen from the high road between Middlefahrt and Nyeborg, which runs quite across the country. As far as my eye could reach, the whole island appeared almost entirely level, and the soil, in general, sandy. As there are neither rocks, mountains, nor much wood, the whole country is susceptible of a high cultivation. But the state of agriculture in this part of Denmark is not, by far, so much improved as it might be; a great portion of the country consists of pastures which are neither better nor worse than the hand of nature has made them; for by human hands they are entirely neglected. As the farmer, during great part of the year, is not occupied with providing fodder for his cattle, he has abundant leisure for the cultivation of corn. He is therefore enabled to raise more than he consumes, and consequently to export the surplus. This, however, is no proof that Fünen is a rich and fertile island. I should rather say, that it is a country which

has a very inadequate population; the inhabitants of which possess more land than they want, or are able to cultivate; so that they employ themselves entirely in raising corn, while they neglect the rest of their farms, which they abandon to their cattle, without bestowing any pains on their improvement.

I observed very few gentlemen's seats, and it is possible I may have mistaken many of them for the better sort of farm-houses. Detached houses were by no means so frequent as I had been led to expect; the villages were thinly scattered, and, in general, small and mean. In the whole distance of 47 miles, between Middlefahrt and Nyeborg, the only town is Odense, which is indeed the capital of the country, and one of the most considerable in the Danish islands. This, however, is not saying much in its favour; for, excepting Copenhagen, there is not a place in all these islands, that can be compared with the middle class of German towns, or even with Chemnitz in Saxony, or Zittau and Gürlitz in Lusatia. Elsineur, or Helsingöer, is the second town in the Danish islands; and a foreigner, a well-informed man, who resides there, assured me, that the number of its inhabitants does not exceed 5000. Odense is larger, but not so populous, and has very little trade for a place which has a seaport at the distance of less than two miles. Middlefahrt and Nyeborg are both insignificant towns, as are all the others that I have seen in the islands of Fünen and Zealand.

Such, as far as my observation extends, is my description of the island of Fünen. It is possible, that those parts which lie at a considerable distance to the right and left of the high road, may be more fertile and better cultivated than those which fell under my notice; but I have reason to think that this island cannot sustain a comparison with many other tracts in Europe, and that it owes its reputation for fertility and a high cultivation to the reports of the Danes, who compare it with the more steril soil of Zealand. I can, at any rate, assert, that in the interior of Sweden I have seen extensive districts, which were far more fertile and better cultivated. That I do not err much in my general opinion on this island, may be seen by the Tables of the Population contained in "Thaarup's Statistical Account of Denmark." That writer states the population of Denmark Proper, in the year 1787, at 840,045 souls, deducting 86,133 for the number of inhabitants at that time in Copenhagen; which must not be considered merely as a town of the Danish islands, but as the capital of the whole monarchy: there remains for Jütland, Zealand, Fünen, and the other islands, no more than 763,912 souls, which is, indeed, a very inconsiderable population for such an extent of country.

If we reflect, that this kingdom has not been involved in a single war of any duration or consequence, since 1718, we may readily

affirm, that no other country in Europe has enjoyed such a peace, excepting, perhaps, Sweden, which during the same period has been engaged in no war, but what was very short and scarcely worthy of notice. What might not, under such circumstances, be expected of a kingdom so advantageously situated for commerce, possessing such an immense extent of coast, and so many harbours? It is, however, the fact, that, with respect to population, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, opulence, and every kind of improvement, this country is far behind most of the southern states of Europe; though the latter are, in general, less extensive, and have been harassed by almost incessant wars. If it be likewise taken into consideration, that Denmark has had no improvident sovereigns during this period, but that it is, on the whole, better governed than many of the southern states, we must admit, that, if the country fall short of our expectation, this circumstance must be attributed to the want of energy in its inhabitants, and to the high northern latitude under which most of the provinces of this extensive kingdom are situated.

The best portion of the Danish dominions is Sleswick and Holstein; and these do not belong to Denmark Proper. According to Thaarup, the number of inhabitants in all Norway, in the year 1769, amounted only to 785,590. The same writer states the population of the whole monarchy, in 1785, at 2,300,000; and in the year 1769, he computed it, yet without mentioning the data on which he grounds his calculation, at 2,390,000. This small population is dispersed over nearly 190,000 square miles; while the electorate of Saxony, on a surface of about 17,500, contains upwards of two millions of inhabitants.

The high road throughout all Funen is sandy and somewhat out of repair. Had we been a few weeks later, we might probably have been able to praise the excellence of its condition. I never saw a more effective method of constructing roads, than that practised in this island; some parts were quite covered with men, horses, and carts. It is not from supposition, but actual enumeration, that I assure you, I saw in one day, not less than one thousand labourers, and upwards of three hundred horses, in the space of 18 miles. They were divided into parties of 30 or 40, who worked close together, and were a few hundred paces distant from the next group. They were not merely employed in repairing the roads, but some parts of it were constructed anew. In many places it was made broader, while, in others, eminences were levelled and hollows filled up.

The passage over the Great Belt, without wind, is extremely tedious. Six hours after our departure from Nyeborg, we were nearer to the coast of Funen than to that of Zealand. The ebb and flood, though they make the sea unpleasant, are, however, attended with great advantages. The colour of the Great Belt is as

beautiful as any part of the sea that I have seen on the British coasts, and is, in no respect, inferior to the seas of the more genial climate of Italy.

I discovered yesterday evening from the shore the island of Langeland, which is 32 miles in length, and we have not yet lost sight of it. As those parts which we can distinguish, are from 14 to 40 miles distant, it must, consequently, be the more elevated situations, which appear like four or five different islands, while the low lands between them are not discernible. By means of an excellent telescope, I observed that it contains a great quantity of wood; and, from the alternation of hills and plains, it must be a very pleasant and beautiful country.

When we had proceeded about two miles, we perceived the little island of Spröe, and beyond it, to the right and left, the island of Zealand. Behind us, I could still plainly distinguish the town of Nyeborg, with an extensive tract of Fünen on each side. A large and respectable mansion to the right is the barony of Holvavn, which agreeably enlivens the scene. Near this mansion, a small river runs into the bay; and it may appear not a little singular, but not one of the sailors could tell me its name.—"It is the *Aue*," (i. e. the river) said they. The same had been the case in Jütland, where nobody knew the name of a river which separates that province from Sleswick, near the town of Kolding. —"It is the *Aue*," said the postillion; "It is the *Aue*," I was told at the post-house, and I received the same answer of several other persons.

Büsching likewise denominates it merely the *Koldinger Aue;* and it appears, that many rivers in the North have no proper appellation, but are called after some place near which they flow.

The small island of Spröe is worthy of notice. It is about four miles in length, but not so much in breadth. It contains only a single farm-house, which I can plainly distinguish at this moment. It lies in the middle of the Great Belt, which in this part is 18 miles over; and in winter is a remarkable station for the post, which regularly stops there. It is conveyed, when the Belt is frozen, in what is termed an ice-boat, to which belong five men. You may judge of the size of the boat, when I tell you, that these five men are obliged, partly to drag, and partly to carry it, with all that it contains, according as the ice, which is frequently uneven, and the drifts of snow, permit. If there are passengers, a larger boat is taken; but all, without exception, must assist to carry. This is the rule, and it is highly necessary; if for no other reason, at least for the personal safety of each individual. These northern seas are never completely frozen: a great number of holes are left, and which could not be crossed without the assistance of a boat. I was very lately informed by a Russian, that it is never possible to go from Petersburgh to Cronstadt, entirely

on the ice; but, that it is always necessary to take a boat upon a sledge. In this manner, the boat is carried or dragged along, and used wherever it is found necessary. Sometimes the ice breaks under the weight; the crew then drop the boat, and jump into it. If it fall in a tolerably horizontal position, all is well; but, it frequently sinks only at one end; and at such times, the poor fellows have a dangerous piece of business; yet, I am informed, it very seldom happens, that any person perishes; and still more rarely, that the boat is lost. With this fatiguing and laborious exertion, it occupies the men a whole day to reach the island of Spröe; where they refresh themselves, and pass the night at the farm-house; and the next morning set out on the second stage to Korsöer. The island of Spröe belongs to a nobleman of Fünen, who keeps a farmer upon it; but, as it is a regular post-station in winter, the king has erected a building for the accommodation of passengers, whom the farmer furnishes with provisions and other necessaries.

The keel of the boat is shod with iron; and it is suspended by cords, from the shoulders of the people, so low, as rather to be drawn along like a sledge, than carried. If the ice be perfectly level, the cords are lengthened; and then the boat is drawn entirely. The reason why this sea is never, or at least, very seldom, completely frozen, is the current which always sets in between the two islands. From Nyeborg to Knutshovel or Canute's Cape, the extreme point of Fünen, is four miles and a half; from the latter to Spröe the same distance; and from Spröe to Korsöer nine miles.

At this moment, Langeland appears like twelve different islands, the largest of which is about seven miles distant. This really produces a most delightful effect. At this distance I can perceive that there must be several very lofty hills in the south part of the island. Zealand, which we gradually discover, more distinctly presents an agreeable variety of hill and dale; is woody, and likewise exhibits the appearance of several small islands.

KORSOER, 4 *o'clok.*

After a passage of nine hours, the greatest part of which we went in the two last, we arrived at Korsöer. As soon as the vessel had reached the shore, I hastened to the post, to order horses. Since that time, during the war in the year 1800, telegraphs were erected on each side of the Belt, which are employed by government for various purposes. Travellers are likewise permitted to make use of them; and, for a trifling consideration, they bespeak horses, lodging, &c. on the opposite shore of the Belt.

The harbour of Korsöer, with the bay belonging to it, is extremely picturesque; but the town is the meanest, most wretched,

and filthy place, that I have yet seen in the Danish dominions. The principal street reminded me of the most miserable villages in Ireland; and the more distant parts, of certain huts which I once saw in Naples, between Salerno and Pœstum; and which, indeed, scarcely seemed to be designed for human habitations.

LETTER II.

JOURNEY FROM KORSÖER TO COPENHAGEN.—SLAGENSE.—KREBSHUUS.—NIGHT IN THE MONTH OF JUNE, IN THIS LATITUDE.—ROSKILDE.—BURIAL-PLACE OF THE DANISH KINGS.—SOIL OF ZEALAND.—COPENHAGEN.—FIRES IN THAT CITY.—NEW MANNER OF BUILDING.—AMALIENBURG.—BEAUTIFUL SQUARE IN THAT PART OF THE CITY.—NEW ROYAL MARKET.—PALACE OF CHRISTIANSBURG.—THE EXCHANGE.—BOOKSELLERS' SHOPS THERE.—THE DOCK-YARD.—NEW MANNER OF SHIP-BUILDING.—DEARNESS OF EVERY THING AT COPENHAGEN.—POVERTY OF THE GOVERNMENT.—PALACE OF FREDERICSBERG.—LAND FORCES.—THE PRINCE ROYAL OF DENMARK.—MONUMENT IN HONOUR OF CHRISTIAN VII.—TOWN-RESIDENCES OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.—THE COLLECTION OF WORKS OF ART.—PICTURES.—THE TREASURY.—ROSENBURG.

COPENHAGEN, *June and July* 1798.

WE yesterday arrived in this metropolis, called by the Danes, Kiobenhavn; but, before I say any thing concerning it, I must complete the account of my journey hither.

We hastened to leave the wretched town of Korsöer, and proceeded to Slagense, a distance of nine miles. Though superior to the former place, Slagense makes a miserable appearance, like all the other towns in Zealand that I have seen. The roads of that island are, however, excellent.

The accommodations for travellers at Slagense being none of the best, those who do not choose to pass the night at Korsöer, usually proceed to Krebshuus, a detached house near Soröe, in a delightful situation, which causes it to be visited, not only by travellers, but frequently by parties of pleasure from Copenhagen. As we found this house full of company, we were obliged that night to go the whole stage, from Slagense to Ringstedt, about 18 miles.

We had never been on the road so late before; and I was glad of the opportunity it afforded me of observing the phenomena of a summer's night, under this latitude, and at this season of the year. The sun set about nine o'clock; but so far to the north, that his greatest distance from the horizon, namely, at midnight, was very trifling. It was still so light, that even at eleven I could distinguish colours at a considerable distance. The moon, it is true, was at the full; but her influence was so confined, that the point of the horizon behind which the sun was concealed, was much lighter than the opposite side, where the luminary of night was arrayed in her highest splendour. I cannot here use the expressions, east and west side, for the brilliant twilight follows the sun; so that, at midnight, the north is the lightest point of the whole horizon. At one o'clock, I could see to read print at the window, at Ringstedt; and at two, when we went to bed, we had perfect day-light.

From Ringstedt, which is an insignificant place, we proceeded on the 28th of June to Roskilde, 19 miles, in little more than three hours. I had read so much concerning the place of interment of the Danish sovereigns, and their magnificent monuments at Roskilde, that it was impossible not to form some idea of them and of the town, which, however, was not answered, either by the one or the other. Busching must have copied his description of the cathedral and what it contains, from some Dane; who, probably, acquired all his ideas of grandeur, splendour, and magnificence, from the specimens he had seen in the Danish islands.

The church is a large, neat, brick edifice, and has a good appearance; but is not distinguished, either for magnificence, or a beautiful style of architecture. Whoever takes pleasure in seeing the coffins of kings, queens, princes, and princesses, cannot perhaps obtain such satisfaction in any other place as in this; for here almost every individual of the reiguing family has, for many centuries, been interred. Most of the coffins are far from handsome, and are even mean; by far the greatest number having neither sculpture, carving, nor any kiud of durable ornament, but are merely decorated with a covering of black velvet. This looks well as long as it is new; but it makes a wretched appearance after a certain time, when the stuff begins to decay. Some of the persons buried here, have very large,—if you please, very magnificent—marble monuments; amongst which, those of Frederic V. and Christian VI. are the most remarkable: but he who, in works of this kind, seeks something more than pomp, magnitude, and labour;---who looks for taste, execution, expression, and general effect, will find in this place but little gratification; for all these monuments, excepting, perhaps, that of Frederic V. are of very

inferior merit. Some, however, produce a very good effect, and are principally of white marble; but this, either never was perfectly white, or has acquired a yellowish cast, which is not pleasing to the eye; and is less a sign of age, than of a damp, close atmosphere. At least, I never observed this kind of yellow tinge in Italy, even in monuments of much greater antiquity. I sought the tomb of Saxo Grammaticus, and found that it consisted only of a wooden tablet, with some bad Latin verses.

As to the town of Roskilde, it has, for several centuries, been falling to decay; and was on the decline even before the Reformation. It is now a place of no consequence; consisting of a few houses, which are, in general, small and miserable. In the harbour, which was formerly contiguous to the town, but is now a mile distant, I found one ship and some boats. The royal palace is very mean, and is only visited occasionally by the Crown-Prince, who comes hither on the occasion of any funeral of persons belonging to the royal family.

The distance from Korsöer to Copenhagen is 66 miles; in which you do not meet with a single town, or any place that appears to contain 3000 inhabitants. The road is every where broad, and kept in good repair: at the end of each Danish mile, half mile, and quarter of a mile, is erected a post of Norwegian marble, which is of a whitish cast, intermixed with green, shewing the distance from Copenhagen.

The soil of this island, as far as I could observe from the road, is inferior to that of Funen, and is not so well cultivated. The number of villages and detached houses likewise appeared less; so that, comparatively, Zealand must be less populous than Funen; but it is unnecessary to observe, that Copenhagen and the adjacent country must not be taken into the account. The country seemed to be poor; and, upon the whole, I observed much more sandy soil than good land. I saw very little wood; but it is more abundant between Copenhagen and Elsinöer.

COPENHAGEN, 1*st July*.

This is a handsome city; and is certainly one of the finest capitals in Europe. For its present beauty, it is indebted to two dreadful conflagrations; one of which occurred in 1728, and the other in 1794. The former destroyed 1650 private houses, besides churches and other public edifices; and the latter consumed between 900 and 1000. No part of it, excepting perhaps two buildings, is 200 years old; and the best portion of the city has been erected within the last 60 years.

Copenhagen is divided into three principal parts; the Old Town, the New Town, and Christianshaven. As the first was, for the greatest part, destroyed in 1728, and again in 1794, it is, pro-

perly speaking, the newest portion of the city. The houses are rebuilt in a superior style, and the plan of the streets has been altered; so that, in many places, one street now occupies the space which formerly contained two. In re-constructing them, a peculiar method has been introduced, which I never met with before; but which, from the advantages it affords, is worthy of attention. All the corner houses, instead of forming right angles, are rounded off at the turning; and though this practice spoils the form of the corner-rooms in each story; yet, this is a trifling consideration, when compared with the public benefit with which it is attended.

The New Town and Christianshaven are, consequently, the most ancient parts of the city; and these were built between the years 1588 and 1647. The Seamen's Quarter, which differs greatly from the other portions of Copenhagen, was likewise erected during that period. It contains upwards of 30 streets, all of which are laid out with great regularity; the houses either consist only of a ground-floor, or are but one story high. These huts are small; but their whole appearance is far from contemptible. They are inhabited by the seamen belonging to the navy, and the numerous labourers employed in the dock-yard.

The New Town, as I have observed, is, properly speaking, the most ancient; but to this an exception is formed by a considerable portion, generally called Amalienburg, (from a castle of that name, which formerly stood on this spot) built during the reign of the late king, between the years 1746 and 1765. In strict propriety, this part should be denominated Frederic's Town; for, besides the spot on which the castle of Amalienburg and its gardens formerly stood, it contains several large palaces, and a great number of other respectable buildings. This part of the city would not make a despicable figure either in London or Paris, Rome or Turin, Vienna or Berlin. I was particularly struck with the beauty of a square, of perfectly regular form, composed of four large edifices, and several smaller buildings; and opening into the same number of streets. In the centre is an equestrian statue of Frederic V. in bronze. One of the four principal edifices is inhabited by the king; another by the prince royal of Denmark; the third by the king's brother; and the fourth is the Academy of Naval Cadets. In this quarter are likewise situated many other magnificent structures, as the residence of the duke of Augustenburg, that of count Bernstorf, &c. All the streets round the square are very fine, and contain a great number of large and remarkable buildings, of which I shall only mention the hospital, the institution for lying-in women, Classen-house and library, and Frederic's Church; or, as it is more commonly called, the *Marble Church*. This part of the city appears to be appropriated to

persons of rank and property; and in like manner, the Old Town is inhabited principally by shopkeepers and tradespeople of every description.

The newest houses in the Old Town are built of brick; and most of them are three stories, besides the ground-floor. Their style is neat and simple; but many are embellished with columns and pilasters, and have other claims to architectural beauty.

Another very handsome square in Copenhagen, is the New Royal Market; which is not only the largest in this city, but one of the most extensive that I have any where seen. It is almost entirely composed of stately buildings, as the Academy of Painting and Sculpture; behind which is situated the Botanic Garden, which was formerly a royal palace, called Charlottenburg; the theatre; the great hotel; the artillery-house, &c. In the centre is a marble equestrian statue of Christian V.

The theatre is small; and yet it is the only one in this comparatively extensive city. The performances are in the Danish language; but the house is not opened, excepting when the king is in town.

Religion appears to be out of fashion at Copenhagen, as in most other places. Magnificent churches were formerly erected; while part of the inhabitants frequently wanted a roof to cover them; but I here observed, that none of the churches burned down in the year 1794, have yet been touched. This conflagration began in the Holm behind the arsenal, and the cause has never yet been discovered. As this calamity reduced so many families to the state of houseless wanderers, the government ordered a great number of tents to be pitched in the fields round Copenhagen, for the reception of those who were unable to procure any other asylum. A multitude of small dwellings for the poor have likewise been, from time to time, erected in the ruins of the Great Palace. This beautiful and magnificent edifice, called Christiansburg, was burned at an earlier period, in the same year; and nothing was left standing but the bare walls and the cellars, the vaulting of which was so solid, that the fire could not penetrate. These cellars are still inhabited by poor people. To my knowledge, I never saw a more extensive, more beautiful, and more magnificent palace; indeed, I doubt, whether I ever beheld its equal. How great, how sublime, even amidst its ruins! It is a regular square, inclosing a court. The length of each of the principal sides, or of the body of the edifice, is 367 feet; that of the wings 389; and the height of the former 114. Four thousand persons were supposed to be contained in it, when the whole court was in town; but that number is, probably, somewhat exaggerated. It is of brick, but the body of the building was faced with stone; the wings, as may now be seen, were only stuccoed; but,

formerly, this must have been almost imperceptible. The walls, at their base, are ten feet thick, and rest on nine or ten thousand piles; for the ground being surrounded with water, is so bad, that a sure foundation could not otherwise be obtained.

The palace, like most buildings of this kind, consisted of high and low stories or floors, and had three of each. The lowest part is entirely overarched; and above this is the first floor. Then comes a *mezzanino, entre-sol*, or half-floor, which is succeeded by the second story, formerly the apartments of the royal family. Above, is another lofty story, and a low floor with square windows terminates the building. At the top was a balustrade, that went round the whole, inclosing the roof, which was of copper.

As the proportions of this edifice are well preserved, its vast magnitude does not, at the first sight, strike the spectator. The eye, however, obtains a standard, on observing that the first story has been divided into two; and thus, a double range of dwellings is made for the poor. The windows are walled up, but two smaller apertures are left in each; one of which serves for a window to the lower, and the other to the upper apartment. Two staircases are covered, from the top to the bottom, with marble, and have each 183 steps.

Christiansburg affords a striking demonstration of the difference of the times, and the present poverty of the state. This great and magnificent edifice was built by Christian VI. who exacted no aid from his subjects towards its erection. After it was burned, extraordinary taxes were immediately imposed, for the purpose of re-building it; but nothing has yet been done, and many even assert, that the idea is relinquished, probably because the expence is thought too great for the nation to be able to defray.

Since the conflagration, the walls of this building have suffered exceedingly, from exposure to the weather. In the course of ten years, if better measures be not taken than have hitherto been adopted, the whole will be one vast ruin; and it will require immense sums merely to carry away the rubbish, as the materials will certainly, by that time, be unfit for any other purpose. I have frequently visited this palace, and rambled through it with sensations of regret and pleasure.

Near Christiansburg stands the Exchange, one of the few buildings remaining from the time of Christian IV. It is quite in the ancient style; but is a very extensive edifice, 400 feet in length; and is covered with lead. Only the first hall is appropriated to the use of the merchants: it is much frequented. The other part of the basement is occupied by shops. In those of the four booksellers, which are situated in this place, I had reason to remark, how very little connection there is between the neighbouring kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden. I would advise the tra-

veller, who intends to visit the latter country, to procure any maps or books relating to the language or literature of Sweden, which he may want, before his arrival at Copenhagen; for, if he expect to meet with them there, he will run a great risk of being disappointed.

COPENHAGEN, *July 3d.*

We dined yesterday with a Danish general. The whole company spoke nothing but English; and that language seemed perfectly familiar to them all. On this occasion I became acquainted among others, with captain Hohlenberg, master ship-builder to the king, and one of the most distinguished men in that line, in Denmark.

The whole Danish navy lies in the harbour of Copenhagen. Though this arrangement is in many respects very convenient, yet it is attended with great disadvantages, both on account of danger from fire and blockades, or surprises in time of war. The harbour for merchant-ships and that for the men of war, are separated only by wooden piles, or a kind of balustrade. Contiguous to the latter are several islands, denominated Holms, upon which are dock-yards, containing every thing necessary, not only for the building, but likewise the equipment, of ships of war. The house in which the cables are made, is said to be 900 feet in length, and I really think it the longest I ever saw. The thickest cables made there are 20 inches in circumference.

We were conducted to the model-house, which is not usually shewn in other dock-yards; on this occasion it was observed, that no foreigner is permitted to see those at Portsmouth and Plymouth. A complete model of a ship of the line was shewn us. I think I never saw, even in England, any thing more perfect, of more exquisite workmanship, or better calculated to afford an idea of each individual part of a ship. The whole can be taken into very small pieces, so that every thing may be distinguished in the most distinct manner. We were told that several men had been employed nine years on this model.

Mr. Hohlenberg has invented a new method of building men of war, which consists in decreasing the width of the stern, so as to make it much narrower than across the middle, or than the ships of war of any European nation usually are. This method is attended with the advantage, that the three aftermost guns on each side, may be directed so as not only to fire straight forward, but likewise to the right and left. I saw a 24-gun frigate of this construction, nearly ready for launching. It likewise has this peculiarity, that all the knees are of iron. By the alteration, a considerable space is gained in the ship, and the movement of the guns greatly facilitated; for as the iron knee is much smaller than

one of wood, and consequently requires less room, the guns may be pointed in a more oblique direction, either to the right or left. The English, however, are extremely hostile to this new method, and maintain that the knees must absolutely be of wood, because a ship is so much shaken by the firing of the guns, that every part must receive and yield to the shock: but, if the knees are of iron, instead of yielding, they re-act upon the body of the ship with greater violence, so that it is more liable to injury, and in the end, will not last so long as those with wooden knees.—Time must decide who is right.

All men of war, built at this place, are of oak. Fir, which the English occasionally employ, is absolutely rejected. The Zealand oak is held in the highest esteem.

Besides the above-mentioned frigate, a 74-gun ship was on the stocks, but not on Hohlenberg's plan. I thought this vessel very heavy in wood, when compared with an English man of war of the same number of guns, but the Danes obstinately refused to admit the truth of this observation. I had before made the same remark on the Dutch ships.

The whole naval force of Denmark consists at present of 24 ships of the line, the largest of which carries 84, and the smallest 64 guns. Only one, called Christian VII. carries 100 guns; but she is too heavy, and consequently draws too much water for these northern seas, and is, on that account, never used. They could not, or rather would not, tell me the number of frigates and small ships, but I know that it is inconsiderable. The heaviest cannon are thirty-six pounders; the largest English ships carry 42 pounders, but the Danish pound is ten per cent. heavier than the English.

To inspect the Holms, or dock-yards, a special permission from the Court is required. Our names were transmitted to the Crown-Prince, and this regulation extends to all foreigners. Particular precaution has been observed in this respect, since the last conflagration.

Every thing is extremely dear in Copenhagen; and though I should spend more in the course of a year in London, yet here I consider many articles as dearer,, because they are so much worse. When things in general are high in price, it is commonly a sign of the opulence, abundance, and luxury of a country; but at Copenhagen the rule appears to be reversed. In England and Holland most articles are dear, on account of the great demand for them; here, on the contrary, every thing is dear, because there is a scarcity of every thing. A housekeeper, of the middling class, informed me that the family of a citizen must live with the greatest frugality, not to spend more than 2000 Danish dollars (each about 3s. 6d. English) per annum.

Even wood is uncommonly dear, though Jütland and Norway abound in that material. The fact is, both those countries export the timber which grows in the neighbourhood of water, not only to the Danish islands, but likewise to England, France, and Holland, and consequently it is not cheap, even on the spot: while the immense woods, which are situated at a distance from the sea, and from any river, are absolutely of no value. Vast quantities every year decay, or are felled and burned, merely for the sake of the ashes, which are then employed as manure.

If the Danes, in general, be poor, the government is in the same situation. It is evidently in the greatest want of money, as every thing connected with it attests. It is unable to rebuild the great palace, though extraordinary imposts have been levied for the purpose; Charlottenburg has been resigned to a private individual; Sophienburg sold; the Hermitage, a small insignificant building, is no longer habitable; and Hirschholm, where 26 years ago the whole court resided, is falling to decay. Even Frederiksburg, now the principal country-residence of the royal family, and where they regularly pass the summer, is in a very crazy condition; and I have remarked certain parts of it, which no English gentleman, with an income of 3000l. a year, would suffer to remain near his house. As this palace is situated near the road from Roskilde to Copenhagen, we alighted and walked round it. Excepting two sentinels, not a single living creature was, at first, to be seen. We went into the great court which is enclosed by this extensive building, but a death-like silence every where prevailed. At length I discovered a servant, of whom I asked a few questions, and who, to my no small astonishment, informed me, that all the branches of the royal family were at that moment there. On a second visit I found the same solitude and silence.

The gardens are in the French taste, and are neither laid out in a grand style, nor kept in good order. On that side of the palace towards Copenhagen, runs a walk shaded with trees, bordered by a lofty hedge, and provided with numerous seats, commanding a noble prospect of the city. From this point Copenhagen appears really grand and magnificent. Near it you see the island of Amack, the sea on each side and beyond it, and the Swedish coast in the distance.

The Danish government is poor, and is, therefore, obliged to be economical. The whole revenues of the state do not quite amount to seven millions of dollars; and of this sum, two thirds are expended in the maintenance of the army and navy. I was assured by a Danish general, that the number of the land forces was not less than 60,000 men, which is an immense proportion for a country containing, at the utmost, no more than 2,390,000 inhabitants. All these troops, it is true, are not on duty during

the whole year, and are less prejudicial to the population, because a great part of them are foreigners. The navy likewise requires vast sums, but, to do it justice, it is in the finest order.

The Crown Prince, who is in reality at the head of the government, exhibits an example of great frugality, spending little on his establishment, and still less on his pleasures *. He is extremely active, and in his character predominate a certain regularity and austerity, which are probably the cause that he is, upon the whole, less beloved than, for his many excellent qualities, he deserves to be.

On the way from Copenhagen to Fredericsberg is seen, in the suburbs, the monument erected in 1793 by the city, in honour of his present majesty, because he abolished vassalage, and some time afterwards fixed the term of the duration of the slave-trade. It is a large obelisk of reddish stone, and of a fine form. Around the pedestal are placed four female figures, in white marble, by different artists.

There are no other public works of art of any consequence: you find indeed, here and there, in the churches, what are denominated magnificent monuments; for instance, those of Güldenlau and Adeler, in the church of Our Lady; but, in point of art, they have little merit, and the man of taste laments such a misapplication of marble, labour, and money. The church alluded to is pretty, and its steeple is reckoned one of the highest in Europe. The statues of the kings which I have already mentioned, are good enough for public ornaments, but cannot, by any means, be classed with the *chef d'œuvres* of the kind.

We likewise visited the houses in the city inhabited by the king and the Crown Prince. The residence of the latter is a good and convenient habitation for a man of rank. In the apartments of his consort are some good pictures. The few that decorated the apartments of the prince, consisted entirely of battles; and I remarked, that the only portrait, excepting one of the princess and the busts of his sisters, was that of Charles XII. The army and navy appear to be the object of his particular attention, and whatever concerns them, his principal occupation. The apartments in the king's palace are tolerably large and commodious; they are furnished and fitted up in a respectable style; in a word, as you would expect to find the house of a man of quality, who lives in a manner becoming his rank and dignity, but is not fond of pomp. They are not suited to the idea of majesty; but, as I have already observed, since the destruction of Christiansburg, the whole family resides in private houses.

* Since the travels of M. Küttner were performed, this Prince has paid the debt of nature. He died in the autumn of 1805. EDITOR.

In the collection of works of art, in this city, the objects most worthy of notice are the paintings, though their number is not considerable. I found among them some good pieces, and particularly a few by old masters, whose works are rarely met with. I remarked, for instance, two beautiful pieces by Lippi, a predecessor of Raphael, of whose productions I recollect to have seen very few out of Italy. I scarcely ever met with finer paintings of Both than those in this collection. We were shewn a copy of the Venus by Titian, which hangs in the *Tribuna* at Florence, and which we were positively assured was an original. I likewise saw a Holy Family of remarkable beauty, by Honthorst.

Copenhagen has also its treasury, and, if you please, its armory; for that name may, without impropriety, be given to Rosenburg, a castle erected by Christian IV. out of the city, but which is now enclosed by it. This is a stately edifice, and, notwithstanding its antique, but not purely Gothic towers, possesses a certain air of grandeur. Several articles of great value are preserved in this place; and among the rest three silver lions, as large as life; as many vessels of massive gold or silver, and a most extravagantly heavy service of gold plate, off which the king eats on certain occasions. Those who are fond of seeing old Venetian glass, may here find such a collection as scarcely exists elsewhere. The fine woven tapestry was manufactured in the little Danish town of Kioge, and represents occurrences in the history of Denmark.—The chair in which the king is crowned, is made of the horn of the narwal or sword-fish, and the queen's is of silver. The cabinet of coins, which is also preserved at Rosenburg, is tolerably copious and worth seeing.

I was particularly delighted with the extensive garden contiguous to this castle; not that it possesses extraordinary beauty, or is distinguished for the taste with which it is laid out, but because it is situated within the walls of a large city, and the inhabitants can there enjoy the recreation of a walk, while its trees afford them an agreeable shade.

LETTER III.

ROYAL PALACE BETWEEN COPENHAGEN AND ELSINÖER.—CHARLOTTENLUND.—SOPHIENBURG.—HIRSCHHOLM.—QUEEN MATILDA.—THE PARK.—THE OBERVATORY.—THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY.—THE KING'S LIBRARY.—ARTISTS.—PAINTERS.—SCULPTORS.—THE MARBLE CHURCH.—CLASSEN'S LIBRARY.—THE INSTITUTION FOR LYING-IN WOMEN.—POPULATION OF COPENHAGEN.—OF LAPLANDERS AND REINDEER.—OF THE LANGUAGE AND DRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF COPENHAGEN.

COPENHAGEN, *July the 5th*, 1798.

IT is only eight days since we arrived at this place, one of which we passed entirely in the country; and yet we have seen every thing worthy of notice in the city, and might have finished sooner if we had pleased.

Between Copenhagen and Elsinöer and in the vicinity of the latter are situated several royal mansions, which the traveller is curious to see, though few of them repay the trouble. From Copenhagen to a considerable distance northward, run three roads, which at length unite in that terminating at Elsinöer. We resolved to take the western, though not the most direct of the three, on our way to Sweden; and to make an excursion on the eastern and middlemost on Sunday. As the eastern runs almost invariably along, or very near the sea-coast, it is sufficiently interesting. The country is, however, far from pleasing. It is, for the greatest part, flat and sandy; and the few villages you meet with, wear the appearance of poverty and misery. They are entirely surrounded by sand; the houses are, in general, without gardens, and have no trees in their vicinity. The proximity of the sea, the varied prospects it presents, and the numerous vessels that are constantly passing and re-passing, have, however, induced many to erect country-houses near it; but, among these, I saw none of any distinction.

About two miles from the city is Charlottenlund, a royal mansion, which is so embosomed in wood, that it has not the least prospect. The house, now inhabited by a private family, is insignificant; but the ancient wood of beech trees by which it is

surrounded, is the more beautiful. We then came to a paper-mill, which is considered of sufficient consequence to be laid down in several maps: and soon afterwards to the country-house of the lady of General Von Schimmelmann, where we found her son-in-law, with the Prussian ambassador, and his family. The house itself is not remarkable, but near it is an eminence which commands a view of the Swedish coast, the Island of Hween, situated not far from it, and a great portion of Zealand.

We then proceeded to Sophienburg, and noticed on the way several country-seats; but even here, the country is, in general, sandy and barren. Sophienburg, formerly a royal palace, stands on an eminence, close to the sea, and commands a noble prospect. With a large English telescope, I saw, quite distinctly, the town of Elsinöer, with the adjacent castle of Cronburg, where the unfortunate Matilda passed a whole winter before she was sent to Zell. Farther to the right I discovered Helsingburg, in Sweden; which at this distance, appears to be situated on the same coast with Elsinöer. Sweden trends to the north, in such a manner, that the Sound does not appear open, and the spectator imagines that it is joined to Zealand. Thus, that island and the Swedish coast, apparently, form a bay; which at the moment we saw it, was enlivened by an immense number of ships. It is computed that, upon an average, 10,000 vessels annually pass through the Sound; but, as very few are to be seen in the winter season, you may reckon that, in the summer months, 100 vessels sail by every twenty-four hours. But, as this depends, in a great measure, on the wind, sometimes a prodigious number of them may be distinguished at the same time; and then they afford a spectacle truly sublime. In this prospect is likewise included the Island of Hween, which lies between Sweden and Zealand. It was rendered celebrated by Tycho Brahe, who there passed a portion of his life; but I shall say nothing more concerning it, as it has been circumstantially described by Büsching and Coxe.

Sophienburg is almost 16 miles from Copenhagen; and, at that place, we took another road on our return. In a quarter of an hour we reached Hirschholm, a royal palace, of very great extent; which was formerly the regular residence of the court, and where Queen Matilda passed the last summer of her stay in Denmark. Since that time, it has never been visited by the court; and every thing around the palace presents the appearance of desertion, neglect, and decay. I, however, found the interior of the building in much better condition than its exterior afforded reason to expect. It contains a great number of good apartments, which either are, or might be rendered, habitable with very little expence. Though not in the modern taste, yet they are fitted up in a very decent style.

The man who shewed us the palace, was one of Matilda's domestics: he spoke of his mistress with tenderness and emotion; and seemed to feel particular pleasure in the recollection of her. He told us, that a masquerade was given at the palace in town, at which the queen was present. When it was over she was taken into custody by General Von Köllerbanner, forced into a carriage, and driven to Cronburg. Her domesties were sent after her; and this man, who passed the remainder of the winter at that place, afterwards accompanied her to Stade on the Elbe, where she was received by great numbers of the Hanoverian nobility. I looked round, but in vain, to discover some trace of this princess. Not a portrait of any kind was to be seen in the whole palace; nor yet in the apartments of the Crown Prince. It is natural to suppose that there is none in the King's palace; they now endeavour entirely to forget this black business; and, among those who are at all connected with the court, it is never mentioned. The murder of Struensee and Brand is regarded with horror, and the unfortunate fate of the amiable queen is universally lamented. The Crown Prince has pretty plainly expressed his sentiments on this subject. As soon as he was confirmed, that is, when he had attained the age of seventeen, and was placed, in some measure, at the head of the government, the Queen Dowager was obliged to leave Copenhagen, and retire to Fredericsburg, where she died in the year 1796. The prince likewise shewed, in the sequel, a decided aversion to all those who had taken part against his mother.

On our return, we soon arrived at the Park, which is nothing more than an extensive forest, of about 50 square miles, containing scanty pasturage, separated from the wood, and a great number of deer. In an open part of it is situated a small edifice, belonging to the King, called the Hermitage. It was formerly used as a hunting-seat, where the sovereign sometimes passed a night or two; but is not spacious enough to admit the whole court. The building is in a wretched condition, and, all around it, naked and deserted.

We then entered a thicker part of the wood, and there I beheld a spectacle, which, alone, would have repaid me for the day's excursion. From the 24th of June till the 2d of July, a portion of this forest is the theatre of every kind of diversion; it is frequented, daily, by immense multitudes; and particularly on Sundays, many thousands of people there assemble. You see a great number of booths, adapted to company of all descriptions. In these you find eating, drinking, dancing, and a variety of spectacles. These diversions, it is true, have no interest for a person of refined sensibility and superior taste: they are calcu-

lated only for the multitude; and many, merely for the lowest class of the people, and the country-folks, from the adjacent parts. You, however, meet with persons of education among the crowd, who rejoice because so many of their fellow-creatures are delighted; and divert themselves with the ridiculous shews. I observed many a handsome equipage, and smart livery. To a stranger, this scene is particularly interesting, were it only for the opportunity it affords of seeing the various dresses of the people in the different parts of the island.

I made inquiry of several, concerning the origin of this singular festival, which is, besides, of such long duration; but, on this subject, they were all as ignorant as myself. It is probably a very ancient, and, originally, a religious custom. The goddess Hertha resided on the island of Zealand, in the sacred forest, which was visited by the people at certain seasons of the year.

We, at length, quitted the motley scene, and came to some barracks, on the scite of which once stood the royal palace of Jägersburg; demolished during a former reign. Of the country houses, which I saw between this place and the city, Count Bernstorf's appeared to be the most worthy of notice.

Among the acquaintances that I have made here, is M. Bügge, professor of astronomy, and overseer of the Royal Observatory. He possesses a collection of astronomical and other instruments, which, for a private person, is very considerable. He conducted us to the Observatory, the largest edifice of the kind I ever saw; and built in a style of grandeur, which forms a striking contrast with the meanness and penury of the present times. It is a tower, 120 feet high, and 70 in diameter; and was erected by King Christian IV. for the scholars of Tycho Brahe. It is circular; and the interior forms a perfect cylinder; between this and the principal wall, runs a staircase, by which you may ascend; for it forms an angle of five and a half degrees with the horizon; and is, consequently, extremely convenient. This winding staircase ceases before you reach the top of the tower, and makes room for four apartments, which belong to the Observatory. Round the top is a balustrade, within which is the Observatory, properly so called. It is far from large, but has a tolerable collection of instruments; which, though not handsome, are said to be very useful; and possess the peculiar merit of having, with few exceptions, been made at Copenhagen. The quadrant is six feet in length. A telescope, by Schrader, of Kiel, who is still living, is twelve feet long, and of the same construction as Herschel's. Here is, likewise, an astronomical circle, of four feet radius, which is entirely divided into 90 and 96 degrees, so that the smallest error in an observation may be detected. Of the other instruments, I shall

say nothing. From the gallery you enjoy a noble prospect over the whole city of Copenhagen, the sea, great part of Zealand, and the coast of Sweden. I amused myself a long time with a good telescope; by the assistance of which, I could plainly distinguish the windows in the houses of Landscroon, though at the distance of 23 miles. I followed the Swedish coast, and found that I could there discern houses at the distance of 38 and even 40 miles.

The tower on which the Observatory is situated, belongs to Trinity Church, and from it a door leads to the library of the University, which is placed between the body and the roof of the church. As far as I am enabled to judge, from a general survey, it is neither very copious nor very respectable. The most remarkable things it contains, are, a number of Icelandic manuscripts; of which, those shewn to me, were very neatly written. If I am not mistaken, they were presented to the library by Arnas Magnæus, with the restriction, that they should never be printed. Notwithstanding this, several of them have been published, either with a Danish or Latin translation, or both. The most considerable Icelandic work that was shewn me, has been printed in three small folio volumes, at the expence of Prince Frederic, who is here denominated the Hereditary Prince, though he is brother to his Majesty. The Latin title of that work is, *Historia Regum Norwegicorum conscripta a Snorrio Sturlæ filio, &c. Havniæ*, 1777. I cast my eye over a printed page, and found not three words resembling any of the languages with which I am acquainted. This library likewise contains some Runic manuscripts.

The Royal library is, in various respects, one of the most considerable in Europe. It is said to be particularly rich in Greek and Roman classics, and natural history. It likewise contains a great number of first editions; that is, of books printed in the 15th century. Among these I saw a work, which I never remember to have met with elsewhere, entitled, *Salemonis ecclesie Constantiniensis epiglosse ex illustrissimis collecte auctoribus, &c.* without date, or the name of the place where it was printed. In this Latin work I observed a great number of old German words. I likewise saw an exposition of the Gospel in the Danish language, printed in the year 1515, at Paris; and the same work, printed in 1518, at Leipzig. These two editions prove the little encouragement which printing, at first, experienced in this country. The first book printed in Denmark, is of the 15th century; and, I believe, of the year 1496. The printer was a German, who came hither from Westphalia. If

they had continued to exercise this art in Denmark, there would have been no necessity 20 years afterwards, to employ the printers of Paris and Leipzig to print a popular work, like the abovementioned exposition. The art has, however, since made great progress in this island, the presses of which have produced works that would do honour to any country. To these belong, in particular, those very splendid works, the *Flora Danica*, and *Rura Otii*, relating to the mushroom and vegetables of that species. The four Evangelists, in Greek, printed at Copenhagen a few years since, in folio and quarto, are likewise a very fine publication.

This library contains a great number of manuscripts. One of Virgil, on parchment, is particularly beautiful. I saw here missals, which, in beauty and splendour, are equal to any I ever met with in England, France, or Italy. The finest, both for the hand-writing and embellishments, is a French chronicle; in which the pictures are so highly finished, and so exquisitely beautiful in their way, that the first artist of the present day would survey them with pleasure. I was also shewn a Tranquebar bible, which is used by the missionaries at that settlement; but it contains only the Old Testament.

Professor Nyerup was exceedingly polite, and conducted me about for several hours, with the utmost patience. He estimates the number of volumes at 250,000. The whole collection was in the greatest confusion, as it had recently received an accession of 100,000 volumes, by the acquisition of the Suhmian Library. If these numbers appear too high, I have stated my authority. This library is situated not far from the great palace, in a building which is worthy of it. It has a yearly revenue of 3000 Danish dollars; which sum is applied to the purchase of new publications. They seem very anxious to procure new works as soon as possible; for I found many splendid publications, which had appeared in England within the preceding twelve months.

Among the artists whom I have seen in this city, I shall mention the following: The painter Juel was known and esteemed twenty years ago, at Geneva and in Switzerland, before he removed to Copenhagen He complained that he was principally employed on portraits, and seldom received an order for an historical piece. This is, alas! the fate of almost all the historic painters in Germany and the North. His price for a head is 80 dollars. He is, undoubtedly, a first-rate artist; but, in portrait-painting, he is excelled by Graf, of Dresden. Clornens, who, 20 years ago, engraved the portrait of Bonnet, by Juel, is still living, and resides at Copenhagen.

The painter Lorenzen has taken a great number of views in Norway, which he is now publishing: they are engraved by Haas. He promises many of the beauties of that country: what I saw does not belie this assertion, and proves his good taste in the selection of objects. His talents are above mediocrity; but he, like most of the artists in the North, is obliged to exercise his talents on every subject. I found him employed upon portraits, beasts, landscapes, a screen for the French consul, small, historical pictures, and I know not what besides. It is to be regretted, that his views in Norway are not better engraved. They are sold at three Danish dollars a-piece, which is certainly too high a price. Pauensen, who likewise published some views in Norway, which I have seen, is dead.

Among the sculptors, Wiedewelt is an artist of great abilities; and has produced several works of considerable merit, of which the monument of Frederic V. (which is to be erected in the church at Roskilde, is one of the greatest size: it is colossal. The piece is not yet completed; but I obtained permission to inspect the model. Dasson likewise deserves to be mentioned. Like most of the best artists who reside in this city, he studied in Italy. He executed two of the statutes for the monument erected by the citizens in honour of his present majesty: a third is by Weidenhaupt; and the other, which is attributed to Wiedwelt, is by a Swede, who executed it under the inspection of that master.

While I am speaking of the arts, I ought to take some notice of the edifice called the Marble Church. This edifice is not merely covered with marble, (like the Italian buildiugs) but is entirely of that kind of stone, procured from Norway, and of a greyish white clour. If I were to say that the structure is a prodigious undertaking, I should convey a very imperfect idea; because every person has a particular standard of comparison. Being struck whenever I passed it, with the huge masses of marble which are partly standing, and partly lie scattered on the ground, I once measured one of the principal columns, and found it to be 27 feet in circumference; and, of course, almost nine in diameter. As these columns are of the Corinthian order, they must be, with their pedestals, at least 90 feet in height. What could induce the Danes to undertake so gigantic a work? The consequence was, that the building was never half completed: for want, it is said, of a proper foundation; but I am inclined to believe, for want of money. The plan is an imitation of the Pantheon; but with considerable alterations, which principally consist in deviating widely from the beautiful simplicity of the original. They are now beginning to work upon it after a new plan, by which the edifice will be made much smaller than was originally proposed.

The building containing Classen's Library is not large, but displays great taste. Besides a great number of legacies to various institutions, that rich and excellent officer left separately a large collection of books, which is now open to the public.

The lying-in hospital at Copenhagen is reckoned one of the best schools of the obstetric art to be any where found. It is frequented by many young practitioners, some of whom come from a great distance to study this branch of their profession. Upon an average, 1000 persons are annually delivered in this institution; so that the students are in continual practice, and have an opportunity of seeing in a very few years all the varieties of cases that can occur.

This institution is properly a kind of foundling-hospital, in which mothers may not only place their children, but where they may also be delivered. All pregnant women, of whatever condition, religion, or country, are admitted, without being asked any questions; they are even allowed to come in masks, and to retain them during their residence here. The building formerly had, in an aperture in the wall, a machine similar to those which I have seen at Milan, and in other foundling-hospitals;—in which a person may place the child, turn the machine inwards, then ring the bell, and go away. This however has been removed; and the king has ordered that every female who presents herself shall be admitted, only with certain limitations as to time. Married women frequently apply for admittance; and, at their departure, are even at liberty to leave their children behind them. Women too of rank and property avail themselves of this establishment, because they here find better attendance, and more conveniences, than they could possibly enjoy in their own houses; and for which they, of course, pay. The best accommodations for ladies of this description cost fifteen dollars per week. There are other apartments at twelve, and others again as low as eight dollars.

The lodgings of the single are separate from those of the married women. In this regulation, I thought I discovered a distinction made between the children of love and the offspring of the marriage bed; which, in an institution of this nature, appears rather improper. I was, however, informed, that the regulation was introduced, lest the former ladies, by living among the latter might meet with some of their acquaintance, and thus be discovered. The apartments for twelve and fifteen dollars are handsome; and, in general, spacious and convenient. At my desire, I saw several rooms for the reception ofthose who are gratuitously admitted into this institution; and found them all clean, commodious, and comfortable.

Lectures on midwifery are regularly held at this place, both for male and female practitioners, but at different hours; and here all the midwives in the Danish dominions are presumed to have studied their profession.

The different accounts which I collected relative to the present number of inhabitants in Copenhagen, concurred in representing it as exceeding 80,000. Thaarup states it according to an actual enumeration in 1794, at 86,133. This must have been soon before the great fire, since which time the population has considerably decreased. By the enumeration made at the close of the year 1799, it was found to amount to 83,618.

I endeavoured, but in vain, both at Copenhagen and Gothenburg, to procure a rein-deer's skin, which, in houses where the accommodations are bad, the traveller finds a great convenience. It is an article to which the inhabitants of Denmark and the south of Sweden are almost as great strangers, as to the people among whom the rein-deer are produced. A Laplander is as rarely found in Stockholm or Copenhagen, as in Germany: and in the latter city, his country appears scarcely to be considered as a part of the Danish dominions. I am surprised that the king does not keep rein-deer; for we know that they can live in the 55th degree of latitude. Sir Harry Liddell, whose estates are situated near Newcastle, in Northumberland, and are nearly in the same latitude as Copenhagen, carried some of these animals to England where they lived several years, and even propagated. It is true, they all perished in a severe winter: but probably less on account of the cold, than other circumstances; particularly as the baronet had sent back the Lapland women whom he brought over with him, and who at first attended them.

If I found little inconvenience in the Danish islands from my ignorance of the language, in Copenhagen I experienced none at all. In this respect, I think that city perfectly *unique*. It has its peculiar language; and yet all the inhabitants understand that of a country which is not only at a considerable distance from theirs, but even separated from it by a sea. I think that, during my residence at Copenhagen, I met with no more than two persons who did not understand German. It was during the reign of the late king that the latter language came into such general use here. His present majesty was very partial also to the German nation, the individuals of which are very numerous in this city. It is only within these few years, that the Dane appears to pride himself in having a language of his own. All the ordi-

nances of government, as well as the public inscriptions, are, since the same period, given in the Danish language.

The dress of the Danes does not differ in any remarkable degree from that of other nations. Persons of rank, and tradespeople, at Copenhagen, dress nearly in the same manner as in the other European capitals. Some difference is, indeed, observed by the peasantry; but this consists rather in the colour than in the shape of their clothes.

LETTER IV.

COUNTRY BETWEEN COPENHAGEN AND ELSINÖR.—FREDERICSBORG.—FREDENSBURG.—ELSINÖR.—CRONBERG.—MARIENLUST.—THE SOUND.—THE TOLL PAID THERE BY VESSELS.—NUMBER OF SHIPS WHICH PASSED THROUGH THE SOUND FOM 1786 TO 1797.

ELSINÖR, *8th July*, 1798.

THE high road from Copenhagen to this town runs through Hirscholm; and the distance is twenty-eight miles. As we had already been as far as the latter place, and were desirous of seeing two palaces which before lay too far out of our road, we went now by the way of Lyngbye (or Sans-Souci), Fredericsborg, and Fredensburg. This makes the distance thirty-three miles, which we were obliged to travel without changing horses. This is the best and most interesting tract that I have seen in the island of Seeland. The soil is of a superior quality, and more highly cultivated, the population greater, and, in a word, the general appearance of the country is more pleasing, than in the other parts of the island. Besides the park, we see various other woods, and enjoy a view of several lakes, and at length of the sea. The estates of Count Bernstorf, through which we pass, appear to me to be in excellent condition: the peasantry upon them have been free these thirty years. Near the road stands a pyramid, erected by them to shew their gratitude to their benefactor, a member of the family of Bernstorf, who conferred on them this privilege. It must be observed, however, that this monument was not erected till several years after his death; because it was probably not till then that they felt in its full extent, what they at first regarded as no very great benefit.

Sans-Souci is a country-seat of Prince Frederic, with a handsome garden. Soon after we had passed it, we had some charming views of the lake of Arre, which is of considerable extent.

Fredericsborg is in many respects a distinguished edifice, and well worth seeing. It is the finest and most complete monument of the taste and magnificence of former periods; being erected by Christian IV., who reigned between the years 1588 and 1910. Though the apartments may have been somewhat modernized, yet the principal parts (particularly the church and the splendid hall of the knights) have remained the same as they were at the time of their construction. In general, edifices built about two centuries ago have either fallen to decay, or have undergone so many alterations in a more modern taste that very little of the original style is left. This, on the contrary, is in complete preservation; and conveys a high idea of the magnificence and Gothic pomp of those times. It consists of three principal parts; of which the chief structure (containing the royal apartments) possesses so much Gothic beauty, and is of such a magnitude, that even the most zealous admirer of Grecian architecture cannot behold it without pleasure.

Prolix descriptions of objects of this kind are always tedious; I shall, therefore, only remark of the church, and the hall of the knights, that I found in them a pomp, and a profusion of art, of which I scarcely conceived that the Danes, at that distant period, had any idea. They frequently, indeed, employed foreign artists, and from remote countries: but those who erected this structure cannot have been Italians; for 200 years ago the buildings and decorations in Italy were in a very different style, and in a much nobler taste. The figures, ornaments, and execution, have a great resemblance to the altars at Sleswick and Odense, which I have already mentioned.

The ceiling of the church, as well as of the hall of the knights, consists of a great number of compartments, ornamented with gilt carved work and sculpture, and containing a vast quantity of figures, some of which represent historical facts. Whatever is not gilt, is painted in natural (and sometimes in very unnatural) colours. The inlaid work is endless. The altar, of ivory and ebony, is an admirable piece of workmanship; and the figures imbossed in silver are not amiss. The paintings in the church, and in the royal apartments, are not contemptible; but of those which are intended to decorate the hall of the knights, very few are tolerable: there are, however, many copies of excellent and well-known pieces among them. The floor of this hall is entirely of marble. The arms of all the living knights, of the orders both of the Elephant and of Danebrog, were to me extremely interesting.

Though the whole of this palace is ancient and Gothic, yet the apartments are still habitable, and have been occasionally occupied during the last twenty-two years. With a very trifling expence they might be rendered agreeable, and even serviceable, according to the ideas of the present time. At the entrance of the principal court are placed a great number of statues, which I cannot commend as beautiful specimens of the art, but which are far superior to what I have seen of the same period in Germany, France, and England. The palace is surrounded with water: on one side it commands a view of a small lake; a village situated on the banks of which forms a very picturesque object.

From this place to Fredensburg the distance is about four miles. Of all the king of Denmark's palaces, this has the most agreeable appearance, is kept in the best repair, and is the most habitable. The reason probably is, that Juliana, the queen-dowager, past the last years of her life entirely here. The building is not large; the garden is laid out in a peculiarly singular style, and more money has been expended on it than on any other belonging to the king.

As we approach Elsinör, the sea (both the Baltic and the Cattegat) which separates Jütland from Sweden, opens gradually to the view. We suddenly obtain an extensive prospect of the Swedish coast; in which the town of Helsingburg makes a very agreeable appearance, thus promising much more than it performs. The purity and serenity of the atmosphere of this climate in summer may be judged of from the circumstance, that long before we descended from the eminences, we saw Helsingburg so distinctly, and it seemed so near, that we could not suppose it to be above two miles distant from Elsinör. We were assured, however, that it is more than twice that distance; and this likewise agrees with all the accounts I have seen, which state the breadth of the Sound at this place to be between four and five miles.

Elsinör is looked upon as the second town in the Danish islands. Its situation is infinitely more pleasant than that of Copenhagen, and its trade is considerable. It contains a great number of wealthy merchants; who, with the consuls of so many different nations that reside here, form a numerous society, hold clubs, and in winter give balls, &c. The English Consul, however, informed me that the number of the inhabitants scarcely amounts to five thousand. On the whole, I found here a cleanliness and neatness which reminded me more of England than any place I had yet seen in Denmark; and this was particularly the case with several private houses.

The finest object at Elsinör is the fortress called Cronberg; which is, in fact, nothing more than a royal palace strongly

fortified. It has had given to it, indeed, the appearance of a fort, guarding the entrance of the Sound, and defending Elsinör. This seems to me extremely ridiculous; for the castle is built in such a manner, that a few men of war would, in a short time, level it with the ground, in spite of its fortifications and batteries towards the sea. It is very lofty; and every where presents level surfaces, which would make little resistance to bombs, or even to cannon-balls. It is constructed entirely of free-stone, and is one of the finest and most magnificent Gothic buildings that I have any where seen. It was erected in the sixteenth century; and yet the ornaments, though they bear the stamp of their style and age, are elegant, and by no means overloaded, as is generally the case in this species of architecture. The whole is kept in good repair, and has a more agreeable and cleanly appearance than any structure of the kind that I have seen in Denmark. Besides the royal apartments (which are insignificant) it contains the residence of the commandant, a church, a corn-magazine, and the other usual accompaniments of a small fortress.

In one part of the castle is a platform. This, and the court of the castle, (which is completely inclosed by the four sides of the principal structure) were the only places in which Queen Matilda was permitted to take the air: the walk round the castle, within the fortifications, is very pleasant; but from that indulgence she was debarred. The view from the platform is delightful. The eye follows the Swedish coast towards the north for many miles, perhaps forty or fifty, while towards the south it can discern the steeples of Copenhagen. The liveliness of this scene is greatly augmented by the numerous vessels which are almost always lying in the Sound, awaiting a favourable wind, either to go out or sail in. The toll which they pay at this place, and other circumstances, likewise occasion some delay.

Among other objects, the palace of Marienlust, a new but not extensive building belonging to the Crown-Prince, makes a very good appearance. It stands on a small steep hill, on the sides of which have been made several paths in the manner of terraces. The garden is denominated Hamlet's Garden, and here that prince is said to have resided. His whole history, however, rests only on the veracity of Saxo Grammaticus, who has given a strange account of it in his own way.

It is well known that vessels passing between the Baltic Sea and German Ocean, sail neither through the Great nor Little Belt, but through the Sound, and pay a toll at Cronberg. The English Consul estimated the annual amount of this toll, during late years, upon an average, at 200,000*l.* sterling. Out of this sum, the king of Denmark maintains all the light-

houses on the coasts; as high as the Skaw, the northernmost point of Jütland, and down again as far as Copenhagen, and even some on the Swedish coast. A certain duty is, indeed, paid besides for this purpose; but it is very trifling, and does not nearly reimburse the government for the expence. The English, French, Dutch, and Swedes, pay one *per cent.* and all other nations one and a quarter. This tax is not so great as at first sight it appears to be. It is levied neither upon the estimated value of the goods, nor the selling price, nor the prime cost, but upon the price at which each article stood several centuries since. Some goods, however, are charged according to their present value.

Büching, in his Geography, has given (in treating of Elsinör) the number of ships which passed through the Sound between the years 1768 and 1785. I shall subjoin a continuation of his statement to the present time, with which I was favored by one of the consuls.

	Vessels.
In the year 1786, - -	9008
1787, - -	9747
1788, - -	9224
1789, - -	8847
1790, - -	9738
1791, - -	10,453
1792, - -	12,114
1793, - -	9926
1794, - -	10,510
1795, - -	7953
1796, - -	12,113
1797, - -	9723

On a comparison of these twelve years with the fifteen of which Büsching has given a list, it will be found that the number of ships passing through the Sound has greatly increased, notwithstanding the canal between Holstein and Sleswick now takes off a considerable number of the vessels sailing from the North Sea to the Baltic, or in a contrary direction.

LETTER V.

PASSAGE OF THE SOUND.—HELSINGSBURG.—MANNER OF TRAVELLING POST IN SWEDEN.—THIS SYSTEM OPPRESSIVE TO THE PEASANTRY.—SCARCITY OF SPECIE.—RAMLÖSA.—HALMSTADT.

HELSINGBORG, *and* HALMSTADT, *July 8th and 9th*, 1798.

WE crossed the Sound, with a strong breeze, in thirty-five minutes; but remained half an hour longer on the water, before we reached the pier which forms the harbour of Helsinburg. This is an insignificant place. It procures from Elsinör most of the foreign commodities which it consumes; and we should not have remained here the rest of the day, had it not been for the various arrangements and preparations which a journey through Sweden absolutely requires.

Hitherto we had travelled in the manner which, with more or less variation is customary in all the civilized countries of Europe. Here, however, this method ceases: for in Sweden there are no postillions: and the peasants who furnish the horses, are not used to drive a large carriage. Every pair of horses is generally accompanied by a man, who suffers the stranger to do with them exactly as he pleases. He gives himself no concern, except to look for a spot about the carriage where he may seat himself, and thus he carried along; or, at most, he rides one of the fore horses, but this he does with great reluctance. At Helsinburg the traveller is therefore obliged to provide himself with a driver for the whole journey; who likewise serves for an interpreter, as far as his knowledge extends.

In Sweden there are neither post-masters nor post-horses; but the government has adopted such regulations, that I know no country in Europe where we can travel extra-post, in every direction, so well as in this. The whole southern part of the kingdom (that is, the portion south of Upsal) is intersected by innumerable roads; all of which are so well supplied with horses, that we proceed without impediment, if we only observe the necessary precautions. The country is divided into stations; to each of these is attached a certain number of horses, which the peasants

inhabiting the district are obliged to furnish. At every station a person is appointed (who is called *hallkarl*, and is either a peasant or the master of a public-house) whose business it is to collect the horses that are required. But as the peasants who furnish them frequently live at the distance of four or five miles from the stations, the traveller would make but little progress if he had to wait at each till the horses were assembled. He therefore writes, every evening, a note, mentioning the stages which he intends to go the following day, and at what hour he expects to arrive. This note is sent from stage to stage by peasants who are called messengers; and who receive nothing for their trouble, but are merely paid for their horses at the post rate. In this manner the order is conveyed to the different *hallkarls*, each of whom forwards it by a fresh messenger, and provides the horses for his own stage by the appointed hour.

This system of posting appears to me one of the most grievous burthens by which the Swedish peasants are oppressed. Let it be ever so inconvenient and prejudical to their interest (as it is in particular at certain seasons of the year), they are obliged, when called upon, to leave their fields, perhaps in the midst of harvest, and to hasten with their horses to the adjoining station, which is probably at the distance of two miles or more from the spot where they happen to be. They are, besides, required gratuitously to repair all the roads (which are kept in excellent condition) and in this are not even paid for the labour of their horses. For posting, the price of each horse is eight Swedish schillings (about sixpence sterling) for each mile, which is equal to nearly seven miles English. At the same time, their cattle are driven unmercifully; for, as they do not drive themselves, the coachman keeps them almost always in full trot or gallop. The peasant seldom makes any remonstrance, probably because he knows that it would be of no avail.

An article which it is highly necessary to provide a stock of, is specie, as a traveller may sometimes not come to a place during a whole day where he is able to procure any. In fact, there is scarcely any coin in circulation, either here (at Helsingburg) or in the adjacent country, or indeed in the whole kingdom. As I had heard so much on this subject, I applied betimes to our host, who is an opulent man, and keeps a good house. He told me he had not three schillings (a schilling is about three farthings) in the world, but that he would send out to the shops. I gave him a two-dollar bill, at which he laughed, and said it would scarcely be possible to scrape together such a sum in all Helsingburg. I requested him at least to try; and with much trouble and difficulty he at length procured me change for one dollar, in

upwards of one hundred pieces of copper of different kinds, but with a loss of nineteen *per cent.* I imagined this was an error, but was soon informed that it was perfectly right. Whoever wants copper must put up with this loss; but as the natives seek to avoid that coin as much as possible, they keep little or no specie, but transact all their business with paper. Their smallest notes are of twelve schillings (nine-pence sterling); so that I have known instances when travellers, for want of change, have been obliged to leave large notes behind them, at places where they had only two or three schillings to pay.

We went this afternoon to Ramlösa; a place about three miles from Helsingburg, celebrated for its mineral waters, and much frequented by people of rank. The spot is highly romantic: but I saw no building; except a miserable house (or rather a hall) constructed of wood, where tea, coffee, and lemonade, are served. Upon paying twelve schillings we are admitted, and obtain a right to refreshments. The number of persons of all classes which I saw there, was very great. The common people thronged round the house, or climbed up on the rails by which it is surrounded, to see the fine folks in and before the place. For my part, I cannot conceive whence all the genteel company can come, who drive to this place in splendid equipages, with two, four, and six horses. Our host informed us that they were partly from the neighbouring gentlemen's seats, and also many strangers from different parts of the kingdom, particularly Stockholm: but he could not tell where they all find lodgings, for very few reside at Helsinburg; and as to the gentlemen's seats, I could scarcely discover from the eminences near the town, which command a tolerably extensive view, a single creditable house in all the adjacent country as far as my eye could reach.

A small work in French, intended to serve as a guide to the Swedish mines, was brought to us by a woman for sale. For this purpose it is extremely useful; and I recommend it to all travellers, because it contains the Swedish post-map, which I had such difficulty to procure at Copenhagen:—the title is, *Guide du Voyageur aux Carrierès et Mines de Suede, par M. d'Engeström.*

Halmstadt, which was the termination of our first day's journey, is called by Büsching a pleasant and well-built staple town. This, however, we could not discover; nor the *convenient* residence of the governor, which has not a very inviting appearance. The place is, notwithstanding, superior to most of the small towns in the Danish Islands that I have seen.

LETTER VI.

COUNTRY BETWEEN HELSINBURG AND GOTHENBURG.—SWEDISH HORSES.—EXCELLENT CONDITION OF THE ROADS.—GOTHENBURG.—POPULATION.—SUBURBS.—ADJACENT COUNTRY.—EAST INDIA TRADE.—HERRING FISHERY.—TROLHÄTTA.—NEW CANAL.—WENNERSBURG.—LIDKÖPING.—KINNE-KULLE.—SWEDISH INNS.

GOTHENBURG, *July* 11*th*, 1798.

THE country between Helsingburg and Gothenburg is, I am informed, one of the worst tracts in the south of Sweden. I found it indeed barren, sandy, extremely thin of inhabitants, and badly cultivated: I however remarked many pieces of good land, but not in a state of cultivation. Nature has clothed them with herbage, but has received no assistance from human industry. I observed scarcely any thing, all the way, but single detached cottages; or if I saw what is denominated a village, it consisted only of a few huts, with scarcely any of those accompaniments which in other countries belong to the habitation of the farmer. Here are neither stables, barns, nor gardens, to give the farm-house an appearance of comfort and respectability, to which the Swedish cultivator is an utter stranger. The only building is a small wooden cottage, which commonly comprises the stable and the barn under the same roof; and frequently not a single tree is to be seen near it. Vegetables are equally scarce. But the Swedish peasant is not partial to these: he eats a great quantity of animal food, and hard rye-bread; but in the more northern provinces oat-bread, and likewise potatoes,—though he long hesitated to make use of the latter, as has been almost universally at first the case in countries where that excellent root has been introduced.

The towns through which we passd were six in number, exclusive of Helsinburg, and Gothenburg. Halmstadt, Warberg, and Kongsbacka, appeared to me the best among them; having a considerable number of good houses (partly of wood

and partly of brick), broad streets, and a tolerably clean appearance. All of them, without exception, have no walls: they cover a considerable extent of ground; for between the houses is generally a vacant space for a small yard, a garden, or something of that kind. They are consequently healthy; and this mode of building is attended with great advantages in cases of accidents by fire, in a country where most of the houses are entirely of wood. They are commonly painted red, but sometimes dark yellow. Engelholm, Laholm, and Falkenberg, are very insignificant. Warburg has a fort or castle, situated on a lofty rock which projects into the sea I met with a similar edifice at Halmstadt used as a place of confinement; and in which the prisoners begged at the windows as they do in Italy.

With regard to the general aspect of the country, this district of Sweden is rather level than mountainous: the traveller constantly sees hills in the vicinity, and passes over several, but they are not high. Such a country forms, upon the whole, a tolerably agreeable picture: we now and then traversed spots which were extremely beautiful; being overgrown with brush-wood, and broken by the varied forms of naked rocks and verdant hills. I was more particularly pleased with the country about Kongsbacka; where the soil is better cultivated, and the houses of the country people appear incomparably more clean, neat, and comfortable, than in the rest of this tract of 150 miles. The country-folks were every where decently clothed; but I here and there observed people who went barefooted, a circumstance that very rarely occurred in the Danish dominions.

White bread is an article which I have not yet seen in Sweden; at least, I have met with none to answer our ideas of that term. Here (at Gothenburg) I gave great offence at a table to which I was invited, because I imagined that the bread I was eating was a mixture of wheat and rye. I was informed that it was made entirely of wheat; but I can neither praise its colour nor its taste. Besides this bread, another kind, which is more palatable, may be had; made only of rye, in cakes about a quarter of an inch thick, and resembles the English sea-biscuit, requiring also excellent teeth to break as well as to chew it. In Scotland, and the North of Ireland, I every where met with cakes of the same kind; only with this difference, that they are made of oats. When I once spent a whole month in the county of Londonderry, I became very fond of these oat-cakes; till I discovered that they heated my blood, and produced small red spots on the skin: to the Swedish, on the contrary, I never was able to accustom myself; and from the beginning to the end of our journey in that country, the want of good bread was our greatest cause of complaint.

It was about midnight when we arrived at Gothenburg. The night was delightful, and perfectly serene; and in this case it affords real pleasure to travel in these latitudes.—Upon the whole, I was amused on the road by many things very different in this country from any which I had yet met in other European states. We were particularly diverted by the lively and comic scene which generally ensued upon our arrival at any place. Represent to yourself, for example, a single detached hut, perhaps at some distance from the high road, in an uninhabited country, where nothing is further from your thoughts than a post-station. The coachman stops in the middle of the road; and sets up a loud shout, without your knowing the cause. The door of the hut (situated probably several hundred paces from the high road) immediately opens; the peasants, the *hallkarl* and his family, sally forth, and hasten to bring the horses, which are already in waiting. My companion and I alight to stretch our legs; the servants, who ride behind, do the same: the coachman and the *hallkarl* are as busy as possible in harnessing the horses; which are attended by three peasants, and we bring with us the same number. There are consequently twelve men, and the same number of horses, who are running against each other, shouting, quarrelling, cursing, kicking, and neighing. It rarely happens however, that even this number does not receive a considerable augmentation. The *hallkarl* has children, a wife, or some acquaintance in his house. One or another of the peasants has brought with him a boy, or some friend who happens just at that moment to have nothing else to do. All these run out to see the strangers; and if there are any country-people in the adjacent fields, they likewise hurry to the spot. Thus you frequently hear five languages at once, in a space not larger than the ground occupied by a moderate house, and where two minutes before, not a human creature was to be seen. My companion and myself generally speak English; but I am obliged to address the coachman in German, and to make frequent pauses while he storms and curses at the poor peasants in his native language. Our Italian, who is in the mean time extremely officious, and who in fact understands no language at all (for his own he has partly forgotten), speaks in four different languages in a breath, because unfortunately it seldom happens that any one comprehends his meaning; he therefore attempts successively Italian, German, English, and French. I am certain that the Swedish peasants understand none of these languages; and yet he generally obtains what he wants.—If the station is in a village or its neighbourhood, the peasants are always accompanied by a great number of spectators. In towns these are still more numerous; because very few travellers visit this country,

and probably many are allured by the beauty of the carriage, which kind of vehicle they very seldom have an opportunity of seeing.

The Swedish horses are uncommonly small, and many of them have the appearance of half-grown colts. Though these animals are also badly fed, yet they possess considerable strength, and never want inclination. The invariably ascend a hill at full trot, and sometimes in a gallop. They never receive food or water by the way: and even at the numerous gates which are met with on the roads (and which are erected by the peasants to prevent their cattle from getting out of the pastures into the corn-fields), the carriage never stops; but one of the peasants jumps down with great dexterity, opens the gate, runs a little distance by the side, and then leaps again upon the box, though the horses may be going at full gallop.

I had frequently heard of the excellence of the Swedish roads; and had been assured by many travellers that, upon the whole, they were better than those of England. This I heard, like many other things, without giving credit to the account; I have, however, found it to be strictly true. The southern part of Sweden is intersected by these roads in every direction. If we merely look at the post-map, at certain places and roads which run from it in ten different directions, we should suppose it to be the country about Pekin in China, or at least that round London. From Upsal (a small town which neither has any trade nor a numerous population) run nine high roads; and between Stockholm and Dalecarlia, a tract of less than seventy miles in extent, there are twelve roads, which partly run parallel, and partly intersect each other. Beyond the sixty-first degree the roads are, indeed, not so numerous; but some of them run throughout the whole country: for instance, that from Stockholm to Tornea runs all round the gulf of Bothnio, through the whole of Finland, and is continued to Petersburg. This road is regularly supplied with post-horses in every part, even in the Russian dominions. The principal of these roads were constructed by the command of Charles XI, and their number has since been considerably increased. They are repaired regularly twice in the year; exclusive of the amendments occasionally made when any part has received damage, and which must be performed gratuitously by the peasant who lives nearest to it.

Gothenburg ranks as the second town in Sweden; and as such I was certainly disappointed in my expectations. Since the fire in 1758, many of the houses have been rebuilt with brick; but the greatest part are still of wood. These wooden houses have however a very pleasing, clean, and neat appearance; being mostly fresh painted, and some of them large and spacious

buildings. Those of brick form a medium between the English and Dutch manners of building, but approach the nearest to the former. The Swedes are very unwilling to renounce their wooden habitations; because they are accustomed to them, and find them warmer than those of stone, which last is an important object in this latitude. The expence is likewise a principal consideration, they being by far cheaper than the brick.

The square, on both sides of the river Ham, would do credit to any town. The river itself is considerable; but in the town it appears like a broad canal, bordered on each side by a public street or quay, composed of large handsome houses. Here are situated the Exchange; and the very extensive building belonging to the East-India Company, which has three directors who reside here. All the other streets are likewise respectable, and the houses have an external appearance of cleanliness which promises a corresponding neatness within. Besides the great canal or river Ham, several smaller streams run through part of the town. The former is deep enough for large merchantmen, so that they can unload within the walls.

The town itself, which is enclosed by fortifications, is small, and does not contain above 1200 souls; but the suburbs are of considerable extent, the houses being much scattered in different directions. Towards the harbour, the suburbs look like a distinct place, and afford at a distance a very pleasing view. In the town and suburbs together, Mr. Chalmers, one of the directors of the East-India Company, reckons upwards of twenty-two thousand inhabitants; but Mr. John Hall, an opulent merchant residing here, estimates the number at only twenty thousand. The truth is not accurately known; for the population of the place has increased of late years, and is still increasing.

The works round the town accord very little with our present ideas of fortification, and are not kept in the best repair. They command an extremely interesting and romantic prospect. Gothenburg is situated in a plain, almost entirely surrounded with naked rocks. These rocks project in two places into the town; and form eminences which afford a fine view, particularly of the port, the Gotha-elf or river, and the island of Hisingen. This latter spot is of considerable extent: its west side is composed almost entirely of naked rocks; and it protects the town from the fury of the North Sea, and the violence of the west winds; which latter are common, and give the trees (exactly as in Ireland) an inclination to the east, sometimes stripping them also of part of their leaves.

The level country round Gothenburg is tolerably well cultivated; but the large tract of plain situated on each side of the river Gotha, is partly swampy and partly inundated. This

is, at least, the case at present and during a great portion of the year. I have been told that great quantities of wheat are raised in these parts; but I have not yet been able to discover a single field of that kind of grain, and am strongly inclined to doubt the truth of this information.

I saw scarcely any fruit-trees; and though I always looked attentively, on the road from Helsingburg I observed only two small orchards. When I made enquiries on this subject at Gothenburg, I was assured that apples, pears, and cherries, arrive at maturity here. I know that great quantities of apples are produced farther up the country, between Gothenburg and Stockholm; but I should imagine that the violent west winds, on these coasts of the North Sea, cannot be very favourable to fruits in general. In the Exchange I once saw two women with cherries, each of whom had a pewter measure containing about a quart. Mr. Chalmers enquired the price of one of them, who asked twelve schillings (about nine-pence English) for the measure. Some which I ate in a family, and which were brought from their country-seat, looked well, but were watery and insipid. Nevertheless, the present is an uncommonly dry summer; every thing is three weeks or a month earlier than usual; and for five weeks there has been no rain, except a little yesterday and to-day.

We dined and supped yesterday at a great house. The furniture and decorations were good, and nearly equal to those of persons of the second rank in England. When we entered the dining-room, the mistress of the house placed herself at the table; but the men, instead of sitting down, went to a small side-table, where they took a piece of cake, or hard-bread and butter, and a glass of spirits. The conversation was in English or French, both of which languages were understood by all the company.

I mentioned above, that bricks are employed reluctantly for building by the inhabitants of this place. Stone is never used for that purpose. In this point, with the usual affected sagacity of a traveller, I might assign the want of taste in the Swedes; who give the preference to brick, and still more to wood, while they have the finest stone lying before their doors. This would, however be a very superficial observation; for the inhabitants of towns are not so destitute of taste as they sometimes at the first view appear to be, to those who are unacquainted with all the circumstances. The stone, of which I saw whole hills in the town, is principally granite of the hardest species; and even the other stone which is found intermixed with it, is so extremely hard,

that the labour of working it would be much more expensive than brick. Even the posts of the windows and doors are very seldom of stone.

The East-India commerce, which never was very important or employed a large capital, is continually decreasing, because the English have almost entirely monopolized that branch of trade. On the other hand, the town has of late years obtained great profits from the herring-fishery; which thrives exceedingly, and is in part the cause of the augmented population. But the Swedish herrings are not to be compared to the Dutch; nor even, in my opinion, to those of Prussia.

I have just returned from viewing the harbour, where I enjoyed a spectacle inexpressibly beautiful in its kind. As soon as we leave the gate of the town, we enter the suburbs, the houses in the lower parts of which appear to belong to opulent people. They are entirely of wood; but, being constantly kept fresh-painted, they have a neat and clean appearance, which quite delighted me. On the level ground they form regular streets; but as we quit these and ascend the acclivity, they become smaller and meaner, and at length dwindle into detached cottages, surrounded by rocks, on which they are likewise constructed. I ascended the highest, where I could only perceive scanty patches of herbage interspersed, which resembled rather moss than grass. This whole tract, from the summits of these rocks to the banks of the river Gotha, must once have been a soil perfectly sterile, composed either of naked rocks or covered with sand; but human industry has converted it into a garden. Wherever the situation admits of it, we observe between the naked rocks kitchen-gardens, fruit and other trees, pastures, and potatoe-grounds.

While I had this charming view before and partly on one side of me, I perceived on my other side the city, which appears highly romantic behind three craggy rocks, a part of it being covered by the middle one. This, however, is only a very small part of the grand picture. I commanded a view of almost the whole island of Hisingen, which on this side has a great number of villages and houses; and my eye followed the windings of the Gotha, to its mouth: beyond I discovered many other small islands, between which the sea (that is, the Cattegat or Skager Rack) is discernible. In the Gotha, which is here very broad, a great number of ships were lying, both near me and at a distance. The whole view appeared to me to combine with all the romantic beauties of a Swiss prospect, the peculiar effect which navigation alone can produce. The suburbs, which may be considered as a distinct place, are inhabited by merchants, tradespeople, artisans, and seafaring men.

Trolhätta, 13*th July.*

We left Gothenburg yesterday morning early; and travelled upwards of fifty miles, through a country infinitely more beautiful than any I had yet seen in this kingdom. It is likewise better cultivated than any part between Helsingburg and Gothenburg: I mean where the soil is susceptible of cultivation; for a great portion of it consists of hard and naked granite, which no industry could ever render productive. This road runs, all along, near the river Gotha; which we frequently see, and which forms charming views.—The ancient fortress of Bohus, with the small town of the same name lying below it, has a noble situation, and makes a good appearance. The villages were also more respectable than those we had before passed through; and I now for the first time discovered woods of pines, none of which trees I had seen for a long time, though I had fully expected to meet with them under this latitude.

I have spent four hours in surveying the works of Trolhätta. You probably know that all the works which for upwards of a century have been going forward here, have been relinquished and declared unserviceable. I shall therefore only take notice of the new works, particularly, as the former are very circumstantially described in Coxe's Travels.

Near the village of Trolhätta, the navigation of the river Gotha is interrupted by several falls. A little lower down there is another, called Flottberg's fall. After repeated attempts to render the passage of these falls, and among the islands, practicable for shipping, it was resolved to abandon the design altogether, and to construct a canal; by means of which vessels could leave the river at Trolhätta, and, after a course of about a mile and three quarters, return into it again. The whole of this canal, except two small portions, is cut through the solid rock; which is partly composed of sand-stone, but principally consists of grey or red granite.

The height, from the uppermost fall till below Flottberg's, is 112 feet. From the beginning to nearly the end of the canal, the water is level with the part of the river above the falls; and the ships descend the whole depth of 112 feet, at a place where eight sluices, each upwards of thirteen feet in height, have been constructed close together. The length of the sluices is 120, and their breadth twenty-two feet, and they admit vessels of 150 tons; the greatest depth of the canal, where it has been cut through a rock of considerable height, is seventy-two feet, and its depth of water 10 feet. To have given it a greater depth, so as to admit larger vessels, would have been unnecessary, because there are parts of

the river between this place and Gothenburg which are not more than ten feet deep.

It might appear extraordinary to an Englishman, that the only obstacle which so long opposed the navigation of this river, was the want of a canal less than two miles in length; and indeed in England this difficulty would soon have been overcome. But it should be considered, in the first place, that the Swedes are not so rich, highly civilized, enterprising, and mechanical a nation, as the English; and in the second, that the ground here is such as is seldom found in the vicinity of a great river: the whole adjacent country is an immense solid mass of rock; and for the most part of the hardest kind, being granite.

Eight hundred men are daily employed at this place; with the exception of about sixty, they are all soldiers, and receive eight schillings (about sixpence) each for the day's work. It is not quite five years since the works were commenced, and in two years they expect to open the canal. This is entirely a private undertaking and was begun by a single individual. All the works previously carried on here were at the expence of the government. Mr. Chalmers, of Gothenburg, knowing that many people considered it only as a means of making a fortune, and that the management alone cost great sums, he went to Stockholm (as he himself informed me), settled all the necessary preliminaries with the government, fixed the tolls to be paid on the canal when completed, and a general scale according to which the proprietors of the land, or rather of the naked rocks, should be indemnified, together with many other points of a similar nature. Upon this he immediately opened a sale of shares, as is customary in England; and in a short time received subscriptions for 765,000 rix-dollars, or about 115,000*l.* sterling. These shares are transferable. It is, however, supposed that the canal will not require an expenditure of more than 45,000*l.* which will again force a smile from an Englishman.

Thus this canal avoids the four falls of Trolhätta as they are denominated. Two Swedish miles below Trolhätta, the Gotha forms another fall; but this has long been remedied by means of the Edit Sluice, which I yesterday saw. This sluice is far from handsome, and in my opinion was originally ill constructed. It is very much out of repair, and the water forced its way through all the seams in the wall. It belongs to the town of Gothenburg; but will be transferred to the new company, by which it will soon be thoroughly repaired.

The result of what I have seen is, that this canal is by no means equal to those of the kind in England, particularly the Duke of Bridgewater's, the great canal near Halifax which

goes out of Lancashire into Yorkshire, and the cut of the Mull of Cantire in Scotland. On the other hand, the canal of Trolhätta has an air of grandeur that none of the English canals possesses; which it derives principally from its deep bed of granite, and the height of the gates of the sluices, some of which are said to be twenty-six feet.

Of the rocky islands situated in the river, near Trolhätta, two are inhabited, but two or three are quite inaccessible. One of these is overgrown with trees, which have never been touched by human hands. A dog which attempted to swim across the river at some distance above, being carried away by the rapidity of the current, was cast upon this island. He there lived several days; but, not having the courage to plunge again into the impetuous torrent, he perished with hunger.

Lidköping, 16*th July*.

We left Trolhätta in the afternoon of the 14th, and proceeded to Wennersburg, a distance of about ten miles. This road leads through a country which is not only beautiful, but I may say romantic, to the Ronnom-bridge, beneath which the Gotha forms a fine fall. The river is here so contracted by rocks that its breadth does not exceed fifty feet. The adjacent country is extremely picturesque, and I regretted that I had not time to make some drawings of it. We alighted, and contemplated the prospect below and above the bridge, from a small eminence from which we had the most charming view of the windings of the river. I have not yet informed you, that the falls of Trolhätta are beautifully picturesque, and perfectly resemble the scenery of Switzerland; and I may say the same of the country around this spot. To add to its charms, the Gotha is of a fine sea-green colour, which forms an agreeable contrast with the white foam of the water-falls.

At the Ronnom-bridge we quitted the high-road, to see the Gustavus sluice, which Mr. Coxe calls the Tessin sluice. In order to avoid the fall under the bridge, a canal was carried westward from Wennersburg, from the lake Wenner, which still forms the regular communication. Charles IX. blew up the rocks about this place, to procure a situation for the sluice which was afterwards constructed. Being only eighteen feet in breadth, and consequently not admitting ships of any burthen, the late king, Gustavus III., ordered another to be built of brick, which is very beautiful. It is composed of two parts; the height of which I cannot give, because I am unwilling to quote any uncertain authority.

On our arrival at Wennersburg, I walked about the town, and likewise took a view of the lake. This place is situated

between the above-mentioned canal and the river Gotha, and has a considerable trade. Next to Gothenburg, it is the handsomest town that I have yet seen in Sweden; being composed of good houses, almost all of which are of wood. The castle is of stone; and is an extensive building, of simple but elegant construction. The market-place is large, and the streets are broad.

While we were at Gothenburg, we had been advised in the most earnest manner not to travel through Sweden without seeing Kinne-kulle, one of the most delightful views in the world. The person who most praised it to us, has travelled much, and resided ten years in Asia. The engineers at Trollhätta likewise informed us that we should not repent this excursion; though, to perform it with convenience, makes a difference to us of at least three days, and a circuit of about 140 miles. A circumstance which completely decided us was, that our coachman fell sick, and we were obliged to wait for his recovery: in this interval we resolved to make the excursion with only one servant, and a Swedish coachman who understands nothing but his native language.

I had indeed already made considerable progress in the Swedish language, and could ask for almost every thing I wanted. Our journey to Kinne-kulle required a greater proficiency; but on this head I was perfectly easy, because I had been assured that at Lidköping I should find some one who understood either French or German. Immediately on my arrival I made enquiry for a person who could speak any other language besides Swedish, and mentioned those tongues which I understood; but to all my questions I received no answer but *Inte an Sveske*, "Nothing but Swedish." At this moment a youth of sixteen or seventeen years entered the house, and the landlady asked him whether he understood any foreign language. He belonged to the school of Lackö; containing, by his account, two hundred boys, and established in an ancient structure situated on an island in the lake Wenner. He was spending the holidays with his relations at this place; and I at length discovered that he understood Latin, which with great difficulty he spoke. As this however was better than no language at all, I gave him an invitation to accompany us, which he cheerfully accepted. He confirmed all the extraordinary things I had heard of Kinne-kulle, and reckoned the prospect among the seven wonders of Sweden.

This was not the only occasion on which, after a period of several years, I was obliged to converse in Latin. At a mean village where we stopped to change horses, I took a survey of the wretched huts, among which I observed one that was in some respects distinguished from the rest. While I was viewing it, a man came out of the house, who, though meanly dressed, had the appear-

ance of being either the parson or the schoolmaster of the parish. It was the former. I addressed him in Latin; but he shook his head, and said something in Swedish that I did not understand. Our conversation was very short. I discovered, however, that he was the minister of the place, and that he very politely invited us into his house to take some refreshment. *Cognoscitis Caffee* was all the Latin that I could get from him. I was touched with this feature of hospitality amidst the evident poverty of his situation. I thanked him, in Swedish; and left him, to look at some wind-mills situated between Wennersburg and Lidköping, and which are more wretched, mean, and awkward, than any thing of the kind I ever beheld.

Our ride to Kinne-kulle turned out exactly as I expected. The mountain is not nearly two thousand feet above the surface of the lake: and on the land side is so overgrown with fir-trees, as to intercept the prospect of the adjacent country; so that this boasted view consists only of part of the lake Wenner and its shores. This lake is from 100 to 120 miles in length, and from 60 to 70 in breadth. But whatever is grand and beautiful, possesses those qualities only so far as it is adapted to the organs of our senses. The most enchanting view, removed thirty or forty miles from me, vanishes into nothing; and the expanse of the lake appeared only like the open sea. It contains indeed a great number of islands; but they were at such a distance from us, as to make an insignificant figure. I perceived the peninsula, which projects many miles from the north shore of the lake between the towns of Amal and Carlstadt, exactly opposite to me; for Kinne-kulle is a little to the left of the high road from Lidköping to Stockholm: but this likewise was at too great a distance. The most interesting object was the peninsula which projects a considerable distance into the lake between Wennersburg and Lidköping, and is near the spectator. At the extremity of it is situated an island, in which is the royal palace of Lackö, now appropriated to the purposes of the school abovementioned.

As I know that the mountains of Wermeland are very lofty, I expected that they would probably reach to the north shore of the lake: but either this is not the case; or, on account of the great distance, their height vanishes; for I perceived but indistinctly a shore that was not very lofty. The country around Kinnekulle is very fertile; and the tract which I that day beheld, was the best cultivated and the most populous of any I had yet seen in Sweden. The cottages of the country-people were likewise superior to those I had before met with; many had small orchards in which the cherries began to assume their colour, the grass was luxuriant, and corn in abundance. Near the mountain are situ-

ated many gentlemen's seats, some of which have a very pleasing appearance. Probably this fertility and high cultivation cause the Swedes to bestow such extravagant encomiums on the beauties of the prospect.

Lidköping is situated on the navigable river Lida, which divides it into the old and new town.—In all the Swedish inns, the first thing that is brought us is an enormous bottle of brandy, with some hard rye bread or rather cake. The liquor is in general doubly distilled, and the strongest of the kind that I ever drank.

The soup is always the last dish that is placed on the table. Tea is not uncommon in these houses, and it is better than I have met with in any other part of the Continent.—To the honour of the few Swedish inns that I have yet visited, I must state that the barbarous custom of smothering us under a thick feather-bed seems to be unknown in them. The people here are also strangers to another custom very common in Germany, that of giving to travellers sheets which have before been used. The Swedish inns are nevertheless very much decried; and probably, in our long course through this country, we shall find not without justice. In all that I have yet seen, the apartments are strewed with the young shoots of fir, pine, or larch trees. Porcelain is in general use, which is more than we find in France; silver utensils are common, and the plates and dishes are Staffordshire ware. Scarcely has a man ever existed who has created such an extensive branch of trade for his country as Wedgwood: he improved this ware, and brought it into general use at the tables both of the rich and poor, from one end of Europe to the other. It is one of the greatest things ever accomplished by *one* man.

WENNERSBURG, 17*th July*.

We did not leave Lidköping till seven o'clock this morning, and yet we arrived at this place before three, though the distance is about forty miles. In any other country we should have proceeded immediately: but not so in Sweden. Besides being always obliged to bespeak horses if we wish not to be detained, the inns are likewise a principal consideration; and of these there are very few. At most stations there is none at all; the greatest part of them consisting of nothing more than the cottage of the *hallkarl*, whose business it is, as I have already mentioned, to provide the horses: and this cottage is sometimes composed of a single small room, in which the man and his whole family live and sleep. Mr. Coxe, indeed, informs us that he frequently slept in these cottages, and mostly found an apartment for the reception of guests, or at least a bed: but in the majority it would be in vain to look for either the one or the other.

I have just returned from a walk on the shore of the lake Wenner, and the cliffs on its banks. I was astonished to observe so few ships, and so many extensive provinces lie contiguous to this lake; as all vessels must pass by Wennersburg because there is no other way for goods but down the Gotha, through Gothenburg, to the sea. But the passage of vessels in these parts appears to be dependent on particular periods, in which certain commodities are collected in this or the other place from whole districts. Thus for instance, at the present time, agents are employed in buying up all the iron in Wermeland that is to be sent to England; and when it is all collected together, it is shipped off in great quantities at once.

LETTER VII.

TOUR IN NORWAY.

UDDEWALLA.—STRÖMSTADT.—THE SWINSUND.—FREDERICSHALL.—MOS.—SCHUTSJORYD.—CHRISTIANIA.—CHARMING, FERTILE, AND CULTIVATED COUNTRY ROUND THAT CITY.—OUS.—KONGSWINGER.—THE ROADS OF NORWAY.—MAGNOR.

CHRISTIANIA, *in* NORWAY, *July 24th*, 1798.

WE left Wennersburg on the 18th; and that day travelled about eighty miles, to Strömstadt. Near Wennersburg the road crosses a canal, cut from the lake on which is situated the Gustavus-sluice, and which a little lower down joins the Gotha: by means of this, vessels avoid the fall formed by that river at the bridge of Ronnom.

After proceeding fourteen miles from this place, we came to Uddewalla; a considerable town, with a harbour communicating with several bays formed by the different islands lying before Uddewalla. The whole tract is in the highest degree picturesque and romantic. The hills and islands are partly naked rocks, and partly overgrown with trees; and the sea winds in such a singular manner between the rocks and round the islands, that it has the appearance of several small lakes. From this place to the Norwegian frontiers I found the country more agreeable,

than any part of Sweden I had yet traversed. From Uddewalla to Strömstadt we were continually near the sea, so that we frequently had a view of small arms, taking their picturesque course through the country; and which we frequently found in places where, from the map, we had no expectation of meeting with them. The road led mostly up and down hill, over and between romantic rocks of singular shapes. This tract, notwithstanding its wildness, is more populous and cultivated than many others where the ground is more level, and the soil more fertile.

Strömstadt, though situated on the sea, and having a harbour, is a small insignificant town. Inclosed among rocks almost entirely bare, its situation is the more remarkable. The traveller imagines that he is entering a completely desert country, in which he expects to find not a single human habitation; and, to his astonishment, in the midst of it he meets with a town.

From Strömstadt we returned a considerable part of the route we had gone the preceding evening. On this account a more direct road has been made; so that the traveller has no occasion to go to that town, unless he intends to sleep there. The country now becomes more mountainous; and the road in many places so steep, that, though we all alighted, the six horses could with difficulty draw the carriage. In these parts a vast quantity of fir-trees grow, of which I had the day before observed several woods.

On our reaching the summit of a very lofty mountain, I beheld below us the Swinsund, a lake which has the appearance of a river, winding a great distance into the country, and forming at this place the boundary between Sweden and Norway. This scene has an air of grandeur, and resembles no other prospect in Europe that I have seen. It reminded me of views in remote regions, given in the voyages of Cook and others.

With infinite labour and difficulty our carriage was brought down the steep declivity, when it was ferried over in a boat of no great size. The horses were transported in another; and we were conveyed in a very small boat, by one of the most charming girls I have seen for a long time. During the passage I again made the observation which has so often before been made by others; that the fair sex understand every compliment paid to them, whatever language it may be in. I told her, in my broken Swedish, how handsome I thought her; on which she blushed, and smiled.

On the Norwegian side of the Swinsund, rises a mountain equally steep with that on the Swedish side which we had descended. We enjoyed delightful views, proceeding over mountains of marble through a very wild country; and arrived at Helle,

where our Swedish horses were changed for Norwegian. I enquired for the house of the *Hall-karl* (for here as in Sweden, there are no post-houses); where we were received by a female, who appeared to be a peasant of the lower class. She, however, conducted us into an apartment in which we found all that a traveller can reasonably desire; and where I should have had no objection to pass the night, had not Fredericshall been the place of our destination. In a word, we found a very decent inn in a small village where I expected only to meet with a wretched hut.

Fredericshall is situated on the Swinsund, at the place where the river Tistedal falls into it. To arrive at the town we descend a lofty mountain, from which the place and adjacent country form a fine view. This, however, is much inferior to what I afterwards saw. Fredericshall is a straggling place, situated at the foot of the mountain on whose summit stands the celebrated fortress which is properly called Fredericstein. The town itself is quite open, neat, and clean; and contains a great number of good houses.

It may easily be supposed that we wished to see the spot where Charles XII. fell. We were informed that for this purpose the special permission of the governor is required; and that, strictly, all foreigners are prohibited from seeing this fortress. The spot, nevertheless, is not situated in the fortress itself; but between it and another fort, which commands an eminence. We applied to lieutenant-colonel Von Hof; who received us with the utmost politeness, though we had no letters of recommendation. A serjeant conducted us to the summit; where close to the gate of the fortress, one of the most magnificent prospects I have any where beheld opened to the view. The capacious harbour, with its numerous indentations and bays, formed by several islands, combines all the romantic cast of a Swiss view, with the peculiar character of a marine prospect,—a port, ships, &c. We then walked about the port a considerable time, and I had some difficulty to part from a scene which combines such variety with such grandeur and loveliness. To judge from the number of ships which I saw here, the trade of the town would be supposed more extensive than it really is. A large sugar-bake house on the shore makes a distinguished figure. The place where the Swedish warrior was shot, affords a charming view; as does also a small eminence situated near it. From this spot we discover, on the side opposite to the harbour, a fine fertile valley, watered by the river Tistedal, whose banks are extremely lively; and here we likewise perceive a part of the town, which winds so far round the foot of the mountain.

On this memorable spot formerly stood pompous trophies, with inscriptions; but they have been demolished. Nothing is

now to be seen there but a wooden cross painted white, on which we read—*The Siege; December 11th*, 1718. That the Swedish monarch was killed by a musket-shot from the rampart, I have not the smallest doubt; for, in my opinion, the nearest part of it is scarcely six hundred feet distant in a direct line.

On the 20th we went upwards of ten Norwegian, or about seventy English miles; by way of Mos, to Schutsjoryd. Mos is a small place which I had never heard mentioned; and of which I knew nothing more, than that a town of that name is laid down on the map between Fredericshall and Christiania. On my arrival there I observed a number of very neat, and at the same time respectable houses; and such a general appearance of opulence, that I was surprised. At the end of the town we came to a part so picturesque and romantic, that I alighted; and could not refrain from admiring the extraordinary mixture of houses, naked rocks, sawing-mills, an iron-foundry, and a small stream which precipitates itself in rude cascades down the rocks, and turns a great number of mills. The scene was enlivened by both art and Nature: and below, at a considerable distance, I perceived the masts of ships; for Mos is situated on a bay, called Christianiafiord, which extends to the town from which it derives its appellation. These bays are very numerous, and impart an inexpressible charm to the whole country.

Schutsjoryd is a single detached house. Between Fredericshall and that place, the road is the most mountainous I ever travelled. The whole tract from Swinsund to Christiania is incomparably beautiful, romantic, and picturesque; and confirms what I have so often heard asserted, that Norway is the Switzerland of the north. The woods are so numerous, that we were seldom out of them for any length of time, and constantly had several in view. They are almost entirely composed of fir-trees, which constitute the wealth of this country. The timber is cut in sawing-mills, and exported principally to England.

Twenty-four miles brought us to Christiania: this northern paradise, this heavenly region, which I could never have expected to find under the 60th degree of latitude; and no description of which I should have believed, if it were expressed with such energy, and painted in such glowing colours, as I wish myself able to employ.

About four miles before we reach Christiania, we descended a lofty mountain, from which we enjoyed one of the most delightful views that I am acquainted with in Europe. It is grand, expansive, and sublime; but not rude, as might be perhaps expected. In the fore-ground are naked rocks; and in the distance lofty mountains covered with wood. At our feet lay extended a rich,

fertile, well-cultivated country; together with a city of considerable magnitude, which appears to be larger than it actually is, and the most picturesque harbour that can be imagined. I forgot the climate in which I was, and imagined myself transported to the most favoured region in Europe. I scarcely know any where a view which comprises such a variety of objects and scenery. The rocks that were near me, and partly inclosed the bay, brought to my recollection the savage wildness of the Alps; while mountains of a different description seemed to prove that this country rather belonged to the milder districts of the canton of Bern. The upper part of the Christianiafiord would have reminded me of the most beautiful of the lakes of Switzerland, if the ships had not convinced me that I was near the sea-coast. At the same time, this extensive district is so interspersed with detached houses, all of which have a neat, pleasing, and comfortable appearance, that we imagine ourselves transported into fairy-land. The verdure here is of the most charming tint; the plants and trees of the most luxuriant growth, and in every quarter smile opulence and ease. I have since ascended this mountain, and have viewed the country adjacent to the town on every side; and always with increased delight. In short, I cannot express how beautiful every object around Christiania appears; and I never was more in want of words, though my mind overflows with ideas.

Christiania is the capital of Norway, but has not more than ten thousand inhabitants. It covers a considerable extent of ground; the streets being spacious, and the houses not lofty. It is situated at the extremity of a bay; which runs almost sixty miles up the country; and contains a great number of islands small and great, all of which are full of mountains and rocks, and rise from the water in the most beautiful and romantic forms. The prospect from the ramparts of the fortress (which, though not in a lofty situation, commands the circumjacent country) is particularly beautiful.

The view from the country-house of Mr. Chamberlain Anker, about four miles from this city, is truly magnificent; and not less beautiful, in its kind, is that from the splendid mansion of his brother, about sixteen miles distant. These gentlemen live, in this remote corner of the world, in the style of English lords, and in all the splendour of the most polished metropolis. The first time we waited upon the chamberlain, we were conducted through a long suite of superb rooms, partly decorated with tapestry, and partly with paintings and engravings. He has likewise a copious and a good library, English philosophical instruments, and a cabinet of natural history. It was not without an uncommon sensation that I saw at his house, here in Norway,

a large Quercino, a Guido, a very beautiful Conca, and several pictures by other great masters. Mr. Anker has travelled over the greatest part of Europe; and, besides his native language, he speaks English, German, French, and Italian, very fluently. His property, which is estimated at considerably more than a million of Danish dollars, consists of lands, a hundred and two sawing-mills, and thirty-eight vessels. In these last he exports his deals and timber to every part of Europe, and the commodities which are brought back are disposed of by his agents. His brother is said to possess a clear revenue of thirty-five thousand dollars, besides being furnished by his estates with all that his large establishment consumes. His stable contains above thirty horses, and his house is large and magnificently furnished.

These two brothers are by no means the only opulent persons in this province. A Mr. Rosenkrantz, who is said to be worth a million of dollars, and many very rich merchants, likewise reside in this place. The Norwegians, however, do not acquire their riches by places under government; for even the custom-house officers are principally from Denmark.

Last Sunday the chamberlain Anker had an assembly; which he gives every week on that day, together with a ball. About eighty or ninety persons might be present; of whom there were very few that did not understand at least one other language besides that of their native country. Many could speak two, and others three. German is not common; French is more general; but English is most frequently spoken. Yet the government has done nothing towards the improvement of this country; but, on the contrary, endeavours to prevent it. Mr. Anker has made every possible exertion to procure his country a university, but in vain. Christiania has, however, a gymnasium and a bank.

In this whole kingdom there is not a single bookseller's shop; all literary works are ordered from Copenhagen and Hamburgh. It contains four printing-houses; namely, in the principal towns, Christiania, Bergen, Drontheim, and Christiansand. Between these places there is very little communication; and their interests, like their occupations, are perfectly distinct. A post-road has been constructed between Christiania and Drontheim; but to the two other towns we cannot travel by land; for there is no high road on the whole western and part of the southern coast, nor perhaps is it possible to make any. This coast is so full of gulfs, bays, creeks, and inlets, all of which penetrate far into the country, and wind in many different directions, that it would be very difficult to form a road. In many parts a journey by land is entirely impracticable.—The post is on the same footing in Norway as in Sweden.

I took the greatest pains, but in vain, to ascertain the height

of the Norwegian mountains. The only person who could give me any information on this subject was Mr. Anker; but I am certain that he is greatly incorrect. He told me that the highest mountains were two thousand two hundred feet above the sea. I cannot help thinking, however, that some of those which I have myself seen, must be considerably more. From all that I can collect, the Norwegian mountains are not nearly so lofty as they have been described. Some indeed are constantly covered with snow; but this is rather a consequence of their northern latitude, than of their height. The Douvre Fiel, and some others of the same range, are said to be the loftiest; and, next to them, those near Röaas.—The climate is uncommonly mild for this high latitude.—All kinds of vegetables thrive well, and even peaches come to maturity in the open air. The cherries were very good, and far superior to those which I ate at Gothenburg.

Fresh butter cannot be procured here, any more than in Sweden. There is none to be had for many miles round Christiania. The country-people consume their milk themselves; and the butter which they make, they put by for their own use in winter. The fact is, the Norwegian farmers have no great stock of cattle, because they do not cultivate land sufficient to raise hay enough to support them during the winter, a period of seven or eight months in the year. They have abundance of pasturage in summer; but if they have a good stock of cattle, they are obliged to kill them in winter, or to take them to market; and the next summer, they have not money sufficient to make fresh purchases. Our landlord told me that he received his butter from a distance of above a hundred and forty miles; and that only at stated periods, so that the butter is consequently stale before it is sent off. The greatest part of the country round Christiania belongs to the citizens of that capital, who themselves consume a considerable portion of their productions. Farther in the country, the peasant chooses rather to employ himself in felling trees, which he sells at the sawing-mills, than to be at the trouble of cultivating the ground, and thus to procure a subsistence.—On this occasion, I must observe, that in Norway I have found very fine white bread; an article of luxury which I never yet met with in Sweden.

The flesh of the rein-deer is generally eaten here in winter. It is brought from Röraas, where persons who possess a great number of those animals reside. On the contrary, the elk is a perfect stranger. Though peculiar to the northern part of Norway, they have however become so rare, that a strict prohibition has been issued against killing them, with a view to preserve the breed, because it is a large and fine animal. Its flesh is much preferred to that of the rein-deer.

The Norwegian horses are excellent, and uncommonly swift.

I was particularly struck with the great size of those belonging to the Messrs. Ankers: they perfectly resemble the large breed of Holstein or Flanders. The common kind are not so large; they however, far exceed, both in size and quality, those in that part of Sweden through which I have yet travelled.

MAGNOR, *in* NORWAY, *on the frontier of* WERMELAND, *July* 26, 1798.

Three days ago I had no idea that I should so soon reach again the frontiers of Norway. We had suffered ourselves to be persuaded to adopt a more extensive plan, and were actually half-resolved to see this country as far as Drontheim: we therefore entered it towards the south; and were on the road to Kongsburg, when an unpleasant accident brought us back to Christiania.—Another circumstance likewise contributed to induce us to leave Norway. I have not yet informed you that we had determined to visit Lapland, by the way of Tornea: and to proceed round the gulf of Bothnia, through Finland, to Petersburg. This idea originated with my companion, who dislikes the sea as much as myself, on being informed at Pyrmont by the Swedish admiral W*** that the whole of this immense distance is regularly supplied with post-horses. The novelty of the thing likewise had attractions for me. From that time I procured information relative to this subject wherever I had an opportunity. These accounts varied much, but they all agreed in representing the design as practicable. Yet I remained undecided till we came to Gothenburg; where Mr. Hall happened to say, that in a few weeks he expected letters from Petersburg, to which city his son was gone by the way of Tornea. On farther inquiry I found that this journey was nothing unusual; and that it has been performed by a great number both of Swedes and Russians. With respect to the distance, if we reckon from Gothenburg it is about two thousand three hundred miles; but I am told that it may be travelled in less than a month. We shall not, indeed, enjoy a sight of the sun at midnight; and it it is probable, I hear, that we may have some frost and snow in the latitude of Tornea: it is, notwithstanding, our intention to go a day's journey farther to the north, that we may at least be able to say we have seen something of that district.

We left Christiania early yesterday morning: and went about seventy miles, to Ous; a single detached house, at the neatness, elegance, and cleanliness of which, we were not a little suprized. This inn has, besides, such a charming situation on the large river Glomme, that in the evening it was with reluctance I quitted the window; where I beheld a magnificent Swiss landscape—the beautiful river, a lofty mountain to the right and another to the left, thick forests, and the rising moon that appears to vie with

the brilliancy of the sky, which in this latitude continues during the whole night.

The country through which we this day travelled, was more beautiful, and likewise more fertile and better cultivated, than that part which lies between Christiania and the Swedish frontiers. In a word, the whole tract of upwards of two hundred miles, over which I have travelled, justly entitles Norway to the appellation of the *Switzerland of the North.*

I could not forbear remarking the great number of rivers in this district. In the seventy miles which we travelled yesterday, we crossed five rivers (the smallest of which is equal to the Mulda or Necker) at their mouths: they are, indeed, not very deep, and on account of their numerous falls they are not navigable. The Glomme, in general, appears to be as broad as the Elbe at Dresden, but in some places it is far broader. In the part where we first crossed it, and where the rocks on each side somewhat contract the channel, its breadth is computed to be four hundred paces.—Only two of these rivers are provided with wooden bridges: over all the others we were obliged to pass in boats, or rather rafts; being nothing more than a number of timbers fastened together, between which the water appeared as soon as the coach was placed upon the machine. The first of these rafts which I saw, filled me with such apprehension, that I looked round for a boat. I found one, but there was no person to row, as all were employed with the wherry. I therefore determined to row myself, and my companion offered to assist me. I was just pushing off from the shore, when our coachman leaving the horses and carriage, jumped into our boat. This was a fortunate circumstance; for I soon discovered that we were inadequate to the enterprize: and when we reached the middle of the river, the current was so impetuous, that we were hurried rapidly along; and it required my utmost exertions, together with all the strength and experience of our coachman, to arrive at the opposite shore, though considerably below the place we intended. Had it not been for his assistance, we should have been carried away by the rapidity of the torrent, till some fall would have precipitated us among the rocks, and terminated our exertions together with our lives.

Leaving Ous, we proceeded in the forenoon of the 26th of July to Kongswinger. During the whole way we were in the vicinity of the Glomme; which, notwithstanding its breadth and rapidity, winds in an extraordinary manner. We did not cross it, however, till we arrived at Kongswinger, after making a circuit of upwards of seven miles. In England one crosses the Thames perhaps four or five times in one day; but in this country, where there are no bridges, or where the ferries are in bad condition

we endeavour to avoid passing over the rivers, and the roads are constructed accordingly.

Kongswinger is a small frontier fortress, on the summit of a hill. The place of the same name situated below it, is insignificant and quite defenceless. In any other country the fortress would not have claimed any notice; but we were in Norway, and thus it became an object of the traveller's attention. The view from it is well worth seeing.

This place was interesting to us on another account. I shall never forget the good old general Von Beillardt. We waited upon him, to obtain permission to see the fortress. I delivered him a general recommendation which Mr. Anker had given us, and which was to serve for all Norway. He received us with the politeness peculiar to an old soldier; and conducted us over the whole fortress, and afterwards to his own habitation. Here, though we informed him that we had ordered dinner at the inn, he insisted on our partaking of a cold collation. This did not satisfy his hospitality; but as he knew the Swedish inns at which we should have to stop, afforded very indifferent accommodation, he ordered a quantity of different kinds of provision to be packed up, and sent his servant after us with it. The general spoke German and French; and forty or fifty years ago had been in Saxony, which country he still recollects with great pleasure.

If we poor travellers knew how often the inhabitants of the different places laugh at our sage observations, it would certainly humble us. Not far from Kongswinger is a hill, or rather a mountain, higher than that on which the fortress is situated. Concerning this eminence, Mr. Coxe remarks, that from it an enemy might command the fortress. When we came to that part of the fort from which this mountain is seen, the general pointed it out to us; and at the same time repeated with a laugh the observation of Mr. Coxe, which, however, he has not himself read. "In winter," said he, "the climate is such as to render a siege impracticable; in summer, a *coup de main* can never be attempted, because during four months we have no night; but if an enemy should resolve to erect a battery on that mountain, it is so difficult of access, that it would be impossible to transport heavy cannon to such a situation; and a battery of small cannon would very soon be destroyed by the governor with his twenty-four pounders."

The inn at Kongswinger would do honour to any city, even in the most polished countries of Europe; and except the large towns, I did not find its equal in all Italy. In the afternoon we crossed the impetuous Glomme in a boat, while another was obliged to make two turns with the carriage and six horses. This business took so much time, that we had walked above three miles before they overtook us. The same evening we

reached Magnor, a small village close to the Swedish frontiers.

The roads of Norway are not so good as the Swedish; and those between Christiania and Wermeland are worse than those on the other side from Christiania. We, however, proceeded a great distance every day; and I rather wondered, that in this unfrequented corner of the world the roads should be so good, than that they were not better.

LETTER VIII

Travels through the Provinces of Wermeland, Norige, and Södermannland, to Stockholm.

FORT EDA—CHARACTER OF THE SWEDISH LAKES—PRÄSTBOL—CARLSTADT—CHRISTINEHAM—NATIONAL DRESS OF THE PEASANTRY, AND BEAUTY OF THE FEMALE SEX, IN WERMELAND—ŒREBRO—ARBOGA—KINGSÜR ESKILSTUNA—MANUFACTURES OF IRON AND STEEL—MARIEFRED.

STOCKHOLM, *August 2nd*, 1798.

I ARRIVED here yesterday; but before I say any thing concerning this city, I must first describe my journey through the charming provinces of Wermeland, Norige, and Södermannland; and I shall be the more particular, as I do not recollect to have met with much relating to them in any Travels. Mr. Coxe, indeed, came from Norway, by the same road as we; but his attention is so entirely occupied with mines, canals, and statistical details, that he takes very little notice of the beauties which nature presents.

On leaving Magnor, in Norway, we proceeded about six miles, when we arrived at the Swedish frontier. It may be conceived how much this pass is frequented, from the circumstance that the key of the gate which forms the barrier was lost, and they were obliged to break it open with an axe. When we came to the first Swedish station, and the book was brought me in which travellers are obliged to write their names, I found that though it was the 27th day of the month, we were but the third party which passed this way since its commencement. The road was partly overgrown with short grass; but was perfectly even, and in good condi

tion. Near the custom-house, situated close to the small but romantic river Wräng is a bridge; which, together with the river and the circumjacent rocks, forms a very pleasing view.

From Morast we came to the village of Eda. On an eminence in the vicinity is situated a fort, which, though laid down in the map by the name of Eda fort, is quite gone to decay. From this eminence we saw a charming lake, which in the map of Wermeland is denominated Bysee. We were not far from it throughout its whole length; and saw it, from different hills, in various points of view, which were all equally picturesque. The Swedish lakes in general, and even the smallest of them, have a peculiar kind of beauty, which I have found in no others. This they derive from the numerous indentations of their shores; and the many peninsulas or promontories which project far into the water, and produce an incessant variety in their appearance. These promontories frequently look like islands; and as they are either mountainous, rocky, or covered with trees, they are equally romantic and picturesque. What abundance of employment would here have been for a landscape-painter!—but I never yet heard of views in Wermeland.

We had scarcely passed this lake, when we arrived at another of still greater beauty and extent, which in the broadest part is called Glafs Fjolen. We enjoyed for many hours the varied prospects which it presents. During this whole time, the road was incessantly up and down hill, and in this respect was extremely fatiguing. The mountains are all abundantly covered with fir-woods, among which the naked rocks at intervals tower aloft. There are likewise occasionally gentle declivities, with small villages in charming situations. This would be the proper district for country-seats, but I did not observe a single one. Generally speaking, there are not many in Sweden; and the most mountainous part of Wermeland is probably too rude and savage to induce any one to fix his pleasure residence there; as other things are required for this purpose besides fine prospects. Before I reached the country bordering on the lake Wermelen, I saw very little of any kind of grain; and the whole of this fine tract is almost destitute of inhabitants In the first fifty miles of this day's journey, I think I did not discover a single fruit-tree.

With respect to the lakes, I must observe that some of them run almost throughout the whole extent of the province of Wermeland, from north to south; and that their breadth is by no means proportionate to their length. Glafs Fjolen, for example, the second to which we came, is upwards of forty miles in length, but is in no part four in breadth; and a similar disproportion prevails in all the rest. The curvatures and indentations of the land are such, that we never see much beyond a distance of six miles at once.

In consequence of this, all the objects appear in such a manner that the eye can embrace and dwell upon them; whereas, on the contrary, I could never look at the lake of Wenner with pleasure five minutes together. An immense expanse of water, at the end of which the shore either disappears entirely, or appears like a fine cloud, has nothing intrinsically beautiful; whereas a lake of no great breadth varies every hour, and is constantly presenting new objects.

The third lake, at which we arrived the same day, was that of Wermelen, the northern part of which resembles the two points of a pair of scissars. I had then no particular map of that province, and could not explain the extraordinary appearances presented by that magnificent lake. We had it at first before us; then above an hour to the right; afterwards, for about six miles, to the left; and at last we were obliged to cross it, in a part where it is not above a mile in breadth. We were transported, together with our carriage, on a low raft, on which I could not always stand free from the water.

We saw the same day two smaller lakes; and six miles beyond Prästbol we entered a more level, cultivated, and populous country. Near Prästbol I found extensive fields of rye, and the harvest had commenced.

Between Magnor and Carlstadt there is not a single good inn. I had been informed that only two, including that at Prästbol, were at all tolerable. To the latter I sent forward an express, to order refreshments to be prepared for us; but what was our astonishment, when we found nothing but cold bacon, brandy, and dried beef-bones, from which we with great difficulty cut the flesh or rather sinews, that it was afterwards impossible to eat. I shall never forget the sensations, the mixture of ill-humour and compassion, with which this house inspired me. On receiving my written order by the express, the good folks never conceived that we could wish for any thing more than cold bacon and beef-bones dried in the air. For what was wanting in our repast, they had endeavoured to make amends in another manner. Both the apartments were strewed with fresh pine-branches, which were likewise piled in all the corners up to the cieling. The rooms, being shut, were filled with the exhalation of the newly-cut wood, which upon our first entering it almost stopped our breath. We hastened to the windows; but found that this house was one of those in which the windows are nailed up, not only to secure them against storms and other accidents, but likewise to save wood in winter. In short, in both rooms not a single window could be opened. I was therefore obliged, though much against my inclination, to order at least the bed-chamber to be cleaned out. At length I with difficulty pre-

vailed on them to remove the pine-wood that was piled up in the corners; and to sweep the floor, covered with the shoots of the same. In the whole village there was neither tea nor coffee; but we could procure some sugar. We had tea ourselves, and cups and saucers were borrowed at another house. The next morning however, when every thing else was ready for the breakfast, it was found that the sugar which we expected to obtain from some of the neighbouring houses was consumed. In the whole village there were only four eggs, and these we had sent for the preceding night.

On the 28th of July we arrived again at some small lakes, and passed through an agreeable but more level country. Most of the lakes of Wermeland terminate in rivers which fall into the lake Wenner; and some of these lakes may be considered merely as rivers which, in certain parts, are bounded by higher land than that through which they before flowed; and thus all the low land being inundated to its full extent, forms the lake. The rivers with which this is more particularly the case, are the By, the Noors, and the Clara.

This last divides, near Carlstadt, into two branches; inclosing an extensive island, of which the town occupies a small space. Carlstadt is a pretty place; though, like all the others, built of wood. I saw a great number of fine spacious buildings, with an appearance of cheerfulness and cleanliness which produces an agreeable effect. It is the see of a bishop; who is at the same time rector of Christineham, but constantly resides at Carlstadt. Thus we find the system of pluralities prevailing in other countries besides England.

We travelled the same afternoon to Christineham, a neat town at the extremity of the lake Wenner. Through the whole way we had repeatedly charming views of the numerous inlets of the lake Wenner; which winds in a remarkable manner into the country, and appears like a number of small lakes, adding in a high degree to the beauty of the scenery.

Christineham is a small town, containing scarcely any but good houses, the extreme neatness and cleanly appearance of which demonstrate that the inhabitants in general are in easy circumstances. Most of them are concerned in commission-business; for all the commodities going from this side of the country to the lake Wenner must pass through this place.

On the 29th of July we went from Christineham to Oerebro, the capital of Norige. The provinces of Norige, Westmannland, Södermannland, and Upland, are the richest, most fertile, and best-cultivated of any in Sweden. About Carlstadt I began, in fact, to perceive a great difference between that part of Wermeland and the former: every thing was much superior to what I

had found on the other side of Sweden which I had traversed, between Helsingburg and Norway. Even in the wildest parts of Wermeland I met with better houses, and the country-people were more decently clothed.

In Wermeland the peasantry have a national dress which has a very pleasing appearance. The coat, which is long, and has several folds behind, is of a dark brown, approaching to black. The cuffs, and likewise the collar, are of a violet or purple colour. The men seem to me to be more active and lively than on the other side of Sweden; they likewise have a better figure, and are handsomer upon the whole. I was particularly struck with the beauty of the females. They were not only well-grown and had a good complexion, but likewise had much more delicate features than is observed in the country-people or the labouring classes in other countries. What heightens their beauty in an extraordinary degree, and gives their whole figure a cleanly appearance, is the national head-dress;—a white handkerchief, which they throw over their head in such a manner as to protect themselves from the sun, covering part of the face, and falling in large folds behind. The females of the lower classes at Bologna cover their heads in the same manner; but with a larger handkerchief, and less elegance, than the Swedish women. It should be observed, that I am speaking only of the country-people, and of the lower class in the towns; for the higher orders every where dress in the same manner as persons of their own rank in the other countries of Europe.

Though I thought the females of Wermeland particularly beautiful, I cannot say they were exclusively so: for in all the provinces between Wermeland and Stockholm, I met with a great number of charming faces; so that I consider this middle part of Sweden as the land of beauty. Between Helsingborg, Norway, and the southern shores of the lake of Wenner, the women were the reverse; from which I had been surprized that travellers could praise the beauty of the sex in Sweden.

This middle district may be regarded as the favoured land. Here twice as many inhabitants live upon one square mile, as betweeen Helsingburg and Gothenburg. It produces grain in abundance, even wheat not excepted; and likewise some fruits. The inhabitants are better clothed, and better lodged, in every respect more comfortable, than those on the other side of the kingdom. They were every where busy with the rye-harvest, which was partly over.

It might naturally be expected that the inns on this road should likewise be better; but this is by no means the case. The apartments are good enough, but the fare is always scanty; and we must either dispense entirely with wine, or the landlord has to

send out for it (if indeed there is any dealer in that article in the place). I did not, indeed, dispatch a messenger from Carlstadt to Christineham; because I imagined that on this road, particularly in the towns, it would be unnecessary to bespeak a supper. We were, however, so scantily provided, that the following day I sent an express to Kongsör, where we intended to stop for the night. Yet this precaution was of no avail. We found three apartments ready, it is true; but scarcely any thing to eat, and no wine. What most distresses us is, the want of bread; as we cannot accustom ourselves to the hard cakes, and even the miserable rye-bread cannot always be procured.

Oerebro is a very large town; that is, in the manner of Swedish towns, all of which occupy a great extent of ground; most of the houses having a court, or even a garden, by the side of them. This place is, next to Gothenburg, the largest and liveliest I have yet seen in Sweden, and has a considerable trade. From Oerebro to Stockholm the navigation is uninterrupted; for vessels may go from this place, across the lake Heelmar, into the canal of Arboga (called likewise Carls-graf, or Charles's Canal), and thence to Kongsör and Stockholm, or into the sea. Thus as the lake Wenner communicates with the sea near Gothenborg by means of the canal of Trolhätta, nothing more would be necessary in order to sail from the Baltic into the North Sea, straight across Sweden, than to establish a communication between Oerebro and Christineham. This, however, is an undertaking which Sweden will not be able to accomplish in a century. In a direct line, the distance is nearly a hundred and forty miles. A canal of this kind is, besides, rendered impracticable in this country, as the ground is principally composed of granite; and even in the most cultivated tracts, a multitude of these naked masses of rock appear projecting above the earth.

Before I arrived at Oerebro, I made inquiry concerning the manufactures of fire-arms, cloth, and tapestry, mentioned by Mr. Coxe as existing at that place. No person knew any thing of them. I then asked a very intelligent merchant at Christineham, who informed me there was no such thing at Oerebro. I inquired in the town itself; and received for answer, that not one of those manufactures is carried on in the place: yet Mr. Coxe was himself on the spot! This, however, proves nothing more than that he probably copied our countryman Büsching, who likewise makes mention of manufactures of fire-arms and tapestry. Büsching, we know, never travelled, but derived his information from other works; and in this manner one writer continues to copy from another, and to perpetuate error.

The ancient royal palace, in which the governor of the province resides, contains nothing worthy of notice; but its exterior

possess a certain dignity, and an appearance of antique grandeur. It stands on a small island; and is surrounded with ditches, in which I saw an immense multitude of carp, as at Chantilly and Fontainbleau.

Between Christineham and Oerebro, or rather between Alorp and Starbjorboda, is an iron mine belonging to baron Von Fock. To me this mine appeared unworthy of attention; but this was not the case with a charming country-house situated close to it, on a small lake whose banks are abundantly covered with wood, and command delicious views. Since my arrival in Sweden I had seen nothing of the kind, so that this object gave me particular pleasure. The house and grounds are new; the latter in the English style, but on account of the nature of the country differing extremely from what we are accustomed to see.—We soon afterwards came to a furnace which, at that time, was quite unemployed, and appears to be almost relinquished; for of the numerous huts around it, nine-tenths were empty. The multitude of these huts, however, prove, that it must have been a considerable work. The people of the country call it Myllhytta.

Between Oerebro and Arboga we met with nothing remarkable; except an immense number of carts and horses waiting for the king, his attendants, and all their baggage. His majesty had spent part of the summer at the baths of Medewi, and was returning to Stockholm. We observed the same at all the succeeding stations, without mentioning the carts which followed and passed us at full gallop. I never saw such a collection of wretched boxes, trunks, chests, &c. as passed us on that day.

Arboga seemed to be a most insignificant town; though the Ulvison is navigable to that place, and, by means of the canal of Arboga, communicates with the lake Hielmar, as well as that of Mälar,—that is, with Stockholm and the sea. At some distance from the town we crossed the canal over a draw-bridge, the inscription on which says that "this canal was commenced by Charles XI., and completed by Charles XII. in the year 1699."

Here an accident occurred, which, if I had not witnessed it, I should scarcely have been able to believe. The horses with which we came from the last station were extremely weak; and I had already observed that they could scarcely draw us up the smallest hill, for this stage is almost entirely level. It was still worse in descending, because then two horses were obliged to hold back the whole weight of the carriage. A draw-bridge of course, is always the highest in the middle. Notwithstanding the shortness of the descent, the horses were overpowered; and

the carriage ran against the post on the left side of the bridge, leaving no room on that side for the fourth horse. Of the six horses which drew our carriage, four run abreast. This poor animal was thus pushed over the chains which are fastened round the edge of the bridge instead of rails, and dropped out of all the harness, so that he fell without the least impediment into the canal. This passed in a moment, and without either myself or my companion seeing any thing of the matter. We felt that the carriage had run against the post, and that one of the shaft-horses had fallen; on which I jumped out of the carriage at the opposite side. The first thing I saw was a horse swimming from under the bridge towards an open sluice, where he must have perished. The people drove him back: on which he swam under the bridge again; and, having reached the shore a little below, shook himself, and began grazing very quietly. It is incomprehensible to me how the animal could get loose without hanging in some part of the harness. While things were being put to rights, I measured the breadth of the canal; which I found to be twenty-three feet, and the depth to the surface of the water eleven feet. This canal, about fourteen miles in length, joins the lake Hielmar and the river Ulvison, which latter is navigable between Arboga and the lake Mälar.

We reached Kongsör early enough to take a long walk at the western extremity of the lake Mälar. The village of Kongsör has a highly romantic situation on its shore; standing principally on naked rocks, between which we here and there perceive a patch of cultivated land.

From Kongsör we proceeded on the 31st of July to Eskilstuna; a town celebrated for its manufactures, which are considered of such importance that it was particularly recommended to us not to omit seeing them. It is not far out of the road; and I am glad I have seen the place, as it has given me a tolerably correct idea of the state of the Swedish manufactures.

Charles XI. turned his attention to the improvement of this place, with which another, called Gustavusstadt, was united. The whole was declared a free-town; that is, the artisans were in a certain degree released from the restraints of the chartered companies. Every journeyman who has worked upwards of three years may set up for himself, without being liable to molestation, or being obliged to pay for his liberty. The whole place is, indeed, full of work-shops; and most articles of iron are manufactured here. Yet the establishment is altogether insignificant; and I really believe that the annual produce of Walker's manufactory at Rotherham, amounts to twice as much as the collective produce of all the artisans of Eskilstuna. A merchant of the place who conducted us about, and who spoke

French, informed me that in the whole, there might be about sixty masters, who kept journeymen and apprentices; but that a master who had twelve of both, was thought to be in a capital way. The work is not divided; so that each learns to do every thing, even though he may not perfect himself in all the branches of his art. The consequence of this mode of proceeding is, that the work is coarse and dear. I inquired, in different shops, the price of various articles; and found that English commodities of the same kind are better, or at least neater and cheaper. There were grinding-mills at this place; but, for what reason I know not, these are very little used, and that operation is generally performed by the hand. I saw a needle-maker who has divided his work among his children and two other persons; but the Swedish needles are clumsy, and indeed more so than in any other country that I have seen.

I was taken to a very expert workman in steel, a man who possesses great talents and industry. In his house I saw a great number of very neat and tasteful productions: as steel buttons with portraits or landscapes on them; ornamental works, and even etchings on iron, from which he takes impressions like copper-plates. He, however, told me, that he was a loser by them; as the people of Sweden could only afford to pay for articles that are perfectly plain, and of the first necessity; and I can easily believe him. The man likewise shewed me scissars, knives, &c. inlaid with gold; resembling those of Carlsbad, but much superior and better finished. These are matters of fancy; and people of taste will always prefer the simplicity and high polish of the English manufactures. I asked the price of the common articles, and found them to be dearer than those of England.

We were then conducted to the river which joins the lake of Hielmar with that of Mälar. Like most of the Swedish rivers, it is full of rocks, has a rapid current, and contains several falls. It has, however, been found to be navigable for small boats; and one of the principal manufacturers actually conveys his goods by water. On this river are situated two mills for grinding iron or steel; and several stamping-mills, in which I observed nothing different from those of other countries. In short, for Sweden this is a very important place; but if we compare it with the English manufactories of iron and steel, it is scarcely worth mentioning.

These people possess that spirit of freedom and independance which is generally found in manufacturing towns. On the assassination of Gustavus III. such was the indignation of part of the inhabitants of this place, that they talked of marching to Stockholm, to revenge the death of their sovereign; and the

duke of Sudermania is said to have been on the point of sending troops to keep them in awe. No nobleman could, for a considerable time, make his appearance in the town, without being insulted; and one man whose name caused him to be mistaken for another person, narrowly escaped with his life.

After a delay of four hours at Eskilstuna, we proceeded to Mariefred: This town is situated in a charming country, in a corner formed by the lake Mälar; one of the most picturesque and romantic lakes I ever beheld.

The delightful situation induced the Swedish sovereigns some centuries ago to erect a palace-house; which, considering the times in which it was built, is a beautiful structure. Though it does not accord with our present ideas of pomp, elegance, and convenience, yet it has an air of grandeur; and its round towers and pointed cupolas remind the spectator of the views of Constantinople. Some of the apartments are still habitable, and are occasionally visited by the Swedish monarchs. This palace contains a great number of portraits of persons of the royal families of Sweden and of all Europe, as well as of many great and celebrated men; but most of them are wretched performances. I was much pleased with finding the portraits of some peasants, who, as it seems, are deputed on the birth of a prince, and stand as sponsors at his christening.—Two of the apartments which have been left without alteration, are remarkable in the Swedish annals. In one of them, which is still in tolerable condition, and decorated in the manner of those times, Eric XIV. confined his brother John, whom he afterwards set at liberty. For this the latter deposed him and treated him with savage inhumanity. He was confined in the same castle, but in a gloomy dungeon, which is still shewn.

Having seen every thing remarkable at Mariefred, we proceeded on the 1st of August by way of Söder-Telje to Stockholm.

LETTER

LETTER IX.

TOPOGRAPHY OF STOCKHOLM.—THE CITY.—THE RITTERHOLM.—NORDERMALM.—ADMIRALTY-HOLM.—CASTLEHOLM.—BECKHOLM.—LÄNGHOLM.—RÄCKINGSHOLM.—KONGS-HOLM.—LADUGARDSLAND.—SÖDERMALM.—FARTHER PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE CITY AND KONGSHOLM.—CARLBERG.—THE ROYAL PALACE.—COLLECTION OF PICTURES.—THE MUSEUM.—THE OBSERVATORY.—LAPLANDERS.—THE PARK.—DROTNINGHOLM—THE KING AND ROYAL FAMILY.—MANUFACTORY OF CAPTAIN APELQUIST.—ON SWEDISH MANUFACTURES IN GENERAL.

STOCKHOLM, *August 5th*, 1798.

DURING the first three days of my residence in this place, I strolled about so much that I have already seen every part of this great metropolis.

Stockholm is situated on the northern and southern shore of the lake Mälar, and likewise comprises a number of islands lying between them. The greatest part of the town stands upon the continent; that part on the southern shore being called Södermalm, and that on the northern Nodermalm. These two large portions of Stockholm are by Büsching denominated suburbs, though for what reason I know not. The ancient town may originally have been composed only of the island, which is still distinguished by the appellation of the City; but this now forms a very small portion of the whole.—I shall speak of its different parts regularly.

1. On this island, or the city, are situated the beautiful residence of the sovereign, called the New Palace; the church of St. Nicholas, or the great church; the bank, the corn-market, the spacious custom-house, and a great number of other elegant buildings. It has also a handsome and spacious quay; and though towards the west it is bounded by the lake of Mälar, yet it is, strictly speaking, a sea-port. The palace occupies a great portion of this island, and commands a view of every part of Stockholm; at the same time, it towers far above all the other buildings of the city, and is visible on every side. The city is connected, by means of bridges, with the Ritterholm towards the west, with the Nordermalm towards the north, and with the Söder-

malm towards the south; and all these parts of the town lie so close together, that they can scarcely be perceived to be separated by water from each other. Thus, for example, on the north side of the palace there is a fine large square; which, though it appears to be contiguous to that edifice, is situated in the Nordermalm: Close to this island, and westward of it lies a smaller, called the Ritterholm.

The Ritterholm contains an extensive square, near which is the church of Ritterholm, which makes a good appearance, and is the burial-place of the royal family. Here likewise are situated the edifice in which the nobility assemble as one of the states of the kingdom, and the town-house; in which latter are two halls,—one appropriated to the meetings of the citizens, and the other to those of the peasants at the diets. In this island are also the old palace, with the chamber of models, and the regalia; and the academy of fine arts.

I ought not to omit the island of the Holy Ghost, which lies between the city, the Nordermalm, and the Ritterholm; but it is so small, and is situated so close to the city, that it is not in general considered as a distinct island. Here are the king's stables, which are an extensive and splendid structure. In the city and the Ritterholm are likewise the great Swedish school; a German, a Finlandish, and a French church; a synagogue; the Academy of Sciences, with its library and other collections; the Mint; and the College of Mines, with a fine cabinet of natural productions.

3. The Nordermalm begins with the great square already mentioned; in which the palace of the princess Sophia of Sweden makes a distinguished figure; as does also the opera-house on the opposite side, with the following rather singular inscription: *Musis Suecicis Gustavus* III. "To the Muses of Sweden, Gustavus III."—In the middle of this square, on a pedestal of finely polished granite, stands the gigantic equestrian statue of Gustavus II. It is of bronze gilt; the king is in armour, and the figure appears very stiff. Not far from this place is a magnificent edifice called the Club, where some of the nobility and foreign ministers assemble.

From this square a street conducts to a quay, near which stands the Stepholm church. Between the square, this quay, and that of the city, is the port of Stockholm, where all the large vessels lie. The small vessels which navigate the lakes of Mälar and Hielmar, lie westward of the town and the Ritterholm. Between the city and the Södermalm are draw-bridges that permit vessels to pass out of the fresh into the sea-water, which however is not very salt.

The Nordermalm also contains the ancient arsenal, which is now converted into a theatre, where Swedish plays are performed;

the royal gardens; the surveyor's office, where are maps of almost every part of Sweden; the great orphan-house, and that maintained at the expence of the freemasons; the workhouse on the Sabbath mountain; the churches of St. Clare, St. James, and Adolphus Frederic; the observatory; the exhibition of models of the patriotic society; the institution for the reception of the widows of citizens; the lying-in hospital; Drotning-house; and the mineral waters of Nordermalm. From the Stepholm church, a bridge conducts to the Admiralty-holm.

4. The Admiralty-holm, or island of the Admiralty, is principally composed of naked romantic rocks: and contains the naval arsenal; which strangers cannot, without considerable difficulty, obtain permission to inspect.

5. The Castle-holm is thus denominated from a small fort or castle, constructed on a naked rock, and situated upon it. This is almost the only building on the island.

6. Beckholm has still fewer inhabitants than the last preceding.

7. Langholm, or the Long Island, belongs to the city; but only a small part of it is inhabited.

8. Räckningsholm is an island of no importance whatever.

9. Congsholm, or the king's island, is situated to the north of the two next preceding. Only the small portion which lies nearest to the Nordermalm is built upon. The greatest part consists of gardens, or desert rocks. It contains a church, the glass-house, the royal hospital, and two mills which command views so delightful and so *unique*, that no traveller should leave Stockholm without seeing at least one of them. The buildings on a part of this island, though belonging to the city, have rather the appearance of a village. Most of the houses are of wood, and badly constructed: they are frequently separated by gardens, naked rocks, windmills, &c.

10. Ladugards-land, or Lands Border, on the northern part of the Nordermalm, likewise belong to the capital; but the remotest part is not much better than a wretched, filthy, unpaved village. Yet I found here some agreeable views; for Stockholm possesses the property of combining the picturesque and romantic, with the pomp and beauty of a metropolis.

In this part is situated the Hummel-garden, belonging to the king; together with another, which likewise lies within the town, and is called the king's garden. The latter is an agreeable place for walking, and at certain seasons is much frequented for that purpose. The Hummel-garden would scarcely be worthy of notice, were it not from its being situated within a city. It contains alleys

and green plots that are not in the best order, but on that very account have a certain rural and unusual appearance which pleased me. In this portion of the town, strangers are likewise shewn the church, which is not worth seeing; Fredericshof, containing the arsenal and collection of artificial curiosities; the artillery-house; the laboratory; and the docks.

11. Hitherto I have only conducted my reader to those parts of this metropolis which lie to the north, east, and west, of the city properly so called. There still remains a large and important portion of Stockholm, situated south of the city, and denominated Södermalm; which is of much greater consequence than the King's-island, or Ladugards-land. In this part, which is contiguous to the city, are a great number of good stone buildings; but they dwindle away the farther you proceed, till we arrive at a village bounded with gardens and an uncultivated country. Here we see the iron-house, which is an immense magazine of that principal product of Sweden. The number of bars of iron, the bustle of the people who are incessantly employed, the continual clanking of the metal, and the black and gloomy appearance of the whole, produced a singular impression upon me; and I always stopped whenever I passed the place. Here likewise are the docks belonging to this portion of the city, the senate-house, the Greek and Roman-Catholic chapels, the churches of St. Mary and St. Catharine, with their schools and work-houses, the hospital, the mad-house, and the house of correction. Many parts of the Södermalm command beautiful views; of which I shall only mention that from the steeple of St. Catharine. The Södermalm is situated in the province of Södermannland, and the Nordermalm in Upland.

12. Many also reckon the island of Little Hessingen, which is almost entirely uninhabited, a part of Stockholm. It must be distinguished from another called great Hessingen.

13. Lastly; Beckholm, an island of no consequence whatever, is likewise added, by some, to Stockholm.

I scarcely know how to give an idea of this extraordinary city, it is so different from all that I have ever seen before. I never met with greater extremes in one place. Those who maintain that Stockholm is beautiful, and a magnificent city, are perfectly right: for the royal palace and the stables, the square in the Nordermalm, the beautiful quays, (especially that in the city, contiguous to the palace) many of the buildings in the Ritterholm, and several of the statues, fully justify that appellation. It is, however, not the less true, that a great portion of Stockholm is composed of mean houses, constructed of wood; and even of miserable huts, inhabited by persons in the most indigent circumstances.

The City, as it is called, consists in a great measure of handsome stone buildings. Many parts, it is true, are not equal to others; but, upon the whole, it is not inferior to other capitals; and the same may be said of the greatest part of the Ritterholm. If you go from the City and the Ritterholm, to the Södermalm and Nordermalm, you, at first, meet in every direction with handsome regular streets. Proceed no farther, and Stockholm will appear like any other metropolis; but the farther you go, the more you find the number of good houses diminish, till they, at length, dwindle away into cottages. You then arrive at immense naked rocks of granite, between which you meet with gardens, wind-mills, tobacco-plantations, and wretched huts, all of which belong to the town, and are situated within the inclosure by which it is surrounded.

In these parts of the town I have met with situations, in which I imagined myself among the Alps, where I saw nothing but a few miserable wooden huts, scattered among the wildest and most romantic rocks, which conceal the other part of the city so completely, that you imagine yourself in an uninhabited country. If, however, you ascend to the summit of one of these rocks, you enjoy the most romantic, and at the same time the most magnificent views of a splendid metropolis; in a word, you survey, with one look, palaces, churches, islands, lakes, harbours crowded with vessels, intermingled with naked rocks, and all the rudeness of Alpine scenery. This it is that renders Stockholm perhaps *unique* in its way. I never beheld from one point of view any thing so beautiful, so magnificent, and so sublime, nor yet any thing so mean, so rude, and so wild, within the circumference of a metropolis.

The Royal Palace, situated in what is called the city, is one of the most extensive, splendid, and regular buildings of the kind I ever saw. During the reign of Charles XI. it was commenced, upon the plan of a M. Tessin, which, however, was not strictly followed. The turbulent reign of Charles XII. and a variety of other circumstances, delayed the removal of the royal family into it till the middle of the last century, and it was not till the reign of the late king that it was completed. It is a regular square, inclosing an extensive court, and having a high terrace on the side towards the sea. Besides the apartments of the king, the queen, the queen dowager, and the dukes of Sudermania and East Gothland, it contains a very neat chapel, the hall of the states, a gallery of paintings, the museum, and the king's library. The apartments are well contrived, and, if kept in good condition, they would be handsome. In their present state, they exhibit an extraordinary mixture of pomp and meanness. Even the frames of almost all the windows are worse than I would suffer to be in the

worst rooms of my house. The late king was always in want of money, and during the regency many of these apartments appear to have been entirely neglected.

The Gallery of Paintings would be of little importance in Italy; but it would be in vain to expect any choice collection of art in this northern latitude, and in a country so depressed by poverty; so that the spectator ought rather to wonder at finding so much, than that he does not meet with more. It is not my intention to assert, that it does not contain several good pictures, but it is not a royal collection.

The Museum is of far greater value; I am indeed astonished, when I consider that the articles it contains were collected only by Gustavus III. It is, strictly speaking, a collection of antiques, which has been denominated the Museum, probably after that in the Vatican. The antique statues, vases, and large chandeliers are arranged with taste in a saloon which combines simplicity with beauty. In a smaller apartment behind the former, are the busts, the smaller statues, and bas-reliefs. Among the statues there are not only many good ones, but some which would attract notice in any collection; among the rest, a Minerva, with an extremely beautiful head, several of the Muses, and a Priestess. But what deserves particular attention, is an Endymion, in the finest style, and of very great value. It is a figure somewhat larger than life, lying asleep, and quite naked. One foot and a small part of the face are new.

The palace stands just high enough to overlook the greatest part of the city, the islands, and adjacent country. It is a view at once magnificent and sublime. The lofty terrace affords both a delightful prospect and an agreeable promenade. The garden belonging to the palace is likewise very pleasant. It is situated on an eminence, which, though lower than many of the circumjacent buildings, is considerably more elevated than the quay. In this part of the quay, close to the water side, is to be placed the colossal statue of Gustavus III. the pedestal of which, of very fine granite, is already erected.

The chapel belonging to the palace is pretty, but in no wise remarkable.—The hall in which the King assembles the states, when he wishes to address them as a body, is spacious, and of a handsome figure. All the architectural embellishments, though in a good taste, are only of wood. In a building of this kind, and in a country where so many beautiful species of stone abound, this circumstance is rather striking. As the states are now seldom convened at Stockholm, this hall is only used for public festivities.

Gustavus Vasa was the founder of the Royal Library, which has not been much augmented in the two last centuries; for it now

comprehends scarcely 30,000 volumes, and contains nothing of much consequence.

Stockholm likewise possesses an observatory. It is situated on a bare and desert hill in the Nordermalm, which is by far the most lofty in that part of the city, and overlooks all the others. Here is consequently a fine field for observation, but it is unfortunately uprovided with instruments. Professor Nicander, the astronomer and inspector, informed me that the observatory was founded by the Royal Society of Sciences, and is indebted for its existence to a few private persons, but principally to the celebrated Linnæus. A sufficient sum was collected to erect a house for the professor, and above it an apartment for making observations; so that it neither possesses any funds, nor has any allowance from the King. The professor has a few instruments of his own, and the rest are intended to be procured with the voluntary contributions of the friends of astronomy.

At the summer residence of the English ambassador, about four miles from Stockholm, I met with an Englishman who spent the whole of the last winter in Lapland, and proceeded as far as the 70th degree. He informed me, that no Laplanders were to be met with to the south of Tornea, though several of the provinces are denominated Lapmarks; that the real Nomadic Laplanders remove in summer to Norway, reside principally in the vicinity of the sea, and that I might probably go two hundred miles beyond Tornea, without meeting with a single family. In summer they are occupied in fishing on the sea-coast, in laying up provision for winter, catching seals, preparing skins, and in collecting various articles, with which, at the latter end of the summer, they return to Sweden, having first paid the King of Denmark his tribute, which they never fail to discharge. Those articles which they do not want for their own use, they convey in winter on sledges to Tornea, where they barter them for household furniture, iron, and other commodities.

STOCKHOLM, *August 7.*

Almost the whole of this day has been occupied with an excursion to Drotningholm (or the Queen's island), the most magnificent palace which the Kings of Sweden possess. It is situated on an island, the proper name of which is Löfön; but it is more frequently denominated after the edifice. The country between the metropolis and Drotningholm is extremely picturesque and romantic, but in the highest degree wild, bearing few marks of cultivation, and still less of inhabitants. It would indeed be difficult to render the smallest portion of these islands and district applicable to the purposes of agriculture; for they are principally composed of vast rocks, between which only the fir finds such a scanty nourishment, that I observed many

trees completely parched up and killed by the dryness of the season.

I expected to see in Drotningholm the most splendid palace in Sweden, but not to find there the elegance, the taste, the luxury, and the magnificence of Versailles. At an immense expence the late King collected here furniture, tapestry, gold, silver, porcelain, bronzes, statues, pictures, clocks, jewels, and decorations of every kind from the most elegant and superb manufactories of Europe. Such is the air of gaiety which at the same time prevails, and such the imposing appearance of the whole, that I never saw the country-residence of any sovereign, the interior of which deserves to be compared with Drotningholm. The same taste, cleanliness, and neatness, which are so conspicuous in the principal structure, are likewise displayed in the inferior buildings, which are very numerous, and have the appearance of being prepared for some grand festival. In a word, every thing announces the residence of a King, and though on a very reduced scale, reminds me of the splendour of the court of Versailles, when I visited it in the years 1787 and 1788.

The King, who has a good figure and an open countenance, is uncommonly grave for a person of his age; it is even said, that he has never been seen to laugh. I once had an opportunity of observing him for about a quarter of an hour, during which time he sat beside the Queen, without moving or uttering a word. I have been informed by persons intimately acquainted with the court, that he entertains a very high idea of his dignity, and that he is extremely solicitous to avoid every thing derogatory to his rank. Though his youth invites to familiarity, yet he knows how to keep every one at a proper distance by a certain coldness and gravity. Even the intimate friends of his early life, who in their former playfellow sometimes forget the sovereign, are said to have experienced a severe reprimand, whenever they have permitted themselves the slightest infringement of that reverence which is due to their Prince. This sense of his dignity may probably be the reason why he is always surrounded with the splendour and formality of a court; whereas many young princes of the present day are not very fond of the one, and gladly dispense with the other.

The reserved disposition of the King was manifested in his early years, during the regency. He concealed his sentiments relative to the proceedings of the Regent; but when he had assumed the government, he very soon shewed the resolution he had adopted. He has relinquished most of the measures of the duke of Sudermania, in order to prosecute those of his father; and the nation appears to be satisfied with his conduct; but rather, I conceive, because it is contrary to that of the Regent, than

on any other account. The young Monarch is said to dread nothing so much as the idea that any person possesses or seeks to obtain an influence over him. The very suspicion is sufficient to terrify him, and to induce him to break off all intercourse with the individual.

The principal object of his attention appears to be the finances, which he certainly found in a wretched situation. His father was fond of expence, and engaged in many undertakings, far beyond the ability of a country so poor as Sweden. His many journies, the purchases he made, the opera-house, the immense sums expended on Drotningholm and Haga, and on the construction of high-roads; and lastly, the injudicious and extremely unfortunate war with Russia, exhausted the exchequer, and involved the country in debt. The duke of Sudermania appears to have been utterly incapable of restoring the deranged finances.

For several years the expences both of the royal family and of the government in general, have been on the increase, and yet the poor Swedes are not in a condition to pay more taxes, for the country appears to me to be entirely exhausted. They have not been able, for a considerable time, to open any new channels of trade, and have even lost some which they formerly possessed.—The war with France is highly prejudicial to this country; its trade is cramped, its manufactures decline, and its mines are neglected. Economy is therefore the highest virtue which a King of Sweden can exercise; and this his present Majesty possesses, without, however, relinquishing his ideas of royal dignity, and a certain degree of splendour.

But to return to Drotningholm.—The library displays great elegance and taste; and the bindings of the books, which for a private collection are very numerous, are extremely rich and beautiful. The collection of natural and artificial curiosities is arranged in a most pleasing manner, but we had not time to examine it very minutely.

The decorations of the royal apartments are rather tawdry, and many of the pictures bear the stamp of the French school established by Boucher and Co. It may, in general, be objected to a great part of the embellishments of this palace, that they are not sufficiently manly, and appear more suited to the dressing-room of a lady than the residence of a King. We inspected every part of the building, though the family now resides here: indeed, so little ceremony was observed, that we were shewn into an anti-chamber, from which, to my great astonishment, I perceived the royal family at dinner. The company was in a gallery, open towards the antichamber, in which a numerous band of music was playing.

On our return from Drotningholm, I visited the mechanical manufactory, as it is denominated, of Captain Apelquist, of which I had heard a great deal; but which is nothing more than a manufactory of many articles resembling the common wares made at Birmingham, Sheffield, Rotherham, and London.

With regard to manufactures the Swedes are still very far behind; Sweden will long continue to send her iron to England, and to import the hardware of that country. The government gives them every encouragement; but the country wants two things, which no government can command, great capitals, and a people possessing the requisite industry. In all the shops which I have seen, and I have been in a great number, I have met with foreign commodities of every kind; and most of the articles in the houses of the opulent and the great are of foreign manufacture. Native productions are in general coarse, clumsy, and far from cheap. The prohibition of foreign commodities is of little use; means are found to introduce them, and certain merchants know how to carry on this branch of trade in such a manner as to render it a monopoly: the purchaser nevertheless finds but little choice in the shops, and is obliged to pay high prices, on account of the risks to which this contraband trade is exposed.

LETTER X.

POPULATION OF STOCKHOLM.—THE OPERA-HOUSE.—SWEDISH THEATRE.—FREDERICSHOF.—HAGA.—ULRICHSTHAL.—ARTISTS OF STOCKHOLM.—ACADEMY OF ARTS.—COLOSSAL STATUE OF GUSTAVUS III.—CHURCH OF ST. CLAIR.

STOCKHOLM, *August* 11.

IN many statistical tables, the population of Copenhagen is stated to exceed that of Stockholm. The contrary I am, however, persuaded is the case. From the nature of its situation Stockholm is very extensive, so that it is generally computed to be upwards of twenty miles in circumference. Including the Jews, it is said to contain about 92,000 inhabitants, which is not a great number for a place of such extent, and yet, perhaps, rather exceeds the truth.

One of the principal structures of this city is the opera-house, where not Italian, but Swedish operas are performed. The late king was very fond of this amusement, which he himself laboured to promote. He wrote, or at least furnished the greatest part of the materials for, an opera, called Gustavus Vasa, which filled the Swedes with astonishment, and of which one of

my acquaintances at this place told me more than I wished to hear. This structure stands in the square in the Nordermalm, opposite the residence of the Princess of Sweden, which is of uniform size and architecture. These two edifices give the square, which is open on one side, and commands a view of the whole palace, a magnificent appearance. The opera-house is not large, but is very beautiful within, and has four tiers of boxes.

In this building there is likewise a suit of elegant apartments, constructed by Gustavus III. for his own use, where he very frequently supped with a select party. They are quite in the French style, display great taste, and contain some large pictures by Dupré, representing scenes at Rome, during the King's travels. These apartments are in much better condition than any in the palace. They were the King's favourite retreat, where he spent much time in his literary occupations, and lived in some measure like a private man. Adjoining to his writing-room is a small cabinet, which I should rather have taken for the *boudoir* of a Parisian *elegante*, than the apartment of a man and a monarch; but Gustavus III. was a complete Frenchman: in all that I see, and every thing that I hear concerning him, I recognise the Frenchman. We were shewn the place in the theatre where he received his mortal wound. He was carried into the above-mentioned cabinet; where, the same evening, he afterwards received several of the foreign ministers. He was then conveyed to the palace, where he died.

Besides the opera-house, this city contains another theatre, which is open in summer. You may easily suppose that I was not a frequent visitor, because my knowledge of the Swedish language is too imperfect to enable me to follow the progress of a play. I, however, went to see a comedy, the plot of which I perfectly comprehended. The softness of the pronunciation employed on the stage, and which differs considerably from that in common use, caused many expressions to sound very much like English. The words, *Gif mig eder arm, min bror*, pronounced by one of the actresses, approached very nearly indeed to the English—*Give me your arm, my brother.* The decorations were very pretty, and the performers, as far as I could judge, excellent.

Among the remarkable objects of this city, you may be sure, I have not omitted to see the Fredericshof, or the collection of artificial curiosities and armour. Mr. Coxe gives the history of all the persons to whom the articles belonged, which are preserved in this place, and enters into a prolix disquisition on the death of Charles XII. I have likewise seen the hat through which the ball penetrated; the gloves and sword belt, stained with his

blood; have felt the weight of his clumsy sword, and handled the coarse cloth of his unornamented uniform. The Swedes are virtuosos of a particular kind; they are fond of preserving the clothes in which any person of note has been killed. This taste, I believe, is peculiar to this nation, for I do not recollect to have met with any thing of the kind in any other country. I never heard in France, that the clothes of Henry IV. were preserved, or that the English kept those in which so many of their kings and princes were murdered. The collection at this place has been considerably increased by the death of the late king; every part of the domino is here deposited, and even the shirt which he wore when he was assassinated by Ankerström. In the outer waistcoat you may perceive very plainly, besides the large hole of a pistol ball, several smaller ones near it, which must have been made by small pieces of iron, that formed a part of the charge. They have, likewise, consigned to everlasting celebrity the uniform in which the duke of Sudermania was wounded in the last war with Russia. I never saw a larger collection of colours taken from enemies than at this place. Among others, those taken from the combined Saxon and Polish armies, by Charles XII. are particularly numerous.

At a small distance from Stockholm, in the vicinity of the Nodermalm, is situated Haga, a place erected by the late king. Considered as an English mansion, it surpasses every thing I have seen in Sweden, and even in England would be surveyed with pleasure. Genuine good taste prevails in this place, and, what is still more, nature has done a great deal in its behalf. The adjacent country is wild, like all the vicinity of Stockholm, and the rocks, rearing their naked heads above the verdure, produce a fine effect. The house is small, for Gustavus built it for a retreat, where he could live far from his family and the society of the great. The apartments display great elegance and taste. I however discover the Frenchman in many things, especially in the furniture and decorations. The roof of the house commands a view that is remarkable and perfectly *unique*. You perceive the highest parts, and some of the largest objects in Stockholm; all the rest is concealed by naked rocks, which tower above the nearest trees, and the verdure of the pleasure-grounds. The other buildings at Haga are either small, or not yet finished.

About three miles beyond Haga is Ulrichsthal, the residence of the queen-dowager. It does not appear to be remarkable, excepting on account of its fine situation, and little pains seem to be bestowed on keeping it in repair.

A gentleman of Stockholm, who accompanied us to Haga, informed me, when we entered a certain room, that the conspirators had designed to assassinate the king in that palace, a con-

siderable time before he was killed. The man on whom the lot fell went round the house in the evening, with a musket, and observed the king seated at a table, employed in writing. The villain took aim at his sovereign, but could not muster sufficient resolution to fire. When Ankerström, who was implicated in the conspiracy, received this intelligence, he indignantly declared, that he would undertake the business. The second part of the anecdote I had from another person, who added, it might justly be said of Ankerström, that he sacrificed himself.

As soon as Gustavus III. had breathed his last, every thing assumed a different form. His will was set aside, and his friends were either neglected or persecuted. Regencies are generally disliked, and this appears to have been more particularly the case with that which succeeded the death of the late king of Sweden. His present majesty ascended the throne, and adopted all the measures of his father.

Stockholm contains a greater number of artists than a stranger would expect to find in such a city.—Mr. Pasch, director of the academy, and knight of the order of Gustavus Vasa, is little more than a portrait-painter; as such, he possesses merit, but not of the first degree. M. Dupré, a foreigner, but settled at Stockholm, is an historical painter, some of whose pieces, as I have already mentioned, decorate the apartments which Gustavus III. fitted up for himself at the Opera-house. These appear to have almost exceeded his powers. The artist, indeed, was not left to his own discretion; the king furnished him with the subjects, which represent scenes during his travels in Italy. The great number of figures, which he did not understand how to group with judgment, produce some confusion; and the modern dress has a bad effect in works of art, though the painter possessed the advantage of contrasting the ordinary European dress with the costume of Sweden, and occasionally with the Romish ecclesiastical habit.—M. von Breda appears to have the most business; and he justly deserves it, on account of the tasteful and spirited manner in which he paints portraits. He resided many years in England, and particularly selected as his model Sir Joshua Reynolds, whose manner he has very successfully followed. His portraits, which he treats as much as possible in an historical manner, are exquisitely coloured, and of the most pleasing kind. Italians, indeed, would say that he has too much of the modern English school, that is, that he is too solicitous to produce what is termed effect.—Mariller has for several years been almost entirely employed on decorations for the different royal palaces. I have seen some of his productions at Haga, which are extremely beautiful, and evince great taste.—Sergell, a

pupil of the French artist Archevêque, who resided many years in Sweden, is now the best sculptor in this country. I have seen some excellent productions of his chisel, and it is he who furnished the model of the colossal statue of Gustavus III. which is to be cast by Captain Apelquist.

At the Academy of Painting and Arts, I found a collection of casts of the Grecian *chef d'œuvres*, but it was not very numerous. I however recollect institutions of the same kind in Italy, where I have not seen more. In that country it is true, they may more easily dispense with them, because they have the originals nearer at hand.

I have seen Sergell's statue of Gustavus III. The figure is standing, and in the national dress introduced by the king, but which now is not often seen. It is, as you know, much more picturesque than ours, but has not the dignity of the ancient Roman costume: with the exception of the scarf, this dress has no folds; and all smooth drapery in sculpture produces a disagreeable effect. It appears absolutely to require either nakedness, or drapery with large folds, and to know no medium between the two. The statues of the Duke of Cumberland in London, of General Seydlitz at Berlin, and even that of the hussar Ziethen, prove this assertion. The statue of Frederic II. at Stettin, receives the principal part of its dignity and effect from the mantle, which is thrown over a portion of the figure, and breaks the stiffness of the modern uniform.—This statue, which is to be of bronze, and fifteen feet in height, will stand on the quay below the palace, where a vast pedestal of granite has already been erected for it. The situation is well chosen, the granite fine, and the polish admirable.

Among the charming views which are to be found within this city, I have not yet mentioned that afforded by the steeple of the church of St. Clare, and which I particularly advise the traveller not to omit seeing. In the church itself, I found a very beautiful altar-piece, representing the Taking of Christ from the Cross, beneath which was the following inscription:—*Jon. Hoffman, inv. et fec. Romæ* 1766.

LETTER XI.

UPSAL. — TUMULI AT GAMLA UPSALA. — OESTERBY. — DANNEMORA.—LÖFSTA.—THE FALL OF THE DALELF, NEAR ELFKARLEBY.—GEFFLE.—FAHLUN.—AVESTADT. —SALA.—GRAN.—ECKHOLMSUND.

UPSAL, 12*th August*, 1798.

WE left Stockholm at seven this morning, and reached this place before three.—Upsal is the handsomest and neatest of all the Swedish towns of the middling class, and, to compare small things with large, reminds me of Oxford. Its most magnificent building, though only of brick, is the cathedral church; but the beauty of the inside far exceeds that of the exterior. In my opinion it is the finest church I have seen during the last four years. It perfectly coincides with my ideas of a temple, combining magnitude, dignity, and simplicity. It is an ancient structure, but has been altered and adapted to the modern taste, though without any unnecessary or paltry decorations. Every thing is in its proper place, and all its parts are grand and noble. Such a cleanliness reigns throughout, as I have no where met with but in some English churches, and in St. Peter's at Rome. The interior is in the purest Gothic style, and the long row of white massive columns, affords from the end opposite the altar a view truly sublime. At that distance, the altar likewise makes a very fine appearance; but on approaching, you perceive that it is only painted wood: this large and high altar on one side, and the organ, which is also of great magnitude, on the other, are the only objects in the church which are ornamented, and are perfectly calculated to heighten the simplicity of the rest of the structure.

On the sides of the church are a great number of monuments, of which only one is particularly distinguished as a production of the arts. This is the monument of the Archbishop Menander, of variegated Italian and white Carrara marble, which displays great magnificence and taste. It was executed at Rome by the directions of his son, M. Von Fredenheim, who is now intendant-general of the king. The archbishop died in 1786. The great Linnæus has nothing but a common flat grave-stone, placed over him by his son, who is also dead. This church is likewise the burial-place of Gustavus Vasa, whose monument is very old and mean. Memorials of departed greatness or worth are left, by every generation, to be erected by posterity, who at length take up the matter, but mostly out of mere vanity. Thus the great statue of the above-mentioned monarch,

was not erected in the Ritterholm till two hundred years after his death, and it is only a few years since the memory of Gustavus Adolphus was honoured with one. The disciples and friends of Linnæus have lately decreed him a monument, which I saw at Stockholm, and which is to be erected in a new edifice in this town, of which I shall speak presently. It is of Swedish porphyry, and the inscription is of cast metal letters.

We were shewn the treasure belonging to the church, consisting of a great quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, &c. but nothing in comparison to what I have seen in many Catholic churches. My attention was particularly attracted by the cup which a Swedish general carried off from Prague, when that city was taken by the Swedes during the Thirty Years war. It is rich and beautiful in its kind, but it would not have interested me so much, had it not been the same which the enemies of Gustavus III. accused that monarch of having given to the Pope.

In the same apartment is kept the statue of the god Thur. It is, as far as I could discover, a clumsy, mutilated figure of oak. The left arm is wanting; the right, as in all the statues of ancient nations, has been attached, but the hand of this is deficient. The thighs just commence, and are broken off short below the hips; the beard is a large shapeless mass of wretched workmanship. A friend of mine in Saxony had requested me to examine this statue with particular attention, because, from an engraving which he had seen, he is led to believe, that it was not intended for the god Thur, but for a figure of Christ. The historical data which we have relative to this statue, are very doubtful, and such an error may be possible. The lower part of the face and beard certainly have something of the Nazarene character.

The library of the university is said to contain 52,000 volumes. The apartments are good and clean, but have nothing remarkable; the work which principally attracted my notice was, the *Codex argenteus* of Ulphelas, containing the four Evangelists in the Gothic language. You know how much has been written on this subject, some maintaining that the language is Gothic, while others contend, that it is Frankish. Be this as it may, all writers agree that it is one of the most ancient manuscripts in the world, and probably of the fourth century. It is a middle-sized quarto volume, the paper of which has a purple cast. The letters are handsome and regular, and many of them resemble the Greek capitals.

In one of the apartments of the library is a large box, on which stands another of smaller dimensions. Both of them are secured with strong chains and locks. These are presents made by the late King to the University, with the injunction that they

should not be opened for fifty years. Here is a field for the conjectures of the curious. They will probably be found to contain a history of his own time, with various documents, letters, &c.

From the library we went to the botanic garden, namely, the old one, formed by Linnæus, which will probably long retain its rights; for, as I was informed, there is little hope of the completion of the new one, which is intended to be established in the garden of the King's palace. It is neither large nor valuable, but it was interesting to me on account of its founder. The collection of foreign plants is said to be important; but that of living animals consists of a few Indian goats, a porcupine, an ape, and a hare. I know not whether my face indicated an approaching smile, but I was immediately conducted into another apartment, in which there were two foreign birds! In the collection of serpents and fishes, I, however, saw many things which attracted my notice.

The collection of the celebrated Thunberg, the present professor of botany and natural history, who published the details of his nine years travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, is much more important. He was not in town himself; but Dr. Ullin very politely shewed us his collection. Thunberg resides in the house which once belonged to Linnæus. It is small and mean; his really beautiful collection is so crowded and confused, that it reflects disgrace on the government, and the university in particular, as he has had the generosity to bequeath it to the latter. The son of Linnæus applied his father's collection to a very different purpose; he sold it to an Englishman.

I was particularly interested with various articles from Japan, where Thunberg resided a considerable time. I believe he was surgeon to a Dutch vessel. I saw with pleasure a male and female rein-deer stuffed; and likewise, the small Lapland bear, which is no bigger than a large spaniel: he, however, sometimes attacks cows, which he dispatches and devours. I had never before seen antelopes or gazelles of the size of our largest deer; they were from the Cape of Good Hope. Those belonging to the late Duchess of Portland, which I saw at Bulstrode, were, like all the others that I have met with, small.

The royal palace at Upsal is situated on an eminence near the town. It is every thing but handsome, and resembles a capacious prison. Adjoining it is a garden, which is kept in excellent order, and has some agreeable walks. Gustavus III. presented it to the university, and it is in future to be the botanic garden, when the other will be given up. In this garden the late King directed an extensive building to be erected with a handsome façade, with eight stone columns. Here are intended to be the hall for bota-

nical lectures, and the apartments of the professor; the remainder will be appropriated to foreign plants, if the undertaking should ever be completed; of which, as I have already observed, little hope is now entertained. In this edifice the monument of Linnæus is to be erected. It is eleven years since this building was commenced, and it is still very far from being finished. The palace is empty, excepting a few rooms, which are kept for the occasional accommodation of the King.

Oesterby, *August* 13.

We left Upsal about one o'clock, and in half an hour arrived at Gamla Upsala, or Old Upsal, where I stopped to examine some *tumuli*, similar to those which are found in so many countries of Europe and Asia, and are considered as the original monuments erected to princes and great men. These are indeed so regular, both in their formation and position, that they can scarcely be supposed to be the effect of chance. I must, however, observe, that in this country I have met with many hills which bear more or less resemblance to those that I have found in different parts, though they are not quite so regular, and all of which probably were not the work of human hands.

The country, for twenty miles after we left Upsal, is the most abundant in corn of any I have seen in Sweden. Every foot of land, excepting the naked rock, is in tillage. The country afterwards grows wilder, the rocks, which are granite, gradually become more frequent, and the woods of fir more extensive. We then arrived at the lake of Dannemora, which is rendered extremely beautiful by its numerous small islands, which are principally covered with trees.

Having proceeded for some time along this lake, we arrived at Oesterby, a place remarkable for its large furnaces. Mrs. Peil, the proprietor of the whole, received us with the politeness of a woman of quality, shewed us the furnaces herself, and then conducted us through her extensive domain. She lives here in the rural grandeur of a princess, has a noble and spacious house, stables with sixty horses, twelve carriages of different kinds, gardens, hot-houses, and pleasure-grounds. Every thing bears the appearance of taste and splendour, which are generally the consequences of great opulence. The iron-mines here are what estates and lands are to the great and the wealthy in other countries. They are superintended by the nobility, to whom they principally belong.

Of the extent of the works at this place you may form some conception, if I repeat what Mrs. Peil told me. She fixed the number of her labourers with their families at eight hundred. These do not live in detached huts or in villages, but reside in

houses, all of which belong to this lady. They are built in regular rows, and each house contains two families. Each of these double houses stands at a certain distance from the two next, but so as to form a street, each side of which is lined with trees, forming an alley in the middle. It is impossible to describe the peculiarly pleasing appearance of these rural streets, which are situated at some distance from the mansion of the proprietor. The houses are all of such a class, that they would not be a discredit to a town, and extraordinary cleanliness prevails throughout. Some of the buildings belonging to the works were covered with iron-plates, and part of the mansion with copper; a luxury which I have frequently observed in Sweden, and in which the inhabitants indulged probably in those times when that metal was proportionably of little value. I must still observe, that Mrs. Peil told me, that her labourers were the descendants of Huguenots, or, as she denominated them, Walloons, that is, French Protestants, who settled here upwards of a century ago. Twenty or thirty years since they understood a little French, but they now possess no knowledge of that language, and Swedish is their mother tongue.

Dannemora is the most celebrated iron-mine in Sweden.—This, as well as that at Fahlun, is totally different from any I have seen in other countries. Instead of having a descent similar to those of the mines of Germany and other parts, the aperture of the principal shaft at Dannemora is about as large as the most extensive market-place of any German city, and affords the very interesting spectacle of a great number of people at work in the different parts in open day-light; so that the spectator at the top may overlook at once all the various operations of the labourers.

This mine was commenced in the year 1527. The ore yields 70 to 75 per cent. and some even from 80 to 90. The total number of shafts is 97; but only 23 are now in use. The mine yields annually 150,000 skipponds (about 18,000 tons) of iron, which is the best, and consequently the dearest, in Sweden. The greatest part of it is exported to England. The number of horses employed in the works is 144. The labourers in the pits amount to 487; but the total number of persons of both sexes, employed at this place, is 1579. There are no furnaces near the mine, but the different proprietors, most of whom reside in the neighbourhood, convey the ore to their estates, where it is melted and hammered: after which, it is transported a considerable way by land, and then by water through Geffle to Stockholm, &c. As the places where the ore is drawn up, appeared extremely dangerous, I enquired whether accidents did not frequently occur, and was informed, that in the coarse of a year three lives were lost on an average;

but that during the present, five persons had already perished.

GEFFLE, *August* 15.

Leaving Oesterby, we proceeded about 20 miles to Löfsta, a noble mansion belonging to the Baron de Geer. Compared with the residence of many English gentlemen, this place would make an inconsiderable figure, though celebrated by the natives as one of the largest and most magnificent country-seats in Sweden. It is certainly very extensive, and comprises a great mass of buildings, but the principal structure has nothing very remarkable. I saw some family-portraits by Vandyke, but I very much doubt, whether all or even any of them are genuine. The library is a very good collection, and contains a great number of drawings, engravings, and expensive works on natural history, machines, travels, &c. I likewise found there the scarce work of Count Marsigli concerning the Danube.

On the way from Löfsta to Geffle, we came to one of the grandest scenes of nature that I ever beheld, the fall of the Dalelf near Elfcarleby. Of all the waterfalls of Italy, Sweden, Norway, and Ireland, none bears so much resemblance to that of the Rhine near Schaffhausen. Comparisons are generally unjust, for there are scarcely two things in nature which resemble each other in all their parts. Many prefer the Swedish fall; others consider that of the Rhine as more picturesque; and others again give a decided preference to the latter. I shall therefore content myself with saying, that the fall of the Rhine is not dishonoured by a comparison with the Swedish. The Dalelf, which signifies the river of Dalecarlia, has not by far so much water, but it covers a greater space, and produces a grand effect; being divided by an insulated rock, it forms two falls by the side of each other. A little lower down there is a third, which is smaller. All the three may be seen at once from several points; but the two larger are so near, that both of them may be brought into one view. The rocks are, as usual, of granite, and overgrown with fir, pine, or larch-trees. The violence with which the water precipitates itself from rock to rock, is inconceivable; and the figures of the rocks are such, that the water between them forms an object highly picturesque. The current below the cataracts is continually interrupted by rocks, till it receives the tribute of the third fall. The river then becomes deeper, is compressed into a narrow channel, and again forms a kind of fall by the impetuosity with which it rushes between the surrounding rocks.

At this spot a wooden bridge, between three and four hundred feet in length, has been erected over the river. I was informed that the architect is a peasant, who can neither read, write, nor

draw. At first sight, this bridge presents nothing very striking; but when you reflect that the pillars which support it stand in the midst of an impetuous torrent, and that the water breaks against each of them with the utmost violence, you are at a loss which to admire the most, the bold design of the architect, or his caprice in selecting this spot for a bridge, while the river is perfectly placid a little lower down; but there, indeed, a bridge would be less convenient.

The Dalelf, though one of the largest rivers in Sweden, is unnavigable. It is remarkable that this kingdom, which is of greater extent than Germany, has not a single navigable river worth mentioning. The Gotha itself, after leaving the lake Wenner, is not navigable for a considerable distance; and even where it is navigable for a short space, it has so little depth as to admit only vessels of a moderate size.

We arrived in good time at Geffle, which by many is reckoned the fifth, and by others the sixth, town in Sweden. Like most of the other Swedish towns, I thought it an insignificant place, though it is a sea-port, and one of those which are said to have the most extensive trade. It does not contain six thousand inhabitants.

August 17.—Fahlun is the capital of Dalecarlia, and the northernmost point of our travels in Sweden. The whole country between Upsal and Geffle is rather level than hilly, and continues so till you reach the province of Dalecarlia, which is extremely mountainous: at first, however, the eminences are not very elevated, but become more lofty as you proceed. Fahlun is entirely encompassed with mountains.

On the whole way from Stockholm to this place, I have seen a great number of lakes; but I am now so accustomed to them, that even the most beautiful have no longer any charms for me. The woods consist entirely of fir.

On leaving Geffle I found the country at first thinly inhabited; but on approaching Fahlun, it assumes a wilder aspect, and the population increases. I frequently saw a kind of wooden machines, which I had before observed in other parts of Sweden, but which are much more numerous in this province. The month of August is often rainy in Sweden, and the people are obliged to get their harvest in wet. As they cut down the corn, they hang it upon the bars of a kind of frame, either placed horizontally, or of a pyramidal form.

It was the Dalecarlians who protected Gustavus Vasa, and who seated him on the throne. Their attachment to the reigning house has continued without abatement; so that Gustavus III. when he found himself deserted by his nobility, repaired to this province, the inhabitants of which promised him their strenuous

support. It was they, too, who formed the resolution of avenging his death.

We passed five hours in viewing the mines of this place. The copper mine is probably the most ancient in Europe: the exact period when it was commenced is not known; but the earliest grants relative to it are of the 14th century. Here truly reigns the abomination of desolation. What accumulated mountains of stone, on which for ages, not a single blade of grass will appear! In what eternal smoke the whole country is enveloped! what a noise from nearly two hundred engines and their apparatus! This picture of desolation begins as you leave Fahlun, on the southwest, and extends without interruption to a great distance around. The stones extracted for centuries from the mines are piled up into so many barren mountains, that strangers are obliged to have a guide, lest they should lose their way in the multitude of roads which run like streets between them.

The principal opening of this mine, like that at Dannemora, is of very great extent, but none of the labourers are here exposed to view. You would scarcely credit that I have been to the depth of 160 fathoms, without descending a single ladder. The descent to the bottom of the great open pit, is by means of wooden stairs. Here you proceed a short distance on level ground till you arrive at a house which stands contiguous to the rock, and is properly the entrance of the mine The guide is provided with several bundles of splinters, which he lights one after the other. You now continue to descend by wooden steps, which are, indeed, neither very well made, nor kept in good repair. The horses, however, are conducted by the same way into the mine, and where a horse can go, it cannot be very difficult for a man to walk. The passages form a labyrinth of streets, which are mostly hewn out of the rock, though they are here and there constructed of wood, and some few are formed of brick. Between twenty and thirty horses are employed in the mine, and these animals see the light of day only once a year, namely, at Christmas, when the subterraneous labours are suspended for a time. We came to many shafts, which, though perpendicular, yet conducted to the outside of the mine; it is through these shafts, and not by the way we went, that the ore is conveyed.

Though we descended to a considerable depth, yet the copper is entirely exhausted in all the passages which we traversed; and with the exception of one or two, the ore is found only in the lowest shafts. The part of the mountain containing the ore, was originally of the figure of an inverted cone. The nearer the

works approach the end of the cone, the narrower of course the region impregnated with the metal becomes, and the lower they must be sunk. In consequence, the expences increase every year; and many imagine, that in less than twenty years, the mine must be relinquished, probably before the ore is entirely exhausted, because the profits will be too inconsiderable to defray the charge of working. It is remarkable, that no traces of this metal have been discovered in any other part of the country.—In the year 1650, when the produce of this mine was at the highest, it yielded about 2500 tons; but at present, the annual produce falls short of 500 tons.

All the ore extracted at Fahlun is melted in about 70 furnaces, of which 60 are situated in the town, and the others in the neighbourhood. The ore contains, on an average, no more than two per cent. The number of miners is 800, but I could not learn that of the labourers employed at the furnaces. The whole concern is divided into 2500 shares, the proprietors of which are dispersed through the kingdom, but many of them reside at Fahlun. The latter have their own furnaces, but the others agree for the smelting of their share of the ore at a stipulated price. The king receives one eighth of the produce.

At this place there is likewise a vitriol-manufactory, where both green and blue vitriol are made. I also saw here, what I had never met with before, a great quantity of old iron of every kind, which is sprinkled with vitriol water. The acid gradually dissolves and consumes the particles of iron, till it at length disappears, and the whole mass is converted into copper.

The population of Fahlun is said to amount to 6000 persons, and the place is situated in the latitude of 60° 40′. As the furnaces are at work night and day, the town is enveloped in continual smoke, which is seen at a considerable distance on every side. Every thing is destroyed by it, and the copper with which the two churches are covered, is obliged to be renewed every thirty or forty years, in consequence of its injurious operation.

August 18.—We left Fahlun early this morning, and reached Avestadt before four o'clock. On leaving Fahlun, the country assumes an appearance of extraordinary beauty. A great portion of the tract between that town and Avestadt, in my opinion, surpasses any in Sweden in richness, magnificence, and fertility. It is, indeed, more wild than the celebrated provinces of Nörige, Westmannland, and Sôdermannland; but it is on that account more picturesque, and contains more pasturage, mountains, and wood, and in cultivation it equals any in Sweden. It has an infinity of charming views, to which a multitude of small lakes,

and the majestic Dalelf, which we repeatedly crossed, not a little contribute.

Avestadt has an agreeable situation, and is a lively place on account of its copper-works. That metal is not only refined here, but is wrought into a variety of articles, into sheets, pots, stills, &c. Copper nails are likewise cast for ship-building.

August 19.—It is 28 miles from Avestadt to Sala, where we arrived before noon. The country between the two places is pleasing and woody; the hills are low, and it is neither so rich and beautiful, nor so interesting and populous, as that between Avestadt and Fahlun.

Sala is a small place, and contains nothing worthy of notice. About two miles from the town is situated the most ancient silver-mine in Sweden, but its produce is very inconsiderable.

August 20.—Gran is 35 miles distant from Stockholm. On the way to that place we made a circuit of three miles to see Eckholmsund, a mansion which formerly belonged to the King, but has been purchased by a Scotchman of the name of Seaton. We found two large edifices, between which the centre building is wanting. One of these the proprietor is fitting up for himself, but the other has been retained by the King for his reception, when he occasionally visits this quarter. The neighbourhood of an arm of the lake Mälar, numerous trees and romantic rocks render the situation very fine, and the whole has a good deal of what Brown denominates *capability*. It is, however, not much indebted to art, excepting for a few old plantations of trees.

LETTER XII.

ABY.—SÖDER TELJE.—NYKÖPING.—FINSPANGE.—NORKÖPING.—LINKÖPING.—BOXHOLM.—EKESIÖ.—LENHÖFDA.—BUBBETORP.—CARLSCRONA; THE NEW DOCKS, MAGAZINES, &c.—RONNEBY.—CHRISTIANSTADT.—YSTADT.

CARLSCRONA, *August* 29.

WE left Stockholm on the 23d, on which day we went but about 50 miles, to the village of Aby. Till we reached Söder Telje, an insignificant place, the road was the same as we had gone on our way from Norway to Stockholm.

I was again struck with the extreme wildness and romantic appearance of the country which surrounds Stockholm on every side. In general, every thing assumes a milder aspect as you approach a capital, but here it is the very reverse. Whether this is the reason why so few of those country-seats of the opulent and the great are to be met with in the vicinity of Stockholm, which generally

enliven and embellish the neighbourhood of a metropolis, I will not undertake to decide. The principal cause is the general want of that wealth possessed by the higher classes in more southern countries. The tract between Stockholm and Aby, was for the greatest part woody, mountainous, full of rocks, and thinly inhabited.

At noon of the 24th we arrived at Nyköping, one of the principal towns of Sweden, with a harbour, and situated on a river of the same name; I was much delighted with the cheerful, and in part, romantic appearance of Nyköping. The view of naked and romantic rocks, afforded by so many Swedish towns, gives them a peculiar character which I have not met with in any other country. I here ascended a bare and very lofty rock, which lies almost within the town. On the opposite side, towards the harbour, I saw the ruins of what was formerly a very strong castle, and the residence of the kings of Sudermania.

Between Wreta and Krokek, before we arrived at Norköping, we came to Finspange, an iron-manufactory belonging to the Count de Geer, where cannon, and most of the coarser articles of iron, are cast and made. The residence of the proprietor is a handsome structure. This nobleman appeárs to be an *amateur* and a patron of the arts. Having thus discovered some talents in a young peasant, he took him under his protection, and, I believe, maintained him during his residence abroad. His name is Höhrberg; he is now one of the best painters in Sweden, and is principally employed by the Count, with whom he resides. I saw three altar-pieces by him, in three different churches, at Norköping: two of them were presented by the Count. I found in all of them grandeur of composition, boldness, and spirit; but his colouring is not the most pleasing, and his heads are deficient in dignity. It likewise appears to me, that he does not perfectly understand the art of grouping his figures.

Norköping is the fourth town in Sweden. Many consider it as the third, and give it the preference to Aby. My host, a tradesman, of whom I enquired the population of this place, mentioned the round number of 20,000 souls. The truth, however is, that the highest computation does not make them exceed 12,000; and I am confident that the present population is considerably below that number.

I never saw a town more advantageously situated for manufactures and commerce than Norköping, The river Motala, one of the largest in Sweden, divides it into two parts, is navigable in the town for very large vessels, and discharges itself at a little distance into the Bay of Bräviken, formed by a part of the Baltic. But what gives it a peculiar advantage is, that the Motala, which is very broad, precipitates itself over rocks in the

midst of the town, and forms at least a dozen waterfalls. On these innumerable water-mills might be erected, with little labour and expence. This advantage has not been improved as it might; yet when I looked down the river, from many parts of the town, I discovered a great number of mills, most of which, however, were not at work.

I had already observed in many different places, that the manufactures of this kingdom are far from flourishing; but here in the principal manufacturing town, every thing appeared to be entirely at a stand. I wished to see the manufacture of fire-arms, but was informed that it had been relinquished for some time, and in its stead, a manufacture of English leather had been established. I therefore went to see the latter, where I was told that leather was made in the English manner, but was informed that it was not at work: and the same was the case with a celebrated manufacture of nails. My host boasted much that a manufacture of oil, which they were formerly obliged to procure from Holland, had lately been established. I went to see it, and found a common stamping mill, in which they were stamping lint-seed, or rape-seed, imported from Riga. I inquired for the cylinders, but was informed that they were kept a profound secret, which no person was permitted to see. The houses for sugar-baking appear to be in the most thriving condition.

The most considerable manufactory at Norköping, is one of brass, which is said to have formerly employed three hundred persons. Here a great number of articles were made of that metal, but particularly brass-wire. I was shewn an extensive building, that contained at least twenty machines for that purpose, all of which might be worked by water, but not one of them was in use. In another building I saw the machines for making plates, but all the cylinders were taken away, and the general appearance announced, that they had not for a long time been employed. In a word, thimbles were the only articles on which any person was at work; and another building contained a quantity of brass prepared for melting.

This decline and inactivity in the manufactures of this place was solely ascribed to the war and the risk attending exportation. I am, however, firmly persuaded, that there must exist other causes, which probably more or less depress all the Swedish manufactures: as there is a want of sufficient skill, and a proper division of labour; a want of industry and invention; and lastly, a want of capital. The war, and the risk attending exportation may certainly be co-operating causes, but that I am justified in assigning others, you may perceive from this circumstance, that the articles of Swedish manufacture are in general dear, if it be considered that this country possesses the

raw materials in abundance, has coals cheap, and besides contains rivers that save the expence of steam-engines, to which the English are so frequently obliged to have recourse, on account of the want of falling water.

But I found the strongest confirmation of my opinion in the town of Norköping itself. We were conducted to a cabinet-maker, who manufactures a variety of elegant articles of furniture. I found there writing-desks, bureaus, &c. of very beautiful workmanship: but when I minutely examined the metal locks and embellishments, I imagined that I discovered in them the character of English workmanship. On inquiry I found that the fine metal work was from Birmingham. And yet Norköping is the first manufacturing town in Sweden, situated in a copper country, where all these articles are made, which possesses peculiar advantages with regard to water and fuel, and where workmen's wages are much lower than in England. I leave you to make the application yourself, and to judge whether the war is the principal cause why these manufactures are at a stand.

Among the various articles of glass which I saw at the same place, I found much English glass, which is the dearest in Europe; and yet Sweden has glass-manufactures of her own.

Great quantities of woollen cloth are made at Norköping; but the wool for the finer cloths is imported from Germany and Spain. English cloth is prohibited; it is however smuggled over, and, notwithstanding all the risks to which this mode is liable, it is sold at a lower price than the native manufacturer can afford to take for articles of the same quality.

Linköping, at which place we arrived on the 25th, is one of the superior towns of the third class, and has a very large and handsome cathedral.

On the 26th, we went from Linköping, by way of Boxholm, to Ekesiö. Boxholm is an iron mine situated in a romantic country, where the falls of the river, together with the works constructed on its banks, produce an effect highly picturesque. Between Linköping and Ekesiö, a distance of 70 miles, we met with not a single town, and I cannot say much in commendation of the latter. The only apartment provided for us at the inn was so wretched, that we sought and procured a lodging at a private house. On the 27th we arrived at Lenhöfda, and on the evening of the 28th at Carlscrona.

The tract of country between Linköping and Carlscrona, a tract of above 260 miles, is wild, mountainous, full of naked rocks, and so covered with woods that only a very small portion is in cultivation. There are very few villages, and those are small and thinly inhabited. The woods are principally composed

of fir intermixed with some birch, and a few other trees. Great part of the way we were continually on the ascent or descent, without, however, seeing any very lofty mountains.

However dreary such a country may appear to the eyes of the politician, to the painter and the lover of nature it is exquisitely beautiful. The continual alternation of hill and dale, of forests and romantic rocks, of furious torrents and meandering streams, together with the numerous lakes, render this country highly agreeable to the traveller.

As we approached the province of Blenkingen, the country gradually became more tame, and the firs qnd pines made place for other trees. The rocks were still very numerous; they did not indeed, consist of such vast shapeless masses as before, but were broken into such romantic forms that I could not forbear lamenting the want of an opportunity to take views of some of them. These picturesque masses of rock extend, as I afterwards found, beyond Carlscrona, till they at length terminate in a level and sandy country which continues to Ystadt.

The country on each side of Carlscrona, is one of the most picturesque tracts that I know: its woods are composed of alder, beech, but principally of oak, which is entirely devoted to the use of the navy. Such is the economy employed in the use of this kind of wood, that all the timber consumed by the navy is not the produce of Sweden, but part of it is imported from Germany. I have, notwithstanding, occasionally seen extensive forests of oak in the western parts of Sweden, but you know timber is only valuable when it grows near the spot where it is used, or where there is the convenience of water-carriage.

About seven miles before we arrived at Carlscrona, we came to an extremely neat mansion, called Bubbetorp, which belongs to a native of Sweden, who resides there.

We spent the greatest part of the 29th in surveying whatever is remarkable at Carlscrona.—This place is, you know, the great and the only port for Swedish men of war; the works, of which, during many years, so much has been said, principally consist of the old and new docks, of which the former are described by Coxe and Büsch.

Though the idea of hewing out of the rock a place for reception and repair of ships, was bold and grand, yet it is far surpassed by that of the new docks. The greatest part of the latter as yet exist only on paper, though Coxe spoke of them nineteen years ago. Not more than a tenth part is yet completed, but three-twentieths are so nearly finished, that they will be speedily ready for use.

According to the proposed plan, there are to be twenty receptacles for the same number of ships of the line, where they are to

be kept dry and under cover. If this plan were executed in a manner similar to that adopted at Venice, the difficulty and expence would not be very great. Here, on the contrary, the ships run immediately from the sea into these docks. It was, therefore, necessary to erect vast works against the violence of the sea, to construct a solid foundation for the walls and dams, as well as for the spot on which the ships are to stand, and to provide the whole with gates, about forty-eight feet in breadth, and almost thirty in height. The ground was quite uneven, partly covered by the sea, partly very low, and partly presenting high hills of granite. It was necessary to remove the latter, to fill up the former, and to prepare the ground. The projector conceived the bold idea of filling up the deep parts by covering the bottom with flat stones, and cementing them with puzzolana, and this idea was executed with complete success.

The figure of the new docks is a semicircle, which is divided from the centre to the circumference into four parts. In each of these divisions are receptacles for five vessels, separated from one another, and which can either be laid under water or kept dry. Each has a distinct gate, and a detached edifice with a copper roof. The walls, or rather the vast dams, nearly forty feet thick, are of hewn granite, filled up in the middle with earth. The four principal divisions have each one common entrance for the five ships which they contain.

Of all the four divisions only one has been completed since the year 1761, and in this only, two out of the five docks are ready for use. Nothing has yet been done towards the other divisions, except excluding the water. The ground is partly granite and partly a peculiar kind of marl, which is excellently adapted to the use of sculptors for modelling. M. Söderling, who is the director of the works, informed me that the difference in the expence of working the one or the other, was so trifling as to be scarcely perceptible at the end of the year. The former is blasted, and is immediately serviceable on the spot for the construction of walls, while the latter must be dug up and carried away.

Two hundred labourers are daily employed here during six months in the year. They each receive only a schilling and a half (about 2¼d.) per day, and a loaf which costs the king about three half-pence more. The reason why these labourers receive such low wages, is, because they are all land-soldiers, that is such who do not in general appear in uniform, but are exercised at certain times. Each of them has a hut, aud a small piece of land which is given them by the crown.

As docks are constructed for no more than twenty ships of the line, you perceive, from that circumstance, that this must be

the extent of the naval force of Sweden. At the present moment the efficient force is considerably below that number. They have in all only 19 ships of the line; most of these were in the last war with Russia, in which some of them received great damage, so that if only the serviceable vessels were to be reckoned, the number would be considerably reduced. The largest Swedish ships of the line are only of 74 guns; of these, they have no more than five, and the remaining fourteen are of 64; that is, such as the English never place in a line of battle, but when obliged by necessity.

The number of frigates and small ships of war I was unable to learn. Part of them lie at Stockholm, and part at Gothenburg; those whom I asked appeared unwilling to satisfy my curiosity on the subject. I then made enquiry for what in England is called the Navy List, and which is there printed every month, and instead of which, a kind of calendar, that appears here annually, was given me. I there found the names of the officers; but the number of ships, their names and rates, were prudently omitted. Mr. Coxe states the total number of Swedish ships of the line at 28; this was very probably correct at the time, for Gustavus III. was anxiously intent on the augmentation of his navy. The inexperience of his men in the management of two fire-ships, near Wiborg, destroyed a great part of his vessels, which were consumed; and he was obliged to set fire to others, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Russians. In the present war with France, nothing can be expected of Sweden. Besides the insignificance of her fleet, such is the state of her finances, that she would scarcely be able to equip and to man the few vessels she actually possesses. There are not wanting persons who even assert that Sweden has not, for the last 80 years, been in a condition to man her fleet entirely herself. There is a deficiency both of money and men. This country contains fifty thousand square miles more than Germany; and her population does not exceed, at the utmost, 2,700,000 souls.

I once remarked, that the Dutch ships are much more bulky than those of the same rate in the English navy. I had occasion to make the same observation with regard to the Swedish, in which the difference is still more striking. On this subject I have been very positively contradicted, both in Sweden and Denmark; but my eyes must deceive me very much if a Swedish 64-gun ship is not as bulky and heavy as an English vessel of 74.

In the hull of Swedish ships of war, large iron nails are used for purposes in which only wood or copper are employed by the English. I had an opportunity of seeing very plainly the reason why the former metal is rejected. Some of the timbers, at cer-

tain distances, are occasionally taken out of the sides of the ships in the dock, to ventilate the whole of the hull. On this occasion, I saw several of those iron nails extracted; they were all rusty, and must consequently corrode the wood in which they are fastened.

We were introduced to Admiral Chapman, a venerable old man of 77, whose name is well known in the history of naval architecture. He possesses all his faculties in full vigour; and has just made a trial on a large scale, of an invention, to which he has for some time devoted his thoughts, and which consists of an improved method of making cables.—The old Admiral speaks English very well. He accompanied us to Captain Bilang, of the navy. The latter is a native of Finland, and one of the best artificers in ivory that I am acquainted with. He executes landscapes, figures, ships, in a word, every thing in ivory. Every part is well designed, and completely finished; but, upon the whole, his performances want taste. Many are of the diminutive and laborious workmanship of the sixteenth century, and remind me of a thousand things contained in the cabinets of artificial curiosities, which I can never see without lamenting the loss of time, and the waste of talent. M. Bilang's works will bear viewing with a microscope; but for what purpose does an artist produce performances which are too fine to be discerned by the naked eye? This man executes whole pictures, and landscapes with buildings, water, ships, men, and animals.

We saw the arsenal, where M. Trettier shewed us the same politeness that we experienced from all the officers with whom we here became acquainted.—What most interested me in this place, was a very large manuscript map of the Islands before Carlscrona, of which there cannot be less than one hundred. These, together with the shallows, preclude the possibility of any hostile attack. There is only one way by which ships of war can enter, namely, between the Islands of Aspö and Turkö, on which are situated the batteries of Kongsholm and Drotningskiar, by whose guns the passage is completely commanded. There was formerly another entrance, which has been blocked up, by sinking some frigates. There is still another entrance for small vessels.

Carlscrona itself is situated on an island, or, it may be said, on several; if some detached parts, erected on very small islands, be included in the town. It is pretty extensive, and contains many good houses; but a great part of it was burned down about eight years since, and many of the ruins still remain. The new town-house is a very handsome structure; and the same might be said of the German church, which is not yet finished, if the cupola, covered with copper, were not so low,

in consequence of which, this edifice, when not seen at a distance, has but a mean appearance.

That part of the town in which the King's docks and the buildings belonging to the Admiralty are situated, is separated from the rest of the place by a lofty stone wall. This wall is remarkable for having been erected by the Russian prisoners, taken by Charles XII. The intention of this wall was, to secure the buildings and the harbour against any fire that might break out in the other part of the town. It has since been declared of no use; and Admiral Chapman, while he commanded the port, ordered the upper part to be taken down, and other buildings to be erected with the materials.

I have not yet spoken of the present harbour and docks for the men of war. It was formerly difficult to obtain a sight of them, but now they cannot be viewed without special permission from the King. While we were at Stockholm, we had applied to the English minister, through whom we hoped to obtain this permission; but he appeared so extremely unwilling, and said so much concerning the possibility of a refusal, that we at length resolved not to run the risk. I was not particularly desirous of seeing the magazines, and the other requisites of a dock-yard; but I certainly had some curiosity to survey the docks, which are hewn out of the rocks. In order to give us a view of the harbour from without, and an idea of its extent, Admiral Chapman's son took us to Stubholm; an edifice with a small tower, on an island, connected by means of a bridge with the town. This was one of the most interesting scenes I saw at Carlscrona; for here I surveyed, not only great part of the harbour, but likewise the road, inclosed by the numerous islands of which I have already spoken. I likewise saw very distinctly, both the entrances and the two fortresses of Kongsholm and Drotningskiär.

M. Tornquist calculated the population of Carlscrona at from fifteen to eighteen thousand souls; but from what I know of Carlscrona, and the manner in which the Swedish towns are built, I cannot believe that it contains more than twelve thousand inhabitants.

YSTADT, *September* 2.

In our way from Carlscrona, we passed through Carlsham and Christianstadt, and yesterday evening arrived at this place. Between Carlscrona and Carlsham is situated a village, which exhibits greater opulence and activity, than many of the Swedish towns which I have seen. This is Ronneby, which is seated on a river, and appears to be perfectly calculated for manufactures; and has a harbour with a considerable trade. Its situation is extremely picturesque; and at one extremity of the place the river forms a fall, or rather several falls, which, with the adjacent

houses, huts, and water-mills, from one of the most beautiful views I ever saw.

Christianstadt appeared to me to be a wretched, disagreeable place, and very different from the many descriptions I had read of it. I found here none of those good houses I am accustomed to see in the towns of Sweden, nor a shadow of that opulence which manufactures generally diffuse. It is, however, the capital of a province, and the seat of the governor.

Ystadt is one of the middling towns of Sweden, and did not appear to be quite so bad as it had been represented. The harbour, if it at all deserves that name, is nothing more than an open bay, into which runs a mole, constructed of wood and stone. Within it were lying eight or nine vessels, which, as far as I could observe, were laden only with wood. As to commerce, Ystadt certainly has none; the retail shops may probably supply the place, and the adjacent villages. Part of the inhabitants are employed in agriculture, and principally in the cultivation of corn; for in my walks in the neighbourhood of the place, I could discover nothing but stubble, some tobacco, and very little grass land.

The adjacent country has some gentle eminencies; but, upon the whole, is rather level. A kind of sea-weed, that collects on the coast, on which it is washed by the waves, becomes putrid, and diffuses a horrible stench, which renders walking on the sea-shore extremely disagreeable.

Ystadt is not a post-station, but the government keeps two yachts for the accommodation of travellers. The passage, however, is so little frequented, that the days of departure are not fixed, and you are almost entirely in the power of the postmaster. According to the King's regulations, one yacht ought to be constantly at this place, and another at Stralsund; but one of them has been bespoken above a fortnight, for the Duke of Sudermania, and he has not yet set off.

LETTER XI.

PASSAGE FROM YSTADT TO STRALSUND.—THE ISLANDS OF RÜGEN AND HIDDENSEE.—STRALSUND.—POPULATION OF SWEDISH POMERANIA.—GREIFSWALD.—ANKLAM.—UCKERMÜNDE—STETTIN—PYRITZ—SOKTIN.—NEUDAMM.—CÜSTRIN.—FRANKFURT ON THE ODER.—ZIBICHEN.—CROSSEN.—NAUMBURG ON THE BOBER.—SAGAN.—BUNZLAW.—LAUBAN, AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRY.

LAUBAN, IN SILESIA, *Sept.* 8, 1798.

ON the evening of the 7th, we set sail in one of the yachts stationed by the Swedish government at Ystadt for the convey-

ance of passengers, and arrived at Stralsund at one in the afternoon of the 8th, having gone eighty-five miles in nineteen hours. During the last eight we constantly had sight of land, for at day-break the island of Rügen appeared in view. As we approached the mouth of the Oder, it was gradually concealed by another, named Hiddensee. Having coasted along the latter, for some hours, we again drew near the coast of Rügen, between which and the opposite shore of Swedish Pomerania, we were obliged to luff up during the remainder of the time. The narrowest part of the streight between Rügen and the Continent, is not above two miles over.

What shall I say of Stralsund? And yet I cannot omit noticing a town which is commonly computed to contain twelve or thirteen thousand inhabitants, which passes for the capital of Swedish Pomerania, and has a trade which is far from contemptible. Towards the sea, this town makes a very good appearance; it has several large churches, two of which may even be called handsome. In the streets, which are not kept in the most cleanly condition, there are a great number of good houses, among which the residence of the Governor is particularly distinguished. The harbour contained more vessels than I have been lately accustomed to see in any of the ports of Sweden and Denmark, excepting those of Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Gothenburg.

M. Hulten, professor of mathematics and astronomy, at Griefswald, in the Calendar for Swedish Pomerania and Rügen, for 1798, states their total population in 1796 at 109,066 souls. Of these, 30,770 reside in the towns of Pomerania; 1487 at Bergen; 951 at Garz; 52,085 in the country and villages of Pomerania; 21,244 in the country and villages of Rügen; and 2579 men, women, and children, belonging to the soldiers in garrison; by which the Professor undoubtedly means at Stralsund. The population of the last mentioned town, exclusive of the garrison, he fixes at 10,907; that of Greifswald, at 5463; of Wolgast at 3496; and of Barth at 3145.

Stralsund has, you know, ever been a fortified town. During the last reign, the works were repaired and greatly improved, particularly towards the sea, so that it is now considered as a very strong place. I understand but little of fortifications, though I have seen a great number, most of which were constructed by Vauban; but I think that on the land-side Stralsund is far inferior in strength to many other fortified towns, and that it would not be able to hold out long against a siege, conducted in the modern manner. The town-house of Stralsund is a singular, beautiful, Gothic edifice, in a peculiar and very extraordinary style.

Swedish Pomerania is, on the whole, superior to what the

traveller would expect; the soil is not very bad, and far less sandy than other provinces in the same latitude. The villages make a very good appearance, and possibly the impression might be more favourable, because I have been for some time accustomed to those of Sweden.

We arrived in the forenoon of the 9th, at Griefswald, a very pretty and pleasing town. The churches, the principal buildings belonging to the university, and a great number of private houses, are respectable edifices, and the whole produces an agreeable effect. The university appears to be the least important part of the town; and I am told that the number of students is considerably below one hundred. It seems, however, not to be neglected by the government; and among other things, I found a tolerable observatory, the exterior of which, at least, looks remarkably well. Ships can come up as far as the town, between which and the harbour I perceived a considerable number, of various sizes. Close to the town are salt-works, which are said to be very productive, though the buildings in which the salt is prepared are but small.

We arrived the same evening at Anklam, the first Prussian town, close to the frontiers. In this place you perceive great bustle and activity; and I there saw a greater number of ships than I found in any of the harbours of the middling towns of Sweden: and the whole presents a much more pleasing aspect than many other small towns in the Prussian dominions.

We left Anklam on the 10th; and had scarcely proceeded ten miles before the increasing sands reminded us in what province we were. This road constantly runs along in the vicinity of the sea, or rather of that branch of it called the Frische Haff, though the traveller seldom obtains a sight of the water. At noon we reached Uckermünde; a pleasing town, with a port, and some trade. We then passed through extensive woods, principally of fir, and a sandy country, and arrived at the village of Falkenwalde, where we passed the night.

Early on the morning of the 11th, we proceeded to Stettin; a very handsome, and, what is very rare in this country, a very lively place. It contains a great number of very elegant houses, and some that, in many towns, would be denominated palaces. The Oder runs through the town, and forms the port, which, like that of Magdeburg, is beautifully picturesque. The river is here tolerably deep, and vessels, which the harbour of Stralsund is capable of admitting, can proceed as high as this place.

The country round Stettin is charming; and the lofty shore which borders the Oder on one side, affords delightful views. We received no small gratification from a walk we took to a fort, which, with some other works, covers the town. In the

river, which now widens and now contracts its current, are several islands, both above and below the town, which increase the charms of the prospect. In a word, Stettin and its vicinity, its commerce, the air of cheerfulness and vivacity which every where prevail, contribute to render it worthy of more attention than our plan would permit us to bestow.

Stettin contains a fine square; in which is a pedestrian statue of Frederic II. in a modern uniform. The workmanship is exquisite (I believe by Schadow); and the artist has judiciously broken the stiffness of the dress, by a mantle thrown behind. The population of Stettin, including the suburbs and other structures belonging to the town, is computed at 22,000; in which number the military, consisting of about 5000 persons, are comprehended.

Leaving Stettin on the 12th, we proceeded to Pyritx, twenty-three miles; and thence to Soktin, fourteen miles. Soktin is an insignificant place, situated on a small lake.

The distance from Soktin to Neudamm is fourteen miles; and from the latter place to Cüstrin, nine miles. The situation of this fortress is remarkable, and rather uncommon. The bed of the Oder is so flat, and the adjacent country so low, that the river here extends itself in such a manner as to assume the form of a small lake, on which Cüstrin appears to float. I know not that I ever saw a more sandy tract than that to the north and south of Frankfurt on the Oder. If your carriage be heavy, the wheels sink a foot deep in the sand; the horses proceed at a slow pace, and are obliged to stop every ten minutes, to recover their strength, and to take breath.

Frankfurt on the Oder, though a town of considerable importance, on account of its commerce and its fairs, has nothing very attractive for a stranger, who seeks to make no acquaintance with the inhabitants, among whom are said to be many interesting persons. We walked about the streets, and were much pleased at the sight of many large and respectable edifices, and the view of the river from the bridge. In honour of Kleist, whom I still consider as one of our first-rate poets, I went to see the simple monument erected to his memory by the Freemasons; and with similar sensations I beheld the place where the generous Prince of Brunswick perished in the attempt to rescue a fellow-creature from a watery grave. The spot is distinguished by a beautiful monument of white marble. I was afterwards conducted to a church, where the humane act is commemorated by a painting. It is from the pencil of Rode; who forgot that, though the persons represented are common people, there was no necessity to describe them as coarse, rude, and ill-favoured, and that the figure of the Prince wanted no such

contrast. Without the corpse of the latter, it would resemble a peasant scene by some artist of the Flemish school. For the rest, Rode's disagreeable grey-green colouring appears to me to be more striking in this picture than in many other of his productions which I have seen.

After rambling about two hours in Frankfurt, we again set off, and had to cross another dreary desert of sand, so that we were seven or eight hours in reaching Zibichen, a wretched village, about fourteen miles from Frankfurt. We then proceeded about the same distance to Crossen, where, though we had eight horses, we arrived late at night.

From Crossen we went, on the 15th, to Naumburg on the Bober, the road still leading through a sandy country, which extends a considerable way into Silesia. The face of the country, however, gradually improves, the villages have a better appearance, and the population increases; in a word, many things announce to the traveller that he is no longer in the margravate of Brandenburg.

Naumburg is a small town, agreeably situated on an eminence. At its foot lies Christianstadt, a place with a much more pleasing appearance, and separated from the former only by the Bober, which here forms the boundary between Silesia and Lower Lusatia.

Though we, this day, travelled but twenty-eight miles, yet it was night before we reached Sagan, a pretty town, which, with the whole lordship, belonged to the Duke of Courland (since dead.) We went out the next morning to view the town, and some of the churches, of which two are very large, and richly ornamented. We were desirous to inspect the ducal palace, an extensive and stately edifice, but were informed that the Duke had strictly forbidden it to be shewn.

The distance from Sagan to Bunzlau is twenty-eight miles. Bunzlau is the most lively, the most agreeable, and the most populous, of the smaller Silesian towns that I have yet seen. The number of inhabitants exceeds 4000. The trade in cloth, earthenware, and other articles, procures them an independence, which appears in various ways.

An execrable road conducts from Bunzlau to Lauban, a distance of nineteen miles; but yet the country is not only interesting, but at times even picturesque. As you approach Lauban, every thing shews that you are entering the land of industry. The view of the town from this side is charming, and I might almost say grand.

That tract of Silesia, between Crossen and Lauban, is, on the whole, an agreeable, tolerably populous, and well cultivated country. The villages are in general superior to those of Branden-

burg, and in all the small towns through which I have passed, there appears a certain degree of independence and ease. To judge of Silesia in general, from the sixty or seventy miles through which I have travelled would lead to a very erroneous opinion of that country. This tract, though superior to many of the south-eastern parts, cannot however be compared, either for soil, cultivation, or industry, with those provinces that are situated between Upper Lusatia, Bohemia, Glatz, and Breslau. The soil of that part which I have traversed is too sandy to afford a sufficient remuneration for the toil of the husbandman; and the people, who are principally Catholics, seem to possess neither the vivacity, the activity, nor the industry, which distinguish the inhabitants of those parts situated in the vicinity of the Giant Mountains.

A great part of the 17th, and the whole of the 18th, I spent in surveying Lauban, and the adjacent country. The latter exceeded my expectations, though they were pretty high. What lovely vallies, filled with houses, trees, and inhabitants! It resembles some portions of the Erzgebirge, in Saxony; but in the latter, the forms of the country are not so pleasing, the foreground is not so mild, so fertile, and so full of trees; and the distant mountains are not so lofty. The houses stand detached, each being surrounded by its little meadow, kitchen-garden, and orchard; so that the villages, which are actually large, occupy a vast extent of ground. The Queis, a small but lively stream, winds through the vallies, and animates the landscape. Here you hear the shuttle of the weaver, whose linen is conveyed to the remotest parts of the earth; there the clothier is hanging his work on the tenters; and yonder the brilliant white of the bleaching-ground forms a striking contrast with the fresh verdure of the trees and the turf.

I am likewise delighted with the town itself. Lauban is very clean, principally constructed of stone, contains a great number of large and respectable houses, and, what is still more, it is not so dead as most of the Silesian towns of the middling class. It is remarkable enough, that very few persons have any idea of the number of inhabitants in the town in which they themselves reside. Büsching fixes the population of Lauban at 8000 souls; but this is evidently over-rated. I made enquiry on this head of several intelligent men, one of whom mentioned 4000; another between 4 and 5000; and a third gave a different statement. At length a magistrate of the place, who assured me that his official situation afforded him the means of being correct, stated it to be 5,600; and this number corresponds with the observations which I had myself an opportunity of making.

LETTER X.

EXCURSION TO MEFFERSDORF.—MARKLISSA.—SCHWERTA.—WIEGANDSTHAL.—MEFFERSDORF.—TAFELFICHTE.—FRIEDLAND IN BOHEMIA.—REIBERSDORF.—ZITTAU.—THE OYWIN.—HERRNHUTH.—THE BRETHREN'S HOUSE.—THE SISTERS' HOUSE.—THE SYNOD OF THE UNITY.—LANDSKRONE.—GÖRLITZ.—NATHE.—THE MOUNTAINS OF KÖNIGSHAYN.—MANUFACTURES OF UPPER LUSATIA.

LAUBAN, *September 27.*

WE hired a light carriage at Lauban, and, taking with us only one servant, set off on the 18th for Meffersdorf, about fourteen miles distant. I was particularly struck with the town of Marklissa, which appears to be crowded with inhabitants. Before every second house is displayed a sign, denoting some tradesman or artisan. The district round this little town is one of the most populous in the Elector of Saxony's dominions. Farther on we came to the village of Schwerta, than which nothing can be imagined more picturesque and more poetical. It is situated on the declivity of a narrow romantic valley, through which meanders a small stream, that forms numerous cascades.

As I am fond of walking, I frequently avail myself of some pretext for entering the cottages of the country-people, that I may have an opportunity of seeing their interior, as well as the manners of their inhabitants. Having arrived at a place where two roads meet, and the carriage being at a considerable distance behind me, I was at a loss which to take, and therefore stepped into the nearest house to enquire. Immediately on opening the door, a great number of instruments caught my eye. It was the humble habitation of one of those mechanics, whom almost all mountainous countries produce, and who are, in general, their own instructors. The man possessed a certain polish; his exterior was that of a peasant, and every thing I saw in his cottage exactly corresponded with his station. I was afterwards informed, that besides this man, there were two other mechanics in the same village, who displayed great ingenuity. I likewise saw at the mansion of M. Von Gersdorf, a large closet, full of instruments made at Schwerta, which belong to him.

During the last half hour we passed through a thick wood, and as soon as we had cleared it, our eyes were struck with an enchanting view, which I shall content myself with mentioning, without attempting to describe it. It is, however, one of the

most splendid and magnificent I ever beheld. It is sublime, and yet so mild, that it forcibly reminded me of the more happy plains of Geneva and Lombardy southward of the Alps. Here lies the village of Wiegandsthal, and the Castle of Meffersdorf, and a hamlet, the remotest houses of which border on the first acclivity of the Tafelfichte. These form the fore-ground of the rich, lovely, and sublime picture. M. Von Gersdorf, the proprietor of these places, is a gentleman of extensive knowledge; who appears to live in the enjoyment of genuine philosophic tranquillity, and devotes his attention to the arts and sciences. His collection of physical and mathematical instruments is very valuable; and his cabinet of minerals is said to be one of the most select of any possessed by private individuals in Germany.

The Tafelfichte is productive to its very summit, and is covered with grass and trees. In many, even of the highest parts, it is swampy; this is likewise the case with the mountains of Ireland and Wales. Before we reached the top we came to a stone, which is the boundary of Lusatia, Silesia, and Bohemia. When you have arrived at the summit, the view is by no means so extensive as you were led to expect, because the mountain is not pointed at the top, but broad and flat. Box-trees grow upon it to a considerable height. Its elevation above the surface of the sea is, according to M. Von Gersdorf, 3545 Paris feet; so that it is not so high as the Fichtelberg, near Wiesenthal, on the frontiers of Saxony and Bohemia, whose height according to the same authority, is 3731 feet.

We had not proceeded two miles from Meffersdorf when we arrived at the frontiers of Bohemia, and entered the small town of Neustadt, were I immediately perceived that we were neither in Lusatia nor Silesia. Its filth and poverty formed a striking contrast with the towns and villages of Lusatia, where the poorest cottage presents an appearance of cleanliness, which attests the comfortable situation of its inhabitants.

We next arrived at Friedland, a small town, somewhat superior to the preceding, and on an eminence in the vicinity of which is situated the stately mansion of the Count of Clamm Gallas. Its architecture is in the style of the middle ages; and it is crowned with a lofty tower, which, as well as the chivalrous appearance of the whole structure, produces a good effect. This ancient and lofty castle having, however, been found inconvenient, a modern mansion has been erected just below it. The view from the highest part is fine, and rather striking; for, on one side, the declivity of the hill is almost perpendicular. During the first half of the Thirty Years' War, the celebrated Wallenstein possessed this lordship; and in 1634 it became the property of the house of Gallas.

Having proceeded four miles farther, we again entered Upper Lusatia, and soon arrived at Reibersdorf, the principal residence of Count Einsiedel. The mansion, erected by the present Count, is large, and in a good style ; and the interior is elegant and convenient. It contains a valuable library ; but I was disappointed of seeing the treasures of art preserved here, because the family was not at Reibersdorf.

Reibersdorf is about four miles from Zittau. Görlitz, Budissin, and Zittau, in Lusatia, and Chemnitz, Freyberg, Naumburg, and Plauen, in Saxony, are the best, the most important and pleasant towns in the Elector of Saxony's dominions, excepting Dresden and Leipzig. In its architecture, Zittau most resembles the latter. A great number of large and stately edifices seem rather to announce the residence of a prince, than a manufacturing town. Many of the houses, however, which were burned during the Seven Years' War, still lie in ruins, and in that state they will long remain, because the town is rather thin of inhabitants. The principal church is not completed, and yet considerable sums have been already expended in repairs, because the steeple is so badly constructed that it sinks, and carries the body of the church along with it.

Zittau, in regard to its trade and manufactures, is one of the most important towns in the Saxon dominions. Its situation, on the frontiers of Bohemia, promotes a considerable trade with that country ; and its linen manufactures are equal in produce to those of any other town in Upper Lusatia. Since I was at Zittau, a neat and commodious theatre has been erected there. Some of the wealthy inhabitants subscribed for shares ; the requisite number of subscribers was soon completed, and a convenient situation was purchased for the edifice. The country round Zittau is uncommonly beautiful, and affords delightful views.

On the 20th we made an excursion to the Oywin, a work partly of art, and still more of nature, at which I was astonished. It is an insulated, and almost perpendicular crag, a considerable way up whose side is situated a modern church, and whose summit is crowned with the ruins of a very ancient convent. Close to the foot of the mountain is the habitation of the schoolmaster, who likewise holds the appointment of Cicerone of the place, which his wife told me was the most profitable part of his office. From this house, a flight of fine stone steps, partly placed there, and partly hewn out of the natural rock, conduct to a small church, where a clergyman, who resides at the distance of four miles, officiates. One side of this church is hewn out of the rock. We continued ascending by steps to a door, which cuts off all access to the upper part of the moun-

tain, so that not even a dog can get up or down. The ruins of the convent, as well as of the ancient castle which is said to have existed prior to it, are extremely beautiful. The church, which is partly constructed of square stones, and partly hewn out of the rock, is likewise very handsome. The village, and the scenery round the Oywin, are highly romantic.

We left Zittau early on the morning of the 22d, and went to Herrnhuth, which is situated on the high road to Löbau, being about seven miles distant from that place, and nine from Zittau. I had time, after our arrival, to pay several visits; after which I went to the evening-meeting, which consisted of a long lecture out of the Old Testament. The language appeared to me to be so perspicuous and intelligible, and at the sume time so manly and so pure, that I was at a loss to conjecture what translation it could be, till the minister came to a passage, which, I was sure, was not to be found in the Old Testament. I was afterwards informed, that what I had heard was not a translation, but only an extract, in which every thing objectionable and obscene, every thing that does not correspond with our manners, ideas, and principles, has been omitted. I shall say nothing concerning the attractions of the divine worship of the Herrnhuthers, nor of the dignified simplicity which pervades it, because those things are so universally known.

On the 23d we surveyed all that strangers generally see at this place, and I must confess that every thing fell short of my expectations. It was probably my own fault. But we Saxons have been accustomed from our childhood, to hear so much concerning Herrnhuth, and the productions of its inhabitants, that we form extravagant ideas, which it is impossible for them to answer. Herrnhuth is not a handsome place, nor has it that air of extreme neatness and cleanliness which we are accustomed to expect, from every thing connected with the sect, and for which Christiansfeld, in Sleswick, is particularly distinguished. Most of the buildings are small and insignificant. The houses of several persons of rank, and some of the tradesmen, are, however, very neat. The residences of Count Reuss, and of the lord of the manor, are large and elegant. The place is small, and is said not to contain more than 2000 inhabitants; but it is gradually increasing.

The Brethren's House, that is, the house inhabited by the unmarried men, and where they all work for the general benefit of the society, has a mean appearance, both internally and externally. They have their common dormitory and refectory; but there are tables at different prices, which each is at liberty to chuse, according to his taste and abilities. Most of them are artisans; and the excellence of their work consists in a certain neatness, finish, and durability. But as the articles made here

are on the whole better than those manufactured in other places, they are necessarily dearer.

In the Sisters' House every thing appeared to me to be on a better footing and a more extensive scale. The exterior is more respectable, the accommodations are superior, and the whole has a neater and more pleasing appearance. This is the habitation of the unmarried sisters, who are subject to regulations perfectly similar to those of the brethren.

What made the most impression on me was the burying-ground, which is situated on an eminence, commanding the finest prospect of any in the vicinity of Herrnhuth. It forms an extensive square, inclosed by a hedge, and intersected by alleys; over each grave is placed a flat stone recording the name and native country of the deceased, together with the year in which he *went home*, or, as it is more frequently expressed, *fell asleep*. The graves in the principal line, nearly in the centre of this ground, were particularly interesting to me; they contain persons from every country in Europe, and I might almost say from every part of the world. On the most elevated point of this burying-ground a kind of pavilion or small wooden tower has been erected, the view from which is extremely beautiful.

Do you know that the directors of all the congregations of the Evangelical Brethren in the world, reside in a village two miles from this place? It is called Berthelsdorf, and is by right the birth-place of the congregation, for it was there that Count Zinzendorf collected the first Moravian brethren. These directors are called the Unity's Elders' Conference, which is generally composed of from twelve to fourteen persons, who never have any fixed place of residence. These govern the whole fraternity with unlimited power during a certain number of years, at the end of which a synod, composed of deputies from the congregations in every part of the world, is held, and a new *Elders' Conference* appointed. The members of this conference constantly remain together, and the affairs of the Unity occupy their whole attention. In this conference the German nation appears to possess the same preponderance as the Italian in the College of Cardinals; indeed, I am informed that all the members of the present are Germans.

We left Herrnhuth in the afternoon of the 23d, and after ascending the Landskrone, the view from which is exquisitely delightful, we proceeded to Görlitz. The scenery around this place is not without its beauties, but it is far inferior to that in the neighbourhood of Lauban and Zittau, and the place itself has not the cheerful appearance of the latter. We here saw and heard the celebrated organ, which, next to that of Harlem, is certainly the finest that I know of in Europe. At the house

of M. Nathe, an able artist, we saw some good drawings, which were interesting to me because they represented remarkable scenes and views of these parts.

After dinner we went to Königshayn, a village about four miles from Görlitz, where we procured a guide to accompany us to the mountains called after the name of the village. These mountains are composed of vast masses of granite, on one of which has been erected a lofty column of the same kind of stone to the memory of M. Von Schachmann. This gentleman, the last of his name, was the proprietor of Königshayn, which now belongs to his widow, by whom the castle, though not inhabited by her, is kept in tolerable repair. I procured admittance into this edifice, because I was desirous to obtain a sight of Bach's celebrated drawing, known by the inscription of Καγω εν Αρκαδια which was in such request, that the artist was himself obliged to make several copies of, it that may in fact be considered as so many originals. For one of these he received 300 rix-dollars. It was probably this circumstance that induced Madam Von Schachmann to give a far greater sum for her drawing, which is said to have been the first of that subject executed by Bach.

No doubt can be entertained concerning the origin and singular appearance of the masses of granite on these mountains. They are the last remnants of mountains still more lofty, the whole of which have been destroyed excepting these harder masses, that have long withstood the ravages of time. But a great part even of these must have been destroyed, as is obvious from the fragments of the same kind of stone which lie scattered around.

On the road from Görlitz to Königshayn is situated the once celebrated Holy Sepulchre. Since the original has been declared a production of later times, the copy cannot be particularly interesting. It is no doubt, an exact representation of that which was shewn in Palestine, in the 15th century. The figures, the decorations, in a word, every thing belonging to it is destitute of taste, and bears the impression of the worst style of the middle ages.

The country between Görlitz and Lauban is not so fruitful and pleasing as those parts of Upper Lusatia which lie nearer the Giant Mountains. You alternately meet with fir-woods, sand, and corn-fields, and the population, though considerable, is inferior to that of the more mountainous districts.

There are few tracts in Germany which afford a greater variety of more interesting objects, within the compass of an excursion of six or seven days, than that we have just traversed. Here you find scenery always beautiful and sometimes sublime, an abundant population, opulence, fertility, a highly cultivated country, three or four handsome towns, several charming gen-

tlemen's seats, and an industrious and ingenious race of inhabitants.

The linen manufactures of Lusatia are on the decline, and they have sustained considerable injury from the present war. Great quantities of their commodities were formerly exported to Spain and South America. The general use of cotton-stuffs which have in many instances usurped the place of linens, has not a little contributed to this decay. The cloth-manufactures are another branch of industry which has long been successfully cultivated in Lusatia, and especially at Görlitz. Within the last ten years considerable improvements have been made, particularly in the quality of the articles, both by the increased attention to the breed of sheep and the importation of Spanish rams.

LETTER XIII.

TOUR FROM LAUBAN AMONG THE GIANT-MOUNTAINS OF SILESIA. — GREIFFENBERG. — GREIFFENSTEIN. — HIRSCHBERG. — WARMBRUNN. — M. PRELL'S VITRIOL-WORKS. — THE FALLS OF ZACKEN AND KUCHEL. — THE NEW BAUDE. — THE SNOW-PITS. — THE GREAT WHEEL. — SCHREIBERSHAU. — STONDORF. — SEYDORF. — STEINSEIFEN. — KAHL'S MODEL OF THE GIANT-MOUNTAINS. — BUCHWALD. — SCHMIEDEBERG. — LANDSHUT. — THE CONVENT OF GRISSAU. — ADERSBACH. — WALDENBURG. — FÜRSTENSTEIN. — SCHWEIDNITZ. — THE ZOBTENBERG.

BRESLAU, *3d October.*

FROM Lauban we proceeded to Greiffenberg, (nine miles) through a very interesting country, which continues the same as far as Hirschberg, a distance of nineteen miles, or becomes still more interesting on account of its increased population. On the whole way I saw a great number of large, populous villages; the country was highly cultivated, and I every where perceived traces of industry. For the first stage the road was bad, but it improves as you proceed.

Greiffenberg is a small, but lively and agreeable town, full of bustle and activity. Its inhabitants are principally employed in the manufacture of linen. The castle of Greiffenstein, about two miles to the right of the road leading to Hirschberg, has a grand and romantic situation on a hill, which, though not very high, commands a charming prospect.

Hirschberg has a peculiar situation, such as I have not seen any where else. Being surrounded by a great number of hills, its vicinity presents a variety of prospects which give a distinct character to each particular walk. All the adjacent country is

extremely populous, but the town itself is said not to contain 7000 souls. It is the residence of many wealthy tradesmen, and is considered as the first commercial town in Silesia, after Breslau. It contains among other things, a large sugar-refinery, in which thirty-eight persons are constantly employed.

We left Hirschberg on the 27th, and proceeded to Schreibershau, a village about ten miles distant. Four miles from Hirschberg you come to Warmbrunn, a small place in which the principal residence of Count Schafgotsch is situated.—Almost the whole of this part of the country belongs to this nobleman, whose domains extend half way to Schmiedeberg, and on the other side to Meffersdorf and the Saxon frontiers. Warmbrunn has for some years been celebrated on account of its warm spring which is said to afford great relief in paralytic cases. I was informed that during the summer there were never less than 400 strangers at this place. Its situation and the adjacent country are truly charming. At the extremity of the village of Schreibershau are M. Prell's vitriol-works, which are on many accounts worthy of notice. I am informed that this was the first establishment of the kind in the Prussian dominions, and that it has still but one rival. The annual produce of this manufactory is about 300 tons.

Immediately after our arrival at Schreibershau, we hired a guide to conduct us to the falls of the Zacken and Kuchel. These are two small streams, each of which forms a charming fall, which to persons who have never visited Switzerland must be very interesting; but they cannot be compared to those of that country. The country in which they are situated is uncommonly wild and romantic, as are all the hills and vallies between Schreibershau and the lofty mountains behind that place. The fall of the Kuchel is scarcely 100 feet in height, and according to M. von. Gersdorf that of the Zacken is not much more.

We returned the same night to Schreibershau. At day-break of the 28th we set off, and in a little more than two hours arrived at the new *Baude*, as it is denominated. This is the name given to the houses situated on the loftiest summits of the Giant-mountains, where strangers are received, but where no other refreshment is prepared for them, than bread, butter and milk. The house of which I am speaking must be at least 3500 feet above the level of the sea, and nothing but grass grows at this elevation. In less than an hour we had ascended the summit of the mountain; and crossing the naked rocks called Blue Stones, we arrived at the Snow-Pits. They are thus named because the snow lies in them the greatest part of the year, though we found none at all; but they are more particularly remarkable, because they are composed of nearly perpen-

dicular rocks, from which project detached crags in the form of lofty steeples. On one side they resemble the half of a crater, but yet it is contended that it cannot be an extinguished volcano. We then ascended the Great Wheel as it is called; this is one of the loftiest points of the Giant-mountains, being, according to M. von. Gersdorf, 4661 feet above the level of the sea.

From this point, we returned a part of the way, and then crossed the Bohemian frontiers, to arrive at the source of the Elbe, which here consists of some small rills, that descend from the heights, collect here and there in small ponds, and then precipitate themselves into vast abysses, called the Precipices of the Elbe. From the brink of the first of these, the collected waters fall to the depth of two hundred feet down almost perpendicular rocks, and this is called the Fall of the Elbe. It is very picturesque; but the descent, if you wish to view it from below, is extremely difficult, and requires the assistance of your hands as well as feet. We returned, after an absence of about eight hours, to Schreibershau, and immediately proceeded to Hirschberg.

I cannot omit to take some notice of the interesting village of Schreibershau. Its situation is very picturesque, on the declivity of a hill; the upper part is divided into two smaller places, which however are distinguished by different names. Its inhabitants, like almost all those who subsist by agriculture, are full of activity and ingenuity. The cottages bespeak the poverty of their owners, many of whom are nevertheless very intelligent persons, and exercise arts which you are accustomed to meet with only in towns. The catalogue of all the articles made here would be too long; I shall therefore content myself with mentioning the glass-wares, various kinds of musical and other instruments, and innumerable articles of wood. Many of these mountain-artisans are their own instructors; children learn of the father; and others acquire their talents by observing their neighbour.

We left Hirschberg early on the 29th, and proceeded through Stondorf, and Steinseifen to Schmiedeberg, a distance of about 14 miles. The whole tract lies among the mountains and at the foot of the loftiest of the Giant Mountains. We first came to Stondorf the residence of a Count Reuss; the gardens belonging to this nobleman are very wild, but on that account the more romantic; and from many points command the most delightful views.

An execrable road then conducted us to Seydorf; whence we continued our route to Steinseifen, to gratify our curiosity by inspecting the model of the Giant-Mountains executed by a countryman named Kahl. It is composed only of clay and wood,

and is kept in a wretched wooden shed, in which I could not stand erect. It is a pity that the man employed materials so coarse and impossible to be moved; for the plan is well-executed, and is said to be extremely correct. It represents only a small portion of the Giant-mountains; the Schneekoppe is situated nearly in the middle, and it comprehends several German miles on each side. The artist is dead, but his son inherits his father's ingenuity, and makes all kinds of animals of wood, which are all bought up by a tradesman of the place, who transports them to Frankfurt. The village contains a great number of artificers in iron, whose productions obtain a considerable sale.

Between Steinseifen and Schmiedeberg is situated Buchwald, one of the seats of Count Reden; the grounds belonging to which are very fine. Schmiedeberg is a most agreeable, open town, with a great number of good houses, many of whose inhabitants are very opulent; its total population amounts to about 3500 persons.

Landshut, at which place we arrived on the 30th, cannot sustain a comparison with Hirschberg and Schmiedeberg. It however contains many good houses, and exhibits the appearance of opulence and industry, the characteristics of all the Silesian towns situated among the Giant-Mountains. The number of its inhabitants is about 3000.

Leaving Landshut early on the 1st of October, we proceeded to Grissau, a large Cistercian convent, with a mitred abbot, which is really worthy of notice. A few years since a beginning was made to rebuild it, on a plan of such grandeur as in these times, which are not very favorable to convents, not a little surprised me. The architecture, which in this kind of buildings in Germany is yet rather barbarous, is not destitute of beauty and elegance. The church is loaded with a profusion of ornaments, and calculated for the multitude, on which they never fail to produce an effect. The convent possesses several towns and a great number of villages, so that its revenues are very great.

We then arrived at the small town of Schönberg, about nine miles from Landshut, and in another hour reached Adersbach in Bohemia. Adersbach is a mean village, but it is visited by great numbers of strangers for the purpose of inspecting the remarkable rocks situated in its vicinity. I never met with any thing that can be compared to these rocks; they consist of vast masses which without any preparation rise from the middle of a perfectly level, verdant meadow; and some of which are said to be 200 feet in height. They are so numerous as to form a labyrinth, in which a stranger might easily lose himself. Each appears to exist independently of the rest, and forms an isolated column, commonly perpendicular on every side; and some of

these masses are of greater magnitude than the largest church-steeples. I perceived here no marks of that desolation which generally surround rocks of a similar kind; many of them rise from the verdant turf like artificial columns, whose architect, after completing his work, carefully removed the rubbish produced during their erection.

At Friedland we again entered Silesia, and arrived at Waldenburg, which has recently become a flourishing place, and takes a considerable share in the linen-manufactures of Silesia. I was surprized to find here a great number of large and handsome buildings, and an elegant new church in a good style. The situation of this pretty and cleanly town is extremely agreeable.

We left Waldenburg on the 3d, and proceeded to Schweidnitz. Near the road between those two places is situated the mansion of Fürstenstein, belonging to Count Hoberg. Its exterior has an air of grandeur; and the interior, though not magnificent, is furnished and decorated with elegance and taste. I was particularly pleased with the selection of engravings with which four of the apartments are richly ornamented. One contains nothing but views in Switzerland; another English engravings of English subjects; and a third, views in France and Italy. In a cabinet were hung twelve oil-paintings by Reinhard, all representing scenes among the Giant-Mountains. In all these pictures the points of view are admirably chosen, but the colouring is not good. The situation of Fürstentein is grand, and on one side extremely wild. An ancient castle, as it is called, but which betrays its modern construction, rises from the summit of a steep rock, and, rearing its head above a black forest of fir-trees, appears to great advantage from the house. The proprietor is one of those Silesian nobles, who spend the greatest part of their time on their estates, and who, instead of sinking their importance in capitals, or acting subordinate parts at court, live in a style of grandeur not unlike the English nobility during the summer.

We were now leaving the Giant-Mountains and the country became more level at every step. After passing through the small town of Freyburg we arrived at Schweidnitz, a place celebrated for the sieges it has sustained. This town contains many large and handsome houses, but it has not that cleanliness, cheerfulness, and air of independence, which are the result only of trade and manufactures. It is true that Schweidnitz is not totally without trade, and that all kinds of leather, particularly Cordovan, are manufactured there. Nor is its population inconsiderable; for as far back as 1788, the number of its inhabitants was 8983, of whom 2865 belonged to the garrison.

About four miles beyond Schweidnitz, we passed close at the foot of the Zobtenberg, the last of those grand and sublime

scenes to which I had recently been accustomed. If it be recollected that the country in which this mountain stands is quite level on three sides, and only a little elevated on the other, it must be admitted that the height of 2224 Paris feet above the level of the sea, assigned to it, is immense. Hence the extraordinary effect which this mountain produces on every side: it appears like a huge giant, because there is nothing near it that can sustain any comparison. The country now gradually dwindled into one extensive plain, here and there intersected by little eminences; and such is the nature of the district all round Breslau.

LETTER XIV.

BRESLAU.—GARVE.—GENERAL SURVEY OF THE CITY.—MODEL OF THE GIANT MOUNTAINS.—EXTENT, AND POPULATION OF SILESIA.—PRODUCTIONS.—INHABITANTS.—FRANKENSTEIN.—TOWN AND FORTRESS OF SILBERBERG.—GLATZ.—NACHOD.—JAROMIRZ.—THE FORTRESS OF PLESS OR JOSEPHS-STADT.—KÖNIGINGRATZ.—CHLUMETZ, THE MANSION OF COUNT KINSKY.—KOLIN.

KOLIN, *Oct.* 10, 1798.

WE arrived at Breslau early on the 3d, and one of my first visits was to our friend Garve. The servant, who is probably not accustomed to see strangers in the company of his master, seemed at a loss whether he should announce me or not. I observed his perplexity, and informed him that I was an old acquaintance of his master, to whom I sent in my name. Though tolerably aware what a melancholy scene I had to expect, yet I was nevertheless shocked, when, as the door opened, Garve exclaimed, —"You behold a miserable mortal." He was in bed, which he had not been able to leave for some time. I had not seen him for upwards of twenty years, and you may easily conceive what an alteration I found in him. I called to his remembrance the more agreeable days of former times, of his residence at Leipzig, and the friends whom he still has in that city; and after the first moments, during which he appeared to be greatly agitated, he recovered that cheerfulness and tranquillity of mind which had never deserted him amidst the cruel sufferings with which he has been afflicted. The conversation soon became lively, and I found that he still takes the warmest interest in all that relates to human society, that he keeps pace with his contemporaries, and is well informed on every subject that has yet excited curiosity in the extensive empire of science. My Northern tour interested him much, and he asked a great number of questions, not like one

who impatiently wishes for the hour of his dissolution, but like a vigorous traveller, who is anxious to collect the observations of others, in order to avail himself of them in his own journey. We conversed a considerable time on various subjects, and I left him with inexpressible sorrow. Garve is one of the few whom I denominate philosophers of life; like Socrates, he has called down philosophy from heaven, and by its aid has improved society. Quitting the barren heights of metaphysical subtleties, he applied philosophy to the purposes of social life. I shall never see him again* !

The exterior of Breslau appeared to me as disagreeable as the smaller towns of Silesia were pleasing. It is a dirty, old and dull town, in which even the large and elegant structures are obscured with smoke and dirt. The public squares are spacious, and the streets are tolerably wide, which is absolutely necessary as the houses are three, four and five stories high, exclusive of the ground-floor. The palace of the Hatzfeld family would make a distinguished figure in any of the capitals of Europe, and some of the other buildings are very respectable. Many of the Catholic churches are handsome, but they are crowded with altars, pictures, gold and paltry decorations. The Cathedral which is a large, splendid edifice, contains a great number of monuments, few of which, as productions of art, are worthy of notice. Among the statues and public works in the streets and square, there is little remarkable, excepting the monument erected by the family of Tauenziehn, to the memory of a deceased count of that name, who was governor of Breslau, and commanded during the siege in 1760. In the Chamber of War and Domains, we were shewn a wooden model of the Giant-Mountains, by Kahl, who received for it 600 rix-dollars. The workmanship is far better, and executed with much more taste, than the original which his son shewed us at Steinseifen. By the latest enumeration, Breslau was found to contain about 60,000 inhabitants.

On the morning of the 4th, we left Breslau, and, passing through Domslau and Jordansmühle, arrived at Nimpsch. The country, compared with that we had recently traversed, was by no means interesting, being mostly level, but tolerably well cultivated. We are again approaching more magnificent scenes, and the lofty mountains which separate Glatz from Silesia, already appear in the distance.

Büsching computes the extent of Prussian Silesia and the county of Glatz at 642, but Zöllner, probably from later and better information, fixes it at 685 geographical square miles. Büsching estimates the population in 1755 at 1,162,355, and in

* Garve expired a few weeks afterwards, on the 1st of December, 1798.

1774 at 1,372,754. Zöllner states it from actual enumeration in the year 1791 to have been 1,747,065; and from a subsequent enumeration which I have seen, Silesia in the year 1799 contained 1,884.632 persons, exclusive of the military. This is truly an astonishing increase in the space of 44 years, which moreover include the period of the Seven Years' War.

With respect to the variety of its productions, and the diversity of its scenery, Silesia is a very remarkable country; in the north of Germany there is no province of like extent that is equal to it in this point. Its inhabitants are not less interesting, and are distinguished by their superiority over others under the same latitude. The native of Silesia, at least in those parts which I have visited, appears to me to possess greater vivacity than those of any other country between that Duchy and the North Sea; an imagination which continually impels him, and an activity which tends to the improvement of his social condition. He loves society, and holds in the highest estimation those arts and sciences, whose operation and influence are particularly directed to civil and social life.

We left Nimpsch on the morning of the 6th. Both at that place and at Frankenstein, an insignificant town about nine miles distant from the former, I found large and stately mansions, both of which are in ruins, but they have a fine situation and, notwithstanding the ravages of time, an imposing appearance. I went through that at Frankenstein, which commands a magnificent prospect of the mountains of Glatz, the town of Silberberg, and the fortress of the same name on the brow of a hill above it. This fortress, which is partly hewn out of the rock, and has a communication with the town by means of a covered way, is said to be extremely interesting. From its great elevation, the climate is uncommonly cold and severe.

As we approached the small town of Wartha, the mountains of Glatz presented themselves in all their grandeur. Beyond that place they are piled one upon the other, and continue increasing in magnitude and height till at length, nine miles beyond Glatz, they terminate in vast perpendicular steeps which seem to preclude any farther progress. The scenery around Wartha is romantic and picturesque. The Hermitage near the town is remarkably pretty, and is not, as in many places, a mere ornament, but is actually inhabited. The town itself is insignificant, but appears to derive considerable advantage from the pilgrimages that are made to it. In the church are suspended a vast quantity of votive offerings. The inhabitants of all this district are zealous Catholics, so that I imagined myself to be in Bohemia or Moravia rather than in the dominions of a Protestant sovereign.

Glatz is situated on a mountain, the upper part of which is

occupied by the citadel, so that it stands considerably higher than the town itself. I walked through the streets in all directions, and found them mostly narrow, and, as may be naturally supposed from the scite of the place, constantly going up and down hill. It contains some good houses, among which the edifice formerly belonging to the Jesuits is very extensive. It is now employed by government for various purposes, and some of the most respectable inhabitants in the town have taken a part of it for clubs, assemblies, and balls.

The citadel of Glatz appears to me to be one of the strongest places I ever saw, great additions and improvements having been made within these few years in the fortifications; but what particularly pleased me was the view of the adjacent country, which one of the towers of the fortress commands. The district of Glatz is populous and well cultivated. The town contains about 8000 inhabitants including the garrison; and the population of the whole country is estimated at 75,000 persons.

We left Glatz early on the 8th, and crossed or passed between the mountains, which at a distance appear inaccessible. The whole country is beautiful and interesting. Our journey this day was only 27 miles, so that we arrived in good time at Nachod, the first place in Bohemia, which, together with the lordship, belongs to the Duke of Courland. The castle, formerly the property of the Prince Piccolomini, has a bold situation on a considerable eminence above the town, which is a mean place.

On the 9th we proceeded from Nachod to Jaromirz, and passed the night at Königingrätz. Though this is the great road from Breslau to Prague, I found it upon the whole very much out of repair till we reached Kolin. Jaromirz and Nachod are both Bohemian towns; for you must know that in this country the towns are divided into Bohemian and German, and it is not a little remarkable, that in these places the respective languages are so exclusively spoken, that the inhabitants of one understand not a word of the language of the other.

We had left behind us the lofty heights of the Giant Mountains, and all those to which we came after leaving Nachod were proportionably low, though the road continually goes up and down hill. The country is not so beautiful as before, but gradually assumes the character of the interior of Bohemia. Still, however, it is very agreeable, and the views from the castle of Count Ferdinand Kinsky of Chlumetz, are truly charming.

Near Jaromirz is situated the fortress of Pless, or as it is also called Josephs-stadt, and which can certainly be intended only against a hostile attack on the part of Prussia. It is a new fortress, and was not completed till the year 1791.

Königingrätz, nine miles from Jaromirz, is the capital of the

circle and the only town of any importance that I have seen between Breslau and Prague. It has a spacious handsome market-place with piazzas and many very elegant buildings. The fortifications of this place have been greatly enlarged and improved within the last twenty years. Persons who understand the subject assert that it may be considered as impregnable, not so much on account of its works and forts, as its extensive inundations, the impossibility of draining them off, and the excessive difficulty of working in the soil of that country. I am even informed that unprejudiced engineers declare it to be as strong as Luxemburg; but the town has by these means been rendered unhealthy.

The mansion of Count Kinsky of Chlumetz, is of singular architecture, being composed of a rotunda with four square wings, so that the circular building in the middle forms a large hall, out of which four doors conduct to the four wings, each of which has its respective staircase. The interior is not remarkable, and the family, when at this place, resides in a smaller building situated below the former.

From Chlumetz there is a direct road to Prague, but being, like that we had already travelled, very bad, we resolved to go by the way of Kolin.

LETTER XV.

PRAGUE. — GENERAL OBSERVATIONS. — PALACES. — CHURCHES.—THE CATHEDRAL.—THE TEIN CHURCH. —TYCHO BRAHE.—THE OBSERVATORY.—THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY. — THE PRÆMONSTRATENSIAN CONVENT.— POPULATION OF PRAGUE.— BÖHMISCH-BROT. — DEUTSCH-BROT. — ZNAYM. — VIEW OF THE MOUNTAINS OF STYRIA.—APPROACH TO VIENNA.— THE KAHLENBERG.

VIENNA, *Oct.* 19.

WE arrived on the 11th of October at Prague. This is indeed a fine city, and perhaps next to Berlin and Vienna the handsomest in Germany, for I am inclined, though others may perhaps not be of my opinion, to give it the preference to Dresden. You must not, it is true, criticise the large edifices of Prague by the rigid rules of architecture; but their general appearance has an air of grandeur, which, though in some instances derived entirely from their magnitude, yet produces an impression that causes you to forget their individual defects. The private houses, which may with equal propriety be denominated palaces, that I have this time surveyed with particular

attention, are those of the Princes of Lichtenstein, Lobkowitz, Kinsky, Mansfeld, and Kaunitz; Counts Czernin, Martinitz, Klamm, Kolowrat, Nostiz, Waldstein, and several others whose names I do not recollect; the residences of General Thun and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the archiepiscopal palace, and some of the offices of government. The lofty situation, the ancient Florentine style, and the rustic grandeur, combine to give the palace of the Prince of Schwarzenberg a striking appearance, which reminds me of the fifteenth and sixteenth century in Italy. The Archduke Charles, whose regular residence is at Prague, does not live in the imperial palace, but has two large houses, bequeathed him by his aunt, the Duchess of Saxe-Teschen, and which are now so connected as to form but one habitation.

Our lacquey is a great admirer of churches; and as it was of little consequence how long we remained at Prague, we followed him into all those into which he chose to conduct us. I have seen from twelve to fifteen, most of which are beautiful in their way; and in this respect I consider Prague as the first city in Germany, as I prefer it even to Vienna. Externally, they do not appear to advantage; but the interior of many exhibits a grand and elegant style. The Cathedral is particularly deserving of notice. It is a fine Gothic building, and would be a magnificent monument if the whole were entire. In the Tein Church I saw the monument of Tycho Brahe, which is nothing more than the figure of a knight of rude sculpture on a tomb-stone. There are many monuments in the same church and in various others, that deserve a minute examination, and some of them contain good pictures. In Prague, upon the whole, there is much to interest the lover of the arts.

Among the public edifices, those which belonged to the Jesuits are worthy of particular attention. They are distinguished by a style of grandeur which I have observed in almost all the structures that belonged to that order. Their three colleges in Prague, would, if contiguous, almost form a small town; that in the old town alone comprising seven spacious courts. Joseph II. founded in it a seminary for 600 young divines with their teachers, servants, &c. Here, likewise, is the Observatory, the great library, and the cabinet of natural productions. The Observatory does not stand in a good situation and has a limited horizon. I saw not many instruments of value or importance. The library occupies a considerable part of the former college, and is one of the most copious and valuable in Europe. I was assured that according to a correct list it contains 130,000 volumes, and that 3000 gulden are annually expended in increasing it. Here I saw a great number of the latest publications of all countries and all religions. I was likewise astonished at the

numerous expensive works with plates; I found not only the most important and celebrated works in archæology, natural history, anatomy, &c. but also those, for which the last ten years have been particularly distinguished, namely, the different picturesque travels, views in India, and the splendid works published in England. A great portion of this library is composed of what was formerly the Kinsky collection. That part which is called the national library, containing about 7000 Bohemian books and tracts, is perfectly unique in its kind. We concluded our amusement with a book of sorcery, taken some years since from a man who was put into prison; and the magistrates, after mature consideration and expressing the utmost abhorrence, sentenced the book to be burned. Some person who possessed more good sense, (I believe the then librarian) conceiving that a book of this description tended to display the spirit of the times, contrived that the affair should be referred to Vienna, whither the book was likewise sent. It afforded Joseph II. much diversion: he kept it for some time, occasionally shewed it in company, and afterwards presented it to the library at Prague. It is a large quarto volume: executed with inconceivable labour. Every thing is circumstantially described in the German language, and the phantoms are drawn and coloured. The letters are almost all Roman, very well written, and the Hebrew ones are particularly beautiful. I looked into it here and there, and found the language rude, ungrammatical, and even barbarous.—The man to whom it belonged was suffered to escape.

The Præmonstratensian convent is on many accounts worth seeing. Its church decorated with beautiful paintings and the most celebrated organ in Bohemia, its considerable cabinet of coins, and its library composed of 50,000 volumes, which are kept in splendid book-cases, in an elegant hall, besides other circumstances, combine to render it the most remarkable convent in Prague, and perhaps in the whole empire. However unworthy of attention the book-cases of a library may in general be, yet these are distinguished in a particular manner for their luxury, and are said to have cost 80,000 florins. They were made for the convent of Bruck, but after its suppression were removed to this place.

In the house of the recently deceased Count Hartiz, I surveyed a select collection in all the departments of natural history and various instruments, particularly for electricity. The Count was the imperial ambassador at the court of Dresden, at the time of the celebrated congress of Pillnitz, and is said to have had a considerable share in the transactions of that period.

The population of this city, the general air of opulence which prevails, the liveliness resulting from both, together with the

gaiety of the inhabitants, render Prague an agreeable place to a stranger for a few days; but for a longer residence, Vienna is certainly to be preferred. In the year 1798 it contained 71,500 inhabitants, including 9000 Jews; but the place was then without garrison, which has since amounted to 8000 men, so that the total population may be computed at about 80,000 persons.

We left Prague on the 14th, and in less than four hours arrived at Böhmisch-Brot, 23 miles, where we passed the night. On the 15th, we went 57 miles to Deutsch-Brot, where we found miserable accommodations. We then proceeded to Iglau, a handsome town in Moravia, and thence to Znaym. On leaving the latter place, the views of the distant country continually become more interesting, and at length grand and magnificent. As often as you come to an eminence you behold a range of mountains whose remote distance and indeterminate extent, announce a chain too lofty to exist in the country in which you imagine you see it. These are the high mountains which form the boundaries of Austria and Styria, and which the traveller has in sight almost all the way to Vienna; but they appear to the best advantage about fifty or sixty miles before he reaches that metropolis.

As you approach Vienna, the mountains near the Danube conceal those in the distance. About nine miles from that city you enter a charming country; here one eminence, in which I recognized the Kahlenberg, is particularly distinguished. No traveller who goes to Vienna, omits seeing it; but I am far from thinking that it deserves the pompous panegyrics bestowed on it by some of my predecessors. On the north side, of which I now had a view, it appears to infinitely greater advantage.

LETTER XVI.

VIENNA.— DORNBACH.— BELVIDERE.— SCHÖNBRUNN.— THE UNIVERSITY.—THE INSTITUTION CALLED THE THERESIANUM.—THE SCHOOL OF SURGERY.—THE INSTITUTION FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB.

VIENNA, *November*, 1798.

STRANGERS who arrive at Vienna in autumn, and intend to pass the winter in that metropolis, should, during the first days, forget the city, and employ every moment of favourable weather in seeing the adjacent country, and the principal country-seats in its vicinity. Winter strips them of their charms; and nature here does not recover her perfect beauty till rather late in the spring. We have accordingly spent most of the time, since our arrival

here, in visiting places which I formerly saw at a more agreeable season of the year.

I have been, among other places, at Dornbach, the residence of Field-Marshal Lascy. The house is in one of the happiest situations I ever met with; and has this peculiarity, that the view, on one side, is as limited, wild, and romantic, as it is open, grand, and rich, on the other; where between wood-covered mountains the eye sees far beyond Vienna, and, pursuing the course of the Danube, discovers in the distance the city of Presburg. The house itself commands a most magnificent view of Vienna, which appears in a valley between two mountains, of which one is entirely clothed with wood, and the other is principally composed of naked rocks. As these mountains intercept the view, so that, in the back ground, the eye discovers nothing but the city: it is not diverted by any other object; and Vienna forms a spectacle truly magnificent and picturesque.

Another charming view of the city is that from the palace of Belvedere, once the summer residence of Prince Eugene, but now containing the imperial collections of paintings. The latter commonly occupy so much of the visitor's attention, as to prevent his enjoying the rich, sublime, and extremely beautiful views which this edifice commands. From its elevated situation, its terraces, and the excellent order in which the walks are kept, they are always dry, and the place besides possesses the advantage of a pure air.

At Schönbrunn, the Emperor's principal summer-residence, about four miles from the city, I admired the fine collection of foreign plants, and particularly their large size. Instead of rearing them from seed, Joseph II. procured the trees and plants themselves, which makes a great difference in their growth; and I must acknowledge, that I have no where seen any thing of the kind that can be compared to it. In the palace we found the same simplicity that prevails in all that belongs to the reigning family of the house of Austria. It contains many noble and elegant apartments, but yet they do not bespeak the chief summer-residence of the Emperor of Germany.

I shall now proceed to my observations on different objects in the city; which we had time to inspect before the commencement of winter.

The building commonly called the University, is one of the most distinguished in Vienna, and was erected during the reign of Francis I. It would be a great embellishment to the city, if it stood in a part where it could be seen to better advantage. It contains the observatory, several lecture-rooms, and a large hall, that is employed for public meetings. The latter is very spacious; it occupies two stories, and is ornamented with a painted

ceiling, and a number of statues. The library belonging to the University is said to be pretty considerable; but it is not much frequented, because that of the Emperor, which is constantly open to the public, is not only much more copious and complete, but is much more convenient for use. The extensive collection of objects in natural history is not comprehended in the great building of the University, but is placed in another, not far distant, that formerly belonged to the Jesuits. It is well arranged, and has sufficient room, which is a great advantage to collections of this kind. In the year 1796 the University of Vienna made thirty-two doctors of physic, twenty-six of laws, five of philosophy, and not one of divinity.

The Theresianum is an academical institution; which in splendour and magnitude exceeds every thing of the kind that I am acquainted with. It was originally a summer-palace and garden of Charles VI. who died there. His daughter converted it into a seminary for the children of the nobility; it was suppressed by Joseph II. and re-established two years ago by the present Emperor. Many travellers have already found fault with the nature and plan of this institution, and have regarded the Theresianum as a seminary of aristocracy; and by many enlightened and patriotic inhabitants of Vienna, it is viewed in the same light. The pupils are here separated, from infancy, from the rest of the world, that they may receive an education which, at every step, announces to them that they are beings of a higher order. On viewing the interior of the institution, the spectator is astonished at the elegant and extensive apartments of the abbot or prelate, who has the inspection of the whole; the vast and splendid halls in which the pupils dine, play at billiards, receive company, and occasionally give balls; the stables, which contain forty-six horses, and room for a greater number; the large riding-school, the spacious garden, the copious library, and the magnificent lecture-rooms. These young gentlemen daily have six dishes for dinner. Many of them will, probably, in the course of their future lives, be obliged to put up with less, and will here lay the foundation of discontent with their circumstances and situations, that will embitter the remainder of their days. Many a future officer will here make a bad preparation for the want and the hardships which are so often inseparable from a military life. The principal object of this institution is, to afford, gratuitously, board, lodging, and instruction, to the children of poverty; but no provision is made for their clothing, and various other articles, which their friends are obliged to find. It is not, however, exclusively intended for the poor, but likewise for a respectable public academical institution for the rich, who, consequently, are expected to pay for those advantages which the others enjoy free of expence. The

total number of pupils is at present 192; but that of the persons belonging to the institution amounts to 400; so that there are 208 persons to educate, instruct, and attend 192 children. The latter are admitted at the age of six, or even five years, and they remain till they have finished their studies, that is, till their 18th or 19th year, according to their respective capacities and progress. The Theresianum is not a military institution, each youth being there educated for the situation for which he is intended. The pupils in general are never left by themselves, they are at all times obliged to conduct themselves like gentlemen, and are never suffered to indulge, free from restraint, in those childish sports and innocent diversions which constitute the delight of boyhood. In all the corridors, I observed attendants, and they appear to be watched in the strictest manner. This indeed is a method of preventing the extravagancies which boys in the English schools sometimes commit: but it is the liberty they enjoy that gives the latter that independence and firmness of character, which distinguish the English nation, and which it is impossible that persons educated in this place should possess.

The school of surgery is the first institution of the kind that I am acquainted with in Europe; and the edifice belonging to it is one of the handsomest buildings in Vienna.

The same attention continues to be paid to the maintenance of the institution for the deaf and dumb. I once saw that at Paris, during the life-time of the Abbé de l'Epée, and I know not whether, upon the whole, they may not have made greater progress in certain points at Vienna. They take more pains here to teach the pupils to speak. Their pronunciation has something extremely disgusting to the ear. They certainly acquit themselves better than those I heard speak at Paris; but even those who are most perfect, are not always intelligible to me, and excite the most disagreeable sensations. Tone is to them exactly what colour is to the blind; they have no idea of it; none of them has in his pronunciation what is called modulation, and the last word of a period has the same tone as the first. He learns to pause for a longer or a shorter time, at the different stops, but not to distinguish them by the inflection of his tone, or by raising or lowering his voice. The pupils are taught reading, writing, accounts, drawing, &c. and I am likewise informed, that most of them learn to speak as much as is necessary to make themselves understood in the manufactories and workshops in which they are afterwards employed. In the manufacture of porcelain, in particular, they are very useful.—The charges of the institution are defrayed by the Emperor.

LETTER XIX.

POPULATION OF VIENNA.—STATISTICAL FACTS RELATIVE TO THE AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS.—CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS AT VIENNA.—INSTITUTION FOR THE PREVENTION OF FIRES.—ANECDOTE OF JOSEPH II.—MARIA THERESA.—REFORMS OF JOSEPH II.—BARON VON QUARIN.—LEOPOLD II.—THE PRESENT EMPEROR AND EMPRESS.

VIENNA, *December* 1798.

NOTHING has hitherto been more uncertain than the population of Vienna, according to the statements of different authors. If you ask the question of a native of the city, he generally mentions the round number of 300,000. Most statements, however, agree in representing it to be about 270,000; though some writers maintain, and endeavour to prove, that the city cannot contain much more than 200,000 persons. From different data which I have myself collected, I know that the number must be much greater. In order to obtain some decisive information on the subject, I endeavoured to procure the results of the actual enumerations made by government for a considerable number of years. These I received from a person of consequence; and I find that in the year 1794 Vienna contained 221,775 natives, and 11,090 foreigners; making a total of 232,865 persons. Notwithstanding all my exertions, I was unable to procure the amount of the subsequent years; but the latest Picture of Vienna states the number in 1795 to be 231,105. The above calculations do not include the garrison, the number of which is extremely variable. In my preceding visit, in the summer of 1794, it did not amount to 1000 men; in time of peace its number is commonly estimated at 10,000; but if the large number of 30,000 be assigned for the wives, children, servants, &c. of all the persons composing it, the total population for the year 1795 will be 261,105. By the enumeration of 1796 the number of houses in the city was found to be 1397, and in the suburbs 5102; making together 6,499. The mortality in Vienna exceeds that of any other place in Europe, that I am acquainted with. It is commonly reckoned that one out of twenty dies annually; but I have reason to think that the proportion of deaths is still greater.

The following data concerning the Austrian dominions in general, I obtained from different statesmen and persons connected with the government. The present population of the whole mo-

narchy, including the newly-acquired provinces, is estimated at twenty-three millions. The loss and gain of territory sustained during the war has not much diminished the number of its subjects, and those who admit a loss, calculate it, at the highest, at 600,000 persons. The Venetian States added 1,800,000; and Dalmatia 200,000 souls.

The number of inhabitants in Gallicia is augmented by upwards of half a million since its subjection to the Austrian sceptre. In 1776 that country contained 2,580,796 souls; in 1780 their number was 2,797,119; and it is now said to exceed 3,200,000. Notwithstanding this increase, Austria has, during that period, been engaged in three wars, two of which have been very destructive; and towards which Gallicia, like the other provinces, was obliged to furnish its quota.

I shall not enter into a description of the many large and elegant buildings in Vienna, devoted to the reception and treatment of the poor, the sick, lying-in-women, foundlings, lunatics, &c. The following particulars, extracted from the latest Picture of this metropolis, will serve to give some idea of the extent of those institutions.—In December, 1795, the General Infirmary contained 1130 patients. In the course of the year following, 11,860 persons were admitted, and out of these 12,990 patients, 1910 died.—Leopold II. divided the suburbs into eight circuits; in each of which he appointed a physician, surgeon, and midwife, with salaries, to relieve those who are unable to pay for medical assistance. In 1795 this institution relieved 19,820 patients, of whom 464 died, and 623 were removed to the General Infirmary. In 1796 a similar regulation was introduced into the city itself.—In December 1795, there remained in the Lying-in and Foundling Hospital 95 women; and in the following year 1904 were admitted. Of these united numbers 111 died; consequently, 1 in 18, which is not much more than the ordinary proportion of the mortality for all Vienna. In December, 1795, eighteen children remained in this institution; and 1849 were born there in 1796. In the Lunatic Hospital, there remained, in December, 1795, 261 lunatics; of whom 156 were men, and 105 women. In the following year 190 persons were admitted, and 122 dismissed. Besides the above, there are three other hospitals, and one for Jews, exclusive of the extensive military hospital for the soldiers. The Jewish Hospital was erected in 1793; it is indisputably the most cleanly, and that in which the patients receive the best attendance.

The institutions for the prevention of fires are an honour to the police of this city. Instances illustrative of the effects of any institution on the public opinion are frequently more satisfactory than the most circumstantial descriptions. Being once in

a house in the Carinthian-street, which is very narrow, a great noise was suddenly raised in the street, about seven in the evening. "What's the matter?" exclaimed the strangers who were in the company. "Only a fire," replied the natives, with the utmost composure. We were soon informed that it was in the fourth house from us; but there was not an individual in the family but manifested the same indifference as if it had been several miles off. I likewise learned, that there exists not an instance of a house having been burned down in the city; and that even if a fire breaks out in an upper story, the inhabitants never think of removing the effects from those below it. In cases of fire, whether in the city or suburbs, the present Emperor, like his uncle Joseph, always repairs to the spot, and for this purpose a horse is kept ready-saddled both night and day.

On the above occasion, a general in the imperial service related the following anecdote of Joseph's courage, or, as some may call it, temerity. During a great fire at Semlin, that prince was present, and was directing the operations for extinguishing it. A stranger came and informed an officer, who now holds the rank of general, that the next house to that in which the fire raged with the greatest violence, and opposite to which Joseph had placed himself, was the dwelling of an Armenian merchant, who dealt largely in smuggled gun-powder, and that at the moment he had in his house fifty-two casks of that combustible. The officer instantly acquainted the emperor with this intelligence, and solicited his majesty to retire. Joseph, with great composure, enquired from whom he had received the information; and upon the confirmation of the report, he ordered the affair to be investigated, without stirring from the spot during the whole time. The officer, instead of fifty-two casks, found five tons of powder; the Emperor gave directions for their removal, and was, with difficulty, prevailed upon to quit the spot.

If any prince has proved what powerful effects may be produced by a sovereign on his subjects, and particularly the inhabitants of the metropolis, it is Joseph II. Many of his reforms were of such a nature, that their effects could not be perceived till after his death. He gave the public mind a bias, in which it continued long after his decease; and probably that prince would himself be filled with astonishment at many things, could he again revisit Vienna.

During the last years of the life of the empress Maria Theresa, many wise ordinances, and many wholesome alterations were made. Respecting the government of that princess, very erroneous ideas prevail in the North of Germany; and her rigid principles in matters of religion have been severely censured. This cause may probably have retarded the progress of information

among the people ; but those are grossly mistaken who consider her as a woman who suffered herself to be ruled by monks and priests. She well knew how to maintain her authority over these classes of men, notwithstanding the reverence she paid them ; and some one has very justly described her conduct, by saying, " that she kissed the feet of the priests, in order to tie their hands." Much, however, yet remained to be done, that could not be expected of a person already advanced in years. The customs and prejudices of early life impose upon us a thousand shackles, which our youthful successors sometimes suddenly shake off. She was, besides, well aware that her subjects were not ripe for many innovations, and this point her successor frequently overlooked.

Joseph advanced with rapid strides in his reformation of religion. To many things the people must become accustomed by degrees ; otherwise it only irritates and drives them into open opposition. Such was the case with his ordinance, relative to burials, which was calculated for frigid philosophers, but not for the multitude. The prohibition of interment in coffins occasioned so many disturbances, that in 1785 he was obliged to repeal it. A remarkable letter of his on this subject is preserved, in which he says, " that he adopted this measure from the best motives, in order to restrain the extravagant luxury frequently displayed at funerals ; to render the expence of interment less oppressive to the poor ; and to provide a partial remedy for the scarcity and dearness of wood, particularly at Vienna. But as it had given his subjects offence, and they manifested greater discontent with that edict than any others he had issued, he would repeal it." On the same principle he, doubtless, tolerated many religious customs and institutions, which to a Protestant, who has never lived among Catholics, must appear very striking.

Joseph likewise introduced many improvements and alterations of a civil nature, from which Vienna still derives great advantage. The general embellishment of the town, that excellent institution, the school of surgery, the newly-erected hospitals for the poor and the sick, together with the improvements made in those already established, and many other things of a similar nature, still remain as monuments of his political ability.

During his last illness, Joseph, having been a considerable time under the hands of his physicians, who had always given him hopes of his recovery, sent for Baron von Quarin. This celebrated physician is reported to be infallible in his decisions on life and death ; at least it is pretended, that no person can recollect an instance in which he was ever mistaken in his opinions on this subject. " A private person," said the Monarch on his arrival, " may be ready to die at any time ; but for an

emperor some preparation is neeessary. I expeet you to aequaint me with your opinion of my situation." Quarin, after a long and thorough examination, told him, without reserve, that he eould not possibly reeover. Joseph thanked him for his candour; and asked him how long he thought he might still live. The physieian replied, that persons in his situation might be snateh'd away between one day and another, but that he could scareely survive a fortnight at the utmost. The emperor shook hands with him, and, after repeating his thanks, he dismissed him. When he afterwards felt his dissolution approaeh'ing, he sent the physieian a patent, by whieh he was created a Baron, and a present of 10,000 gulden (upwards of 1000*l.*) together with a note in his own hand-writing, expressive of his gratitude for the sincerity and eandour with whieh he had treated him. The monareh then awaited his death with that fortitude and eomposure by which his mother and his grandfather Charles VI. had been distinguished.

Previous to his disease, he went through all the eeremonies of the eatholic religion, and reeeived extreme unction. I enquired whether he had done this merely for the sake of example and deeorum, or out of internal eonvietion; and his physieian confirmed what I had frequently heard before, namely, that Joseph II. was a Catholie Christian, and not a Deist. Baron Quarin denies that the emperor had exhausted his constitution by exeesses, as was at first reported; and asserts, that a fall from his horse was the eause that principally contributed to his death.

Of the deeisive tone in which Baron von Quarin speaks, in certain eases, I myself witnessed sometime since a striking instance, during the illness of the young arehduehess, lately deceased. Being sent for, he went to see her, and immediately deelared that he had been called too late. In the mean time the other physieians eontinued to attend her; and as frequent enquiries were made in eompany eoneerning her health, a report was propagated that she was better. Nevertheless, Quarin, wherever he went, said, without reserve, "She must die." As I was frequently in his company, I was not a little struck with his repeated expression of "She must die." About ten days after he had pronouneed this opinion, she expired.

Joseph died in 1790, and left many designs unfinished. Mueh that he had done was merely by way of experiment, and eould only be completed and brought to maturity by a man like himself.

Leopold was totally incapable of overlooking the vast extent of the Austrian monarehy. He eame with a little mind from the government of a little eountry; and with feeble hand annulled the projeets and regulations of his predecessor, whose spirit he was unable to eomprehend. He was an exeellent Grand Duke

of Tuscany; and that country is indebted to him for many things, by which it is distinguished from the other Italian States. In the wide-extended rule of the Austrian monarchy, on whose throne fate had placed him at the most unfavourable period, he soon lost all the celebrity he had before acquired. It was he, however, who granted to the Hungarians the celebrated edict relative to religion, which even goes farther than that of his predecessor, and removes all the distinctions which existed in Hungary on account of the difference of religious opinions. It was a great idea, and worthy of a citizen of the world; but perhaps this edict is one of the measures of Leopold's administration, with which the present government is not perfectly satisfied.

The reigning monarch treads, on the whole, in Joseph's footsteps, whom he appears in various respects to have taken for his model. He was, in some measure, the pupil of Joseph; and was more intimately acquainted with his principles and projects than his father Leopold. But since his accession to the government, the times have greatly altered, and the spirit of the cabinet of Vienna has been obliged to change with them.

I have already mentioned the simplicity that prevails in every thing belonging to the reigning family of Austria. It was first introduced by Joseph II. who carried it to that degree in which it is retained by the present emperor. Francis II. is not of opinion that the imperial dignity consists in being surrounded with chamberlains, life-guards, and attendants. He scarcely ever appears in public but alone with the empress. I was once standing on the rampart, reading an inscription on a house, when a man in a gray surtout passed by with a female very simply dressed. I did not observe them, when my companion, a foreigner, asked: "Who can they be? Every person that meets them takes off his hat." I followed them, and found that it was the emperor and empress. It is impossible to return the salutations he receives with greater politeness; and as every one who knows him takes off his hat, I have seen him proceed more than ten paces together on the rampart bare-headed. When he goes to the theatre in the city, no notice whatever is taken of him; but he lately appeared at one of the smaller theatres in the suburbs, and the audience clapped. I looked round; all remained seated, and the clapping continued. At length I observed a man, very simply dressed, and a female, who were making low bows. Some of the audience conceiving that the clapping lasted too long, because it hindered the performance, hissed, and the house was soon quiet. One party intended no offence, and the other was not obstinate. "What a difference," said I to my neighbour, "between Vienna and London!" There this opposition would excite such a ferment in the house, that tranquillity would not be

restored perhaps for a quarter of an hour. The clappers would continue with the greater violence, because they were desired to be silent, and the hissing would become louder in the same proportion. The galleries would resound with the cries of *Throw him over, throw him over!* the hissing would be considered as an affront to the Royal Family; orange-peel would fly about in all directions; and a roar of *Silence!* would thunder amid the cry of *Throw him over!*

The princes of the house of Austria have been in general cherished by their people, and the present sovereign is beloved by them in a very high degree. His extreme simplicity, his affable demeanour, his unostentatious appearance on ordinary occasions, the confidence with which he walks, unattended, among his people, the facility with which every one can obtain access to his person, his benevolence in admitting his subjects to a participation in all his gardens, and even in his palaces, his excellent moral character and conjugal virtues, his decided aversion to capital punishments*, his great frugality in all that relates to himself and his household, are qualities which cannot fail to produce an effect on a people possessing such a high degree of good-nature as the Austrians. He is extremely beloved; and his enemies are those of his people. The enmity of the inhabitants of Vienna to the French, and even to the Prussians, is very great.

LETTER XX.

CHARACTER OF THE INHABITANTS OF VIENNA.—OF THE FAIR SEX.—LUXURY OF VIENNA.—HOUSES OF THE NOBILITY.—LUXURY OF THE TABLE.—COMPARISON WITH OTHER PLACES.—THE INHABITANTS OF VIENNA NOT ADDICTED TO DRINKING.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF WHOLE NATIONS.

VIENNA, *April* 1799.

SINCERITY, gaiety, and good-humour, mingled with a certain degree of narrow prejudice and rudeness, appear to me to be the characteristics of the inhabitants of Vienna. The love of pleasure and the enjoyments of sense seem to be greater among the middle and lower classes than in any other place; and they are equally distinguished for their attachment to the reigning family, and their ready submission to the measures of the government.

* I am informed, that not a single criminal has been executed during his reign. It is not by any means my intention to vindicate this disinclination to capital punishments, as a principle, but I merely mention it as an historical fact.

The females of the middling ranks are, in my opinion, much more agreeable company than the men; their manners are more easy, and their address more engaging. In society they have more of what is called conversation than their husbands and brothers. They are lively, agreeable, unaffected, and entertaining. Besides French, which is spoken by almost all women of education, many understand English, and some speak that language with great accuracy. Among the men it is likewise cultivated; and some families of rank possess considerable libraries of English books. The large, handsome shop of Degen, the bookseller, proves that English works are in great request.

Music is likewise much cultivated by both sexes; and there are female performers, both vocal and instrumental, who, if they were of the profession, would be placed in the highest rank. It may, I think, with justice be asserted, that the females of Vienna are not exceeded in beauty by any in Europe. Their features are perhaps less expressive, but most of them have a fair and fresh complexion, a handsome bosom, and a good figure. Some, even of the younger part, have the same fault as the females of Hamburgh, but in a less degree; I mean, that they are too corpulent.

The luxury of Vienna is very great, when compared with that of some other European capitals. It is not equal indeed to the luxury of London, but far exceeds that of Rome or Naples, Berlin, Copenhagen, Stockholm, &c. The number of families that spend annually 100,000 gulden* and upwards, is very considerable. There are many whose income amounts to 200,000 and upwards; till you at length come to the Princes of Schwarzenberg, Esterhazy, and Lichtenstein. The yearly revenues of the latter are stated by many to be 900,000 gulden, and by some they are rated still higher. From 100,000 downwards you find an uninterrupted progression; and even in the lowest classes there are few individuals whose circumstances are completely wretched. It is, indeed, a peculiar characteristic of this city, that with all its wealth, luxury, and magnificence, you meet with none of that disgraceful penury which is displayed in such odious forms at London and Paris, and still more at Rome, Genoa, and Venice. At Vienna the luxury of the great, the opulence of the second class, and the easy circumstances of the middling ranks, enable the lowest orders to obtain a tolerable subsistence.

Every country has its peculiar kind of luxury and ways of expending money. The Englishman lives in the country in all the splendour of an independent prince, and spends vast sums in horses, dogs, and every thing connected with the sports of the

* A gulden is about two shillings sterling.

chace and the turf; while his establishment in town is comparatively very small. On the contrary, the most distinguished families at Vienna maintain very expensive houses and establishments in the metropolis; and many a nobleman possesses mansions both at Prague and Vienna, which in London would be sufficient for half a dozen dukes.

One of the greatest articles of luxury at Vienna is indisputably the table; and it is the more important as it extends to the lower orders of the people. Without attempting to deny that the inhabitants of Vienna go to a great expence in this particular, I am convinced that the matter has been unreasonably exaggerated, that great injustice has been done them by those who have stigmatized them with the character of epicures and gluttons. I really think that at Vienna the higher classes are not greater eaters than persons of the same rank in other towns.—In England and Ireland, and here and there in Germany, I have sat from two to three hours at dinner; at Vienna, never more than an hour and a half, and seldom so long. The usual time of dinner in the great houses is about half past three, or a quarter of an hour later, and the company generally rise from table before five.—The wine is not placed on the table during dinner: in some of the first houses I found only Austrian and Hungarian, and very few foreign, wines.

I however believe that a proportionably greater quantity of animal food is consumed at Vienna than in London. "Then, you will exclaim, the matter is clear enough. What immoderate appetites must the inhabitants of Vienna have to devour more animal food than the English, who are universally reckoned to consume a greater quantity than any other nation in the world!"—The conclusion is by no means just, however appearances may be on your side. If 250,000 Viennese consume more animal food than 250,000 Londoners, it does not follow that any one of the former eats a greater, or even so great a quantity as many of the latter. A single view of the wretchedness which appears in London by the side of the greatest opulence, will explain the matter at once. At Vienna there is little of this indigence; and as I have already observed, I know no capital where there is less. The number of inhabitants of Vienna, who have not at least one meal of animal food in a day, is very small indeed; but in London there are thousands who frequently can neither purchase butcher's meat nor any thing else. If, therefore, more animal food is consumed at Vienna than by the same number of persons in London, it is not because the inhabitants of the former metropolis are individually greater eaters, but because in the latter there are many, very many who eat none at all.

Whatever may be the proportion in eating between the in-

habitants of Vienna and other places, so much is certain, that they do not drink in the same degree that they eat. This observation likewise applies to the lower classes. In an opulent place, where wine may be had for less than twelve kreuzers (about 5d.) a bottle, it might be supposed that the common people would be frequently intoxicated, as in Switzerland, Alsace, and in other wine-countries; but I can assure you, that a drunken man is a rare phenomenon at Vienna.

Permit me to close my observations on Vienna with a few words on the character of whole nations, as it is commonly delineated in other countries. The observations I have made in the countries themselves, through which I have travelled, as well as on individuals from countries I never visited, in general belie the characters of those nations commonly ascribed to them in books and in conversation. Thus, for example, in the Spaniards with whom I have been acquainted, I never could find the gravity and stiffness by which that nation is generally supposed to be distinguished. In the Frenchman, I have seldom discovered that winning amiableness of disposition, and the high degree of politeness and delicacy inseparable from it, which are so universally ascribed to him. I never observed that in his own country the Englishman was that melancholy, reserved, and gloomy being, for which he is proverbial. The German is by no means the drunkard, or the clownish, uncivilized brute, that in many countries he is still described to be. In the same manner I have found many things at Vienna very different from the opinion commonly entertained of them in other parts. Am I to suppose that all the individuals with whom I was acquainted, were exceptions, and that the observations of so many years are false? or may it not rather be asserted, that the characters of whole nations, as delineated in early works, from which probably they have got into every one's mouth, are incorrect? It is much easier to collect ideas of men and things from books than from real life; and it is inconceivable how ideas once adopted continue to be propagated for successive ages.

LETTER XXI.

WIENERISCH NEUSTADT.---THE MURZTHAL.--POPULATION OF STYRIA, CARINTHIA, AND CARNIOLA.—GRÄTZ.—LEOBEN.—GARDEN IN WHICH THE PEACE BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND FRANCE WAS CONCLUDED.—ATROCITIES OF THE FRENCH.—INHABITANTS OF STYRIA—KLAGENFURT.—OF WENS AND IDIOTS.

KLAGENFURT, *May* 2.

THE road from Vienna to Bruck at first traverses an extensive and well-cultivated plain, to the right of which the travel-

ler constantly has in sight the mountains, which commence a short distance from Vienna, and at length join the lofty ranges that divide Austria and Styria. They form a striking contrast with the charming, fertile plain; and are embellished by a great number of villages, situated at their foot.

Wienerisch Neustadt, about twenty-eight miles from Vienna, is a very pretty small place, containing about five thousand inhabitants. I know of no provincial town in Germany whose exterior promises so much. Its general cleanliness, a great number of handsome houses, a large market-place, a spacious castle, and various other objects, excite the attention of the traveller.

At Murzzuschlag commences the celebrated valley known by the name of the Murzthal, which is nearly thirty miles in length. It has its name from the river Mur, by which it is traversed, and is celebrated for its beauty, and the opulence of the inhabitants. For my part, I cannot see why this valley should be preferred to many others that I observed between Bruck and Grätz. The whole valley, or rather all the vallies between those two places, a distance of about thirty-two miles, appeared to me to equal, if not to exceed it, in beauty. The whole tract from Wienerisch Neustadt is a charming country; and considering its length, I know of none in Europe that can bear a comparison with it.

In some Statistical Tables the population of Grätz is stated at forty thousand souls; but this number is evidently exaggerated. I was informed on the spot that it contained from thirty-two to 35,000 inhabitants; and even this number, at least the last, appears to me to be too high. An annual enumeration takes place, but the results are never suffered to be generally known. It is still more difficult to procure statements of the population of whole provinces. I, however, procured one of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, according to the enumeration of the year 1793.

		Inhabitants.	Total.
Styria	Circle of Grätz	296,424	829,229
	——— Judenburg	98,545	
	——— Prug, or Bruck	73,156	
	——— Marburg	186,099	
	——— Zilly	175,605	
Carinthia	——— Clagenfurt	177,477	297,383
	——— Villach	119,907	
Carniola	——— Leibach	147,247	419,411
	——— Neustädtl	155,222	
	——— Adelsberg	117,942	
			1,546,024.

The ancient and original town of Grätz, which is enclosed by walls, ditches, and some fortified works, is very small; but the suburbs are large, and are still increasing. They lie scattered around, resembling distant villages, being intermingled with gardens and vineyards. Not far from the town are actually situated some handsome villages, and the intermediate space is occupied by country-houses, large and small farm-houses, and detached cottages, so that the whole forms a highly pleasing and animated scene, and not only occupies a plain of about eighteen square miles, but likewise incroaches upon the neighbouring hills. The latter are of moderate height, and are all partly covered with wood, and partly occupied by fields, vineyards, and meadows, up to their very summits. The citadel, which affords the best view of this charming prospect, is situated within the town, on a very steep hill, which may be about six or seven hundred feet above the level of the river. As a fortified place, it is said to have once possessed considerable strength, but it is now entirely neglected, so that two years ago, on the approach of the French, the government resolved to make no resistance at this place.—Grätz is not the handsome town, which, from the descriptions of others, I expected to find, though it contains a number of good houses, almost all of which are of stone. Among these are the residence of Counts Sauran, Loibel, Wermbrand, the arsenal, the house of the States, and some other edifices. The house in which Buonaparte resided, and which is shewn as a curiosity, is likewise very spacious; the castle, formerly the residence of the Dukes of Styria, is now the dwelling of the governor, and the seat of the Regency. The Assembly-room and the Theatre, which are both under one roof, form an extensive building. Grätz likewise contains the Mausoleum in which Ferdinand II. and his consort are interred. The architecture of this edifice is not in the best style, and internally it is richly ornamented with sculpture. This place is the see of a bishop, who commonly resides there eight months in the year. The present prelate is said to distribute among the poor a full third of his revenues, amounting from twenty-six to twenty-eight thousand gulden.

Leoben is a small town, with some tolerable good houses, and a handsome square or market-place. I here went to see the garden in which two years since peace was concluded between Austria and France. It belongs to a Mr. Von Eckenwald, is agreeably situated, and the house commands a magnificent prospect. A single room occupies the whole upper part of this house; and it was in this apartment that

the Generals Meerveld, Buonaparte, and the Marquis St. Gallo daily met, to treat about the terms. Buonaparte resided about two miles from the town, at Göss, formerly a Benedictine convent, but suppressed, and given to the new Bishop of Leoben, appointed by Joseph II. for his residence. In memory of the peace the proprietor has erected, in the middle of the garden, a monument of variegated marble, on which stands a Genius of white marble, holding an olive-branch of metal gilt in his right hand, and a trumpet in his left. Each of the four sides contains an inscription.

The post-master of Leoben, of whom I asked several questions concerning the French, complained bitterly of them, and calculated the loss they had occasioned him in 19 days, in horses, hay, oats, &c. at 4000 gulden. Three females died under the hands of their brutal ravishers; and it is not a little extraordinary, that the priest refused them the rites of christian burial, and they were interred by the public exccutioner.—I never heard so much of this species of atrocity as at this place. I was told of a woman who escaped with her life, though she had been abused by thirty men; a violence which human nature could scarcely be thought capable of supporting. Weary of their oppressions and enormities, the peasants collected and murdered all the French wherever they were able to overpower them. They then plundered and buried them on the spot. Many were thrown into the river Mur, and not less than 200 dead bodies are said to have been carried away by its waves.

At Bruck, Grätz, Judenburg, and in other places in Styria, I have frequently turned the conversation to the period of which I am writing; and I have every where observed that the people were extremely dissatisfied with the government for having forbidden the country-people to make any opposition to the French; indeed this is the only complaint against the government that I have heard in this country. Some of the men still spoke of it with indignant warmth; and confidently maintained that very few of the French would have escaped out of the country if the people, a hardy race of mountaineers, had been suffered to defend themselves. It is two years since these events occurred, and they are still the subject of general conversation. I am highly diverted by the different statements of the numbers of the enemy. In one place I was told that they had forty thousand men; and at Judenburg the French forces were stated at eighty thousand. It is, however, well known, that Buonaparte's army was at that time very small; and I am still of opinion, that between Bruck and Vienna it might have been totally anni-

hilated, if the imperial cabinet had not thought proper to agree to the preliminaries of Leoben, and afterwards to the treaty of Campo Formio. It is clear that, while they were at Grätz, they lived entirely at the expence of the inhabitants. Almost every one speaks well of Buonaparte himself; but a general in chief, like a sovereign, needs to do very little to render himself beloved. In the execution of his orders he never appears in person, and when he does show himself, it frequently is in the character of the avenger of the injured citizen against the violence of the soldiery.—He speaks German, and well enough to render himself intelligible to the inn-keepers of Upper Styria, as several of them informed me.

The race of inhabitants in the whole province of Upper Styria appears to me to be short and uncommonly robust. This peculiarity is very striking in the females, who are uncommonly short and broad, and greatly resemble the Welsh, particularly those of the most mountainous parts of North Wales. As it was Sunday, I had an opportunity of seeing great numbers of them, but among all the females I could not discover a single handsome face; and in this respect they differ much from the Welsh, who at any rate have full cheeks and a ruddy complexion. The expression of the countenances of the Styrians is nothing less than intelligent, and their faces are mostly of a brown yellow, and what the English call *weather-beaten*. The colour of their clothes is in general brown; and their hats are so large that it cannot be the sun that gives them such a complexion. A more devout people I never saw. I met some hundreds of them, almost all of whom walked with folded hands, and their beeds on their sleeves. The men in general had their hats under their arms, and seemed as they passed to be constantly engaged in prayer. Wherever there was a niche containing an image of Christ, or the Blessed Virgin, or of some saint, and they are pretty numerous, I found several persons kneeling and praying. On all sides I continually heard the salutation "Blessed be Jesus Christ!" to which the invariable reply was—"To all eternity." If you would salute these people, you must do it in their own way; for if you wish them a good morning, a good day, or a good evening, they make you no answer. They are unused to salutations, and being embarrassed how to answer them, they give no reply at all.

From Bruck to Judenburg we travelled on one of the principal high roads of Austria, all of which are well constructed; but this is not in very good repair till near the confines of Carinthia. Early on the morning of the 29th we left Judenburg, and continued ascending till we arrived at Unz-

markt, along the charming banks of the Mur, which even here is not a contemptible river. About an hour after we had left Unzmarkt, we reached the highest point of the road from Upper Styria to Carinthia, where we found everything still clothed in the garb of winter. The road now descends rapidly, and you arrive on the frontiers of Carinthia, where you find a milder climate, a luxuriant vegetation, and charming scenery.

Friesach is a small town; which, together with a consderable district of this part of Carinthia, belongs to the bishopric of Salzburg. At the distance of fourteen miles is situated St. Veit, a pretty town, with handsome houses, and a fine spacious market-place. In the latter is a large and elegant monument, decorated with a great number of figures, and, as the Latin inscription says, erected in memory of the plague of 1715. Here is likewise a fine fountain; the water falls into a basin of a good form, hewn out of a single block of white marble, and which, according to Busching, is five fathoms in circumference; and I believe him to be correct. It is said to be a Roman antiquity.

About half way between St. Veit and Klagenfurt we passed over a swampy tract, called the Saaler Moss. If this was the scite of the ancient Tiburnia, as some have asserted, it was certainly superior to that of Klagenfurt. Busching says that on this plain there is still to be seen ruins of an ancient town; as far as my eye could reach, I could not, however, discover the slightest traces of any, nor had those of whom I enquired ever heard, even by tradition, of their existence.

Klagenfurt is a large and a pleasing town, though it cannot be called handsome. It contains many large buildings and spacious squares, but it has much that gives rather a mean appearance. Next to Vienna and Grätz it is one of the principal places in the circle of Austria; and is the residence of the Princes of Porzia and Rozenberg, and a great number of Counts and inferior nobility. The streets are spacious, and intersect each other at right angles; and the public monuments, statues, and fountains, are of large dimensions. When surveyed at a distance these serve to give the place an appearance of dignity and importance, but on a more minute examination you find very little that does honour to the arts. What appears to me the most ludicrous is an enormous statue of Maria Theresa, in a very rich and stiff dress, with Fame hovering over her. As both are of lead it was rather a difficult task to make the latter support herself in the air on her non-elastic pinions. It would have been indecorous for Fame to set her foot on the empress's shoulder,

and, in that case, she would not have hovered, a point on which the artist was particularly intent. He therefore threw over the goddess a large leaden mantle, the extremity of which rests on the back of the princess!—The best and largest edifice in Klagenfurt is the palace, part of which is inhabited by the governor, and the remainder is appropriated to the different departments of the regency. The town is surrounded with walls and a ditch, but they are of such a nature that it cannot be considered as a military post.

Some writer has done the town of Bruck, in Styria, the honour to consider it as the principal residence of persons with wens. I cannot say that I saw more there than in other places; but wens are, alas! an evil which appears to extend over the whole provinces of Styria and Carinthia. You sometimes meet likewise with *Cretins* or Idiots. Of these there are of course different gradations; but I have not seen such brutal or rather vegetating creatures as you find in the Valais in Switzerland. In other respects they very nearly resemble the latter. I observed the greatest number of these wretched objects between Bruck and Grätz; but I was told that this must not be taken as a criterion for the whole country, because their relations are accustomed to send them out to beg on the high-roads.—In Carinthia and Styria, in Switzerland, in the duchy of Aosta, and some parts of the Appenines, I have invariably observed that the famales have the largest wens. A wen which has attained to a certain size appears to be intimately connected with idiotcy. The idiots in general have wens; and a person who has a very large one is commonly, in a certain degree, an idiot. I have frequently sent you my observations on this melancholy phenomenon, and given it as my opinion, that, among the various causes assigned for it, the water contributes to produce wens more than any other. The people of this country agree with me. In almost every part where wens are frequent, I heve found the water turbid, of a whitish colour, occasioned by a species of fine earth, which when the water is left to stand settles to the bottom, and feels like a kind of slime. My system, however, is rather shaken by my having found, in my last journey, a great number of people with wens in places where the water appeared to be perfectly limpid and transparent. It is possible, and out of tenderness to my system, I am ready to believe, that they were not natives of those parts, especially as I am informed that they are so frequently sent by their relatives to the high-roads.

LETTER XXII.

KIRSCHTHEUER.—DESCRIPTION OF THE LOIBEL AND THE ROAD OVER IT.—INHABITANTS OF CARNIOLA.—LAYBACH.—IDRIA.—QUICKSILVER-MINE.—THE PEAR-TREE WOOD.—SUBTERRANEOUS CAVERNS.—GROTTO AND CASTLE OF LUEG.—TRIEST.—THE HARBOUR.—THE MOLE.—THE GROTTO OF CORGNALE.

TRIEST, *May* 23.

WHEN we left Klagenfurt, early on the 3d, the weather was sharp and unfavourable. We proceeded the first stage, through a pleasant and tolerably level valley, in which only a small part of the way went up and down hill. As we descended from a steep declivity into the valley on which Kirschtheuer is situated, I had an opportunity of admiring the grand style in which the Austrian roads over the mountains are constructed.

Soon after we had left Kirschtheuer we began to ascend again, and it was four hours and a half before we reached the highest summit, without ever coming to any plain, though here and there we went down hill. The distance between Kirschtheur and Krainburg, being eighteen miles, is called the pass of the Loibel, which must not be considered as a single mountain, but as a long range of mountains, rising one above the other, and round which the traveller keeps continually winding, till he at length arrives at two pyramids, which mark the highest point, and form the boundary between Carinthia and Carniola.

Considered as a high-road, this pass is certainly the loftiest of the kind that I have seen in Europe. It is longer and higher than the Bochetta, leading from Piedmont, beyond Novi, into the territories of Genoa; considerably higher than Penmanmawr in North Wales; higher than the road over the Appennines, near Bologna, Tolentino, or Macerata; and so much higher than those of Switzerland that the latter appear trifling in comparison to it. If we consider the extreme steepness of most of the heights of the Loibel, it is impossible to forbear admiring the genius of him who first conceived the grand idea of carrying a road for heavy carriages across these acclivities. It is constructed with a solidity that places it in the rank of the greatest works of antiquity; being on one side principally hewn out of the rock, and supported by strong walls on the other. Towards the precipice it is provided partly with railing and partly with

walls. During the last hour and a half the mountain was so steep, that I frequently discovered with astonishment the direction of the road we had to go, by means of the wooden posts in the almost perpendicular rocks that towered high above my head.

Four hours and a half after we had left Kirschtheuer, we at length reached the highest point of this road, distinguished by two large stone pyramids. The descent from the summit of the Loibel to Neumärktl occupied two hours and a half, so that the whole pass took us seven hours and a half. Neumärktl is situated among the mountains which we were now gradually leaving. We soon afterwards arrived at a charming plain, surrounded at some distance by mountains, and in which Krainburg has an agreeable situation on the banks of the Save.

On the road from Krainburg to Laybach we constantly remained in the vicinity of the Save, which embellishes the charming, fertile, and well-cultivated plain, through which the road leads. It is surrounded by low hills, behind which others more lofty rear their heads; and to the south you will discover the summits of the snow-clad mountains. This tract between Krainburg and Laybach I consider one of the finest I have seen since my departure from Vienna.

The houses of the country-people are very small, and frequently of wood; the windows not two feet square, and many even appeared to me to occupy scarcely one square foot. They have no chimnies, so that the smoke finds its way out of the house where it can. I observed some few with a story above the ground-floor; and in these a large aperture was left as a vent for the smoke. The people themselves differ considerably from those of Upper Styria. They are of a finer growth, taller, and have a better complexion and more delicate features.

Laybach is a very pretty place; and contains a great number of large elegant structures, among which are several public buildings. Some of the churches, especially in the interior, are in a far better taste than is usually found in Germany. I was particularly pleased with the interior of the cathedral, which bears a considerable resemblance to that of St. Peter's, at Rome. It is entirely painted in fresco, and though not in a first-rate style, yet every thing indicates its vicinity to the frontiers of Italy. The public schools are in a large handsome building, appropriated to that purpose. The Jesuits' convent at Laybach is converted into assembly-rooms. The palace situated on an eminence close to the town, is visited only on account of the prospect it commands, as it is now nothing more than barracks for recruits. Its situation is, however, romantic; and the view from the lawn is charming. The river Laybach runs through the town; and though navigable, yet the use that is made of it is

very inconsiderable. Three bridges over it connect the different parts of the town.

In Carinthia, and still more frequently in Carniola, particularly in the vicinity of Laybach, I observed the machine every where standing in the fields, which I had seen in Sweden, for the purpose of drying the corn after it is cut. It seems to prove that in these parts, the seasons must be very wet.

We left Laybach on the 5th of May, and proceeded nine miles to Upper Laybach, where we left the great road, in order to visit Idria, about eighteen miles distant from the last-mentioned place. Idria, so celebrated for its quicksilver mines, lies in a valley surrounded on every side by pretty lofty mountains. The valley being extremely narrow, the houses gradually ascend the sides of the hills; each stands detached, and has a small piece of land annexed to it, in which the miners raise a few vegetables notwithstanding the inclemency of the climate, and the sterility of the soil. The inhabitants of Idria, about three thousand five hundred in number, who are separated by high mountains from the rest of the world, are all miners, or belong to miners. The number of labourers above and below is stated at nine hundred, exclusive of upwards of three hundred woodcutters, who fell timber in the forests, which they float down the rivers, or prepare in various ways. M. Gersdorf, who has the superintendence over all the works, informed me, that, for a considerable period, from five to six hundred tons of quicksilver have annually been made at that place. A great quantity used to be exported to Spain, whence it was transported to America, for the amalgamation of the silver-ores; but the Spaniards some time since refused to pay the increased price that was demanded for the quicksilver. The greatest part of it is now conveyed to Vienna, where it is sold on the account of the Emperor; but I could not learn for what purposes it is particularly employed, or to what countries it is exported, but it is said that great quantities are sent to England.

You cannot be ignorant that this mine is reckoned the finest and most magnificent in the world. You enter through an extensive building; and every part is so roomy, so neat, and clean, that I felt none of those disagreeable sensations which even the finest mines produce in a greater or less degree. You proceed on level ground, under a lofty and tolerably spacious vault, till you arrive at the descents. Into these you are conducted by clean stone steps, which are kept in excellent repair. These steps have several landing-places, paved with flag-stones, and some of which are provided with benches to rest upon. As the miners proceed deeper into the pit, the passages continue to be arched over, and provided with steps. I observed only a few

parts that were supported by wood. Here and there they come to the solid rock, which is merely hewn out, and of course requires no support. The ore is not always of equal richness; but on an average it contains about fifty per cent.; some furnishes less, but from other portions eighty per cent. is extracted. The principal shaft is eighty-six fathoms in depth; and the small quantity of virgin-quicksilver that is occasionally found is shewn as a rarity.

This mine belongs to the government, and is conducted entirely at its expence. The officers have very moderate salaries; all the other inhabitants, with the exception of some few, are miners, who derive their whole subsistence from their profession. Their pay is various, and begins with five kreuzers* a day. When they have raised it to twelve kreuzers, they begin to think of marriage, as they then consider themselves able to support a wife out of their wages. The most they receive is seventeen kreuzers; for which they must work eight hours under, or ten above the ground. The rest of their time is occupied by domestic employments, and the cultivation of a small piece of ground, in which they raise cabbages, potatoes, and other vegetables, and many likewise earn a trifling sum by other means, so that their daily earnings may amount to about twenty kreuzers. Many of the women employ themselves in weaving lace. They are commended for their constancy and the purity of their morals, as the men are for their honesty and obedience to their superiors. Their houses are mostly small, and are each inhabited by two or three families. The scanty subsistence which these people procure, the insalubrity of the occupation of miners in general and of this valley in particular, cause the duration of human life here to be but short. Forty is considered a fair age, many die younger, and very few live to be old.

Leaving Idria, we proceeded the same evening to Loitsch, where we passed the night, and on the 7th went forward to Planina, behind which place, and near the high road, is situated an uncommonly romantic spot. In a corner formed by perpendicular rocks appears at a great depth the aperture of a spacious grotto, from which issues a stream of no inconsiderable magnitude.

We were now in what is called the Pear-tree Wood, a desolate, barren, and rocky tract, of considerable extent, which is almost uninhabited, and appears to produce scarcely any thing but wood, heath, and stinted herbage; such, with some exceptions, is the whole country of Triest. It is in this tract that we find those numerous, large, and celebrated grottos, or subterra-

* A kreuzer is three-sevenths of a penny, or something less than a half-penny, English money.

neous caverns, some of which are said to be upwards of four miles in length, and which exhibit stalactites of singular forms. The Magdalen Grotto, near Adelsberg; that of Lueg; that of St. Servio, near Triest: the Grotto of Corgnale; and those of the lake of Zirknitz, are the most celebrated.

We went to see that at Lueg; a wretched village, behind which, in the perpendicular rocks, are three grottos, one above another. The lowest is inaccessible, because a small stream discharges its current into it and disappears. Above the lowermost grotto rises another, which is said to be two miles in length, and is almost in every part very spacious. Five of the country people lighted us into it with splinters of hazle-wood, and we soon lost the day-light. The height is in general about twenty feet, and the breadth from twelve to sixteen. Here and there I observed large, handsome stalactites, of which, as usual, the imagination forms a variety of objects; most of them appeared to me to resemble the roofs of the Gothic cathedrals in England. After proceeding a full quarter of an hour, the ground began to be wet, and we returned.

Above this grotto rises a third, consisting of several divisions; in its wide aperture some person conceived the extraordinary idea of erecting the castle of Lueg. It belongs to a Count Cobenzl, but who, as you may imagine, seldom visits it, and then only for a very short time. The building, which is said to be several hundred years old, is capacious, but has not five good apartments. All but those in the front are dark, gloomy, and damp. Behind the castle we were shewn an apartment hewn out of the rock of the grotto, but which has fallen to ruin. The tradition that in ancient times a knight was treacherously murdered at this place, might furnish a good subject for an horrific romance; and to a novelist of that description, the view of this spot would be of incalculable advantage.—We returned to Adelsberg, where we passed the night.

The distance between Adelsberg and Triest, about thirty-three miles, is principally a desolate, thinly inhabited and still worse cultivated country. That part of the way is particularly dreary which goes over the Karst, a considerable mountainous tract, of which naked rocks compose by far the greater portion. Here you may study Nature in her infancy; for I passed over several hills, where the rocks that cover the soil appear as if they had been recently produced by some great convulsion. At length you arrive at the end of the Karst, and suddenly find yourself on the brink of a precipice, which would make you shudder, did you not anticipate the appearance of Hesperia's enchanting plains. Here with one view you survey the Adriatic Sea, the capacious bay of Triest, with all its promontories, part of the town, with Istria on the left, and to the right, along the northern frontiers of

Venice, a vast range of lofty Alps, still covered with snow. Just below your feet you have a little verdant world, a blooming garden, which the hand of industry has created upon the naked rocks or steep declivities. What a contrast with the country we had just traversed! The spectator would imagine he had been transported ten degrees farther to the south; the difference is much greater and more sudden than when you go from the Swiss Alps into Lombardy, or from the Appenines into the smiling vales of Tuscany. This view is highly gratifying, and peculiarly interesting to a native of the North; who here for the first time beholds Italian vegetation, and finds the chesnut, the cypress, the fig, the peach, the almond, and the olive, flourishing in the open air, and at such a considerable height. Here and there terraces have been formed, with excessive labour, upon walls, on which grow abundance of grapes, that afford an excellent kind of wine.

Triest cannot be called a handsome town, though it contains a great number of good, well-built, stone houses. Most of the streets are wide; indeed they are so spacious that the houses at first seem to be lower than they actually are, till you observe that most of them are three or four stories high. The streets are all paved with broad flag-stones, many of which are seven, eight, and even ten feet long, by three, four, and five, broad.

The number of stationary inhabitants in this town is computed at from 28 to 30,000 persons, and that of the seafaring people and strangers who are continually coming and going, is stated at several thousands more. This statement was given me by a person in an official situation in this place, and I think is likely to be correct; but the English consul, who has resided several years at Triest, asserts, that the population exceeds 36,000 souls, and that, including the mariners and strangers, it cannot be less than 40,000. The increasing population is a cause of general complaint among the old inhabitants, who find it difficult to accustom themselves to the advancing price of every commodity. In fact, Triest is a very expensive place, and every thing is dearer there than at Vienna.

I was surprised to observe the number of ships lying in the harbour, which appears to be equally secure and commodious. Two large canals run out of it a considerable distance into the town, and afford a place for the reception of a large number of vessels. These canals were the labour of an early period, for they are not calculated for the kind of commerce in which of late years this town has been engaged. The harbour is a scene of constant bustle and activity, and I am much mistaken if it be not much more lively than that of Leghorn. It is a free port in the most extensive sense of the word.

Triest contains a great number of carriages, many of which

are very elegant. I was astonished to find so many coaches in a sea-port, and surrounded by such a mountainous country; but was informed that almost every tradesman who does any business keeps his carriage, and at no very great expence. The coffee-houses are likewise numerous at Triest; and a considerable part of the company by which they are frequented, sit before the door; for this purpose a large linen cloth is spread upon poles, so as to form a kind of tent.

Triest has for many years been increasing in wealth and consequence at the expence of her neighbour Venice. Büsching says that in 1770 it contained thirty great mercantile houses: it now has above one hundred. The magnificent mole was constructed by the directions of Maria Theresa. It extends about fifteen hundred feet into the sea, and forms an excellent road: upon it there is room for fifty pieces of cannon, though not more than thirty are mounted; but all these are in good order, and among them I saw eighteen and twenty four pounders. The mole includes the old Lazaretto, or place of quarantine, which is now used only as barracks for soldiers. Opposite the mole, and consequently on the contrary side of the town, is the new Lazaretto, with a distinct harbour, which is likewise inclosed by a mole, and which must not be confounded with that belonging to the town. The Castle stands on an eminence considerably higher than the town, and must once have been pretty strong. It is now scarcely used but as a place of confinement for prisoners; but the view from the platform is such as amply to repay the trouble of going to see it. The great imperial flag is kept flying on this edifice, and below it are a few pieces of cannon, with which the salutes fired by ships of war on their arrival are returned.

This town has a wretched theatre, where you may to-day see the genuine feats and burlesque buffoonery of Harlequin, and to-morrow Voltaire's Zaire acted by the same persons. On the whole, Triest is totally destitute of public evening amusements; even of respectable private companies there are but few. The governor, Count Brigido, brother to the Archbishop of Laybach, however, keeps an open house, that is, he receives company every evening to card-tables and refreshments, and occasionally gives dinners.

From Triest we made an excursion to see the grotto of Corgnale, so called from a village of that name, near which it is situated. This grotto not only surpasses in beauty that of Lueg, but any that I ever beheld. The figures of the stalactites exhibit an uncommon variety of forms, and likewise a grander style and larger proportions than any I had yet met with. It is particularly distinguished for the columns on which the vaulted roof reposes like that of a Gothic church. Many of

these columns are twenty, thirty, or more feet in length, and of proportionable thickness. The flame of a torch, or of burning straw, produces a grand and picturesque effect. Many of the stalactites suspended from the roof are twelve or fifteen feet in length, and at the top, where they are united to it, are not less than fifteen or eighteen feet in circumference.

The grotto has the peculiarity that the entrance is not horizontal into a hill or eminence, but in a plain from which you are obliged to descend nearly in a perpendicular direction. You continue descending steep declivities, arriving now and then at nearly perpendicular shafts, in which a kind of stone steps have been cut; but these have been formed with so little care, and are partly rendered so slippery with the water that is continually dropping upon them, that you every moment run great risk of falling. We proceeded about a quarter of an hour, when the steps ceased, and the perpendicular descent prevented our advancing any farther. I am informed, that the length of this grotto has never been ascertained, but that, from various reasons, it is supposed to have a second opening, at the distance of two German (upwards of nine English) miles.

We resided at Triest, in the same inn in which Winkelmann was assassinated. His murderer, Angelo, was six weeks afterwards apprehended, and broken on the wheel in the great square under our windows. Winkelmann had reposed the utmost confidence in this servant, though he had received repeated warnings to be upon his guard.

LETTER XXIII.

JOURNEY TO VENICE.—SAN GIOVANNI.—THE TIMAVO.—GRADISCA.—GÖRZ.—UDINE.—CAMPO FORMIO.—PASSAGE OF THE TAGLIAMENTO.—PORDENONE.—SACILE.—CONEGLIANO.—THE PIAVE.—TREVISO.—MESTRE.

VENICE, *June* 2.

WE left Triest on the 28th of May, and were obliged for an hour to return by the same road we had come from Vienna, till we arrived at the place where that which leads to Venice branches off from the former. Nine miles from Triest is Heiligenkreuz or Santa Croce; and at the same distance from the latter is situated San Giovanni, which is almost entirely deserted; such being the insalubrity of the air, that it has driven away all the inhabitants. The place exhibits a dreary view of houses in ruins, and others which are nodding to their fall.

Close to this spot are the sources of the Timao or Timavo. This singular river was celebrated in ancient times, for the *Fontes*

Timavi are mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and who does not recollect the *Fontem et Saxa Timavi* in Virgil? Here at a very small distance from each other, are the sources of seven streams, which are collectively denominated the Timao. All of them issue from naked rocks, and in such abundance that each of the seven springs forms a considerable brook; they immediately unite and compose a navigable stream, so that at the distance of a few hundred paces from the source, I actually observed a vessel of not very small dimensions with several sails.

I am assured, that not the least trace of this mass of water is to be discovered, and that it collects entirely in subterraneous reservoirs, till it at once bursts forth in these seven streams. The circumstance would appear more striking to me, if I had not before observed, from the numerous caverns, that the whole country between Adelsberg, Zirknitz, Triest, and San Giovanni, must be undermined, and that Nature here carries on such subterraneous operations as perhaps in no other part of the known world.

From Santa Croce it is about fourteen miles to Monfalcone, which lies in what was formerly the Venetian territory. From San Giovanni to this place the country is low and swampy; and every thing indicates that fevers must be very frequent. Gradisca is an insignificant town, and the fortifications, whose large round towers still give them a handsome and picturesque appearance, have for many years been entirely neglected.

Görz, or as it is here generally called, Goritia, is a handsome town, with about twelve thousand inhabitants. I observed a great number of very good houses, most of which belong to noble families. It is the capital of a county of the same name; and has a picturesque situation on the Lisonzo. It lies in a plain, having on the north side moderate eminences, behind which rise high mountains, that are succeeded by others still more lofty. While the view to the north possesses all the characteristics of Swiss scenery, the spectator is charmed by the beauties which the climate of Italy affords in the plain. The opera-house of Görz, though not remarkable for its exterior, is internally elegant and well contrived. The Castello or Fort commands an extensive view over the adjacent country, which produces great quantities of excellent wine.

Among the middling towns of Italy, of the second class, I scarcely know of any that I like so well as Udine. You do not here find that dull inactivity which characterizes most of the Italian towns of the same rank, nor those evident symptoms of decay which rather shew what a place has been, than what it is. A population of seventeen or eighteen thousand persons gives the place a lively air; and its numerous shops shew that it has some trade and industry, which are so rarely met with in these pro-

vinces. We were taken to the Theatre or Opera-house, which is supassed in elegance by very few in Germany. The palace of the former Luogotenente, as the principal magistrate was denominated, is built in an extremely grand and magnificent style. It is, however, apparent, that it has been neglected for a great number of years, and that the Venetian governors came hither rather with a view to make their fortunes, than to maintain the dignity and grandeur of which their forefathers laid the foundation. It is extraordinary, that from one end of Italy to the other, certain customs universally prevail, which to us appear repulsive and disgusting. Here, as well as at Bologna, in the Capitol at Rome, and in various other places, the criminals are confined in the same building in which the chief magistrate of the place resides. The senator of Rome has them exactly under his windows; and at Udine they are kept on the ground-floor of the palace. The windows of the prison open towards the terrace, which is the spot that commands the finest prospect, and where one would consequently prefer to walk.

Next to the palace of the Luogotenente, that of the Archbishop is the most remarkable structure. The town likewise contains a great number of good private houses; in one of these is a chapel, which is worth seeing, on account of its sculpture. The four walls are in *alto-relievo* of white marble; and it is the workmanship of Toretti, who shows himself a great master of the art, though the Venetian school very plainly appears in his performances. The subjects represented here are: the Virgin Mary's visit to Anna; Zachariah naming his son; Mary's presentation in the temple, and her purification. The proprietor of the house is named Torreani.—The cathedral is internally a handsome structure, and contains some good bass-reliefs in wood, not to mention the marble floor and many altars, which are common to all the churches of Italy. Under the houses are piazzas, supported by columns, partly of wood and partly of stone.

At Campo Formio, or as it is likewise called Campo Formido, a village near Udine, the treaty of peace was two years since signed between Austria and France. The Archduke Charles resided at Udine, and Buonaparte at Passeriano, a charming country-seat of the then Doge Mancini, twelve miles from Udine, and nearer Venice. As neither party was willing to go to the other, the village of Campo Formio, four miles from Udine and eight from Passeriano, was chosen for the place of meeting. The high road from Venice runs through the village, where an insignificant house was pointed out to me as that in which the peace was concluded.

We changed horses near Passeriano, at Codroipo, a village

about fourteen miles from Udine; and soon afterwards arrived the Tagliamento, which we had to cross. Its bed, which is a good mile in breadth, is covered with large stones. Over these, which were very slippery, we had a difficult passage, for some distance, through the dry bed of the river, till we came to a rapid stream, over which we were ferried. We had again to proceed over a dry part of the bed of the river, till we came to a second stream, and presently after to a third; but as as there is no ferry for the second, a guide goes before and shows the postillion the way, and several strong men wade into the water on each side of the carriage, to hold it upright. This vast bed is not always capable of containing the torrents that sometimes swell the river, particularly after sudden heats in spring, when it inundates a vast tract of country, which is covered with sand, and thus rendered unfit for the purposes of cultivation. At such times the current is impassable; but in winter, on the contrary, it has in general so little water that it may be crossed without the assistance of any ferry.

Pordenone is an insignificant place, but contains many elegant houses, such as are only found in Italy, and particularly in the Venetian territory, in small towns. At Sacile many traces shew that this place has once known better days. A wall and turrets, bridges, and the former palace of the Podesta, merely serve for picturesque objects, which please the eye, and fill the heart with melancholy. A fine meandering stream, verdant meads, the luxuriant ivy which grows upon the ruins, and the rich vegetation of an Italian climate exhibited by the shrubs and trees, had great attractions for me.

Conegliano, fourteen miles distant from Sacile, is not a despicable place, though its Castello and once handsome walls are fallen to decay. Between Conegliano and Treviso we crossed the Piave, the third large river between Triest and Venice. This river likewise has a bed of immense breadth; and at certain seasons inundates the adjacent country. We passed it on a bridge composed of twenty-five vessels, which might be about eight hundred feet over.

Treviso is by many regarded as a place of equal importance with Udine; but in my opinion, the comparison is greatly to the disadvantage of the former, which rather exhibits a picture of what it has been, than of what it now is. The large town-house at Treviso, the many large and elegant churches, and a great number of respectable buildings, prove that it was once an opulent place. At present you perceive evident traces of poverty, and you find neither the activity, industry, nor cleanliness, by which Udine is distinguished. Treviso, however, contains several cof-

fee-houses and two theatres, and it has three bridges over the Piaveselle.

Mestre is an uncommon lively place, and appears to be extremely populous. The canal which runs from this place to the Lagunes, and is three Italian miles in length, is full of boats and gondolas. On each side of it runs a broad road, bordered by numerous houses, many of which belong to citizens of Venice. From Mestre to Venice is but one stage, which we went in two hours.

LETTER XXIV.

VENICE.—THE HORSES OF LYSIPPUS.—VARIOUS ALTERATIONS IN THE CITY BY THE REVOLUTION.—THE ARSENAL.—SAN GIORGIO MOGGIORE.—BEGGARS.—POVERTY OF THE HIGHER CLASSES.—VENICE A RUINED CITY.—OF THE CHURCHES.—THE NEW OPERA-HOUSE LA FENICE.—EXCURSION TO MALAMOCCO AND PALESTRINA.—THE MOLE.—THE PADRI ARMENI.—CANOVI'S PSYCHE IN THE PALACE MANCINI.—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON VENICE.

VENICE, *June* 11, 1799.

IT is not my intention to give you a circumstantial description of Venice, as you have the letters which I wrote you five years since, during a month's residence in this city. The subject to which I shall principally confine myself is, the alterations that have taken place since the occupation of this state by the French, and its cession to the Austrian government; at the same time, touching occasionally on others which appeared worthy of notice, and highly interested to me, even in my second visit to this city.

In whatever direction you go you always arrive at the square of St. Mark. I have this time renewed the acquaintance I made with it five years since. In the celebrated church of St. Mark I perceive no alteration, excepting the removal of the four metal horses generally ascribed to Lysippus. The history of these horses, as related by Rannusius and others, is a true compendium of human injustice and violence. They are said to have originally stood on the triumphal arch of Augustus, at Rome, then to have been removed to Nero's, and afterwards to Domitian's. They were next placed on Trajan's arch, whence Constantine the Great removed them to his, and afterwards transported them to Constantinople. In the year 1204 the Venetians made themselves masters of that city, and finding these celebrated horses

on the Hippodrome, conveyed them to Venice, whence they have been in like manner carried off to Paris, by the French. Without vouching for the authenticity of this account, it appears to me extremely probable, that these horses were originally made in Greece, and carried to Italy by those arch-plunderers of antiquity, the Romans.

Near St. Mark's church stands a tower, which, from its large clock, is called the Clock-Tower. On it were the arms of Venice; that is, a great lion, and the figure of a Doge kneeling before it. These, according to the laudable French custom, were pulled down. The lion, after having undergone a repair, and being newly gilded, was restored to his place, but the poor Doge experienced no mercy.

On the two large columns of granite in the Piacetta, that is, in that part of St. Mark's square which opens to the great canal, are still to be seen the lion and St. Theodore, as before; but the former is now only of wood, the very handsome metal figure having been carried off by the French.

In the Procuratie Nuove, where the Procuratori di St. Marco formerly resided, there are now several imperial colleges of regency; while the vast halls of the great council, the senate, and the Squitinio, stand vacant, and are not employed for any purpose whatever. Austrian simplicity probably found them inconvenient on account of their magnitude. The aparments formerly inhabited by the Doge are also unoccupied.

Out of the different saloons of the Doge's palace, the French took no more than six or seven pictures; either because they only sought *chef d'œuvres*, or, what is more probable, they disliked the subjects; for the subjects of almost all these pieces are the victories and celebrated achievements of the aristocratic republic of Venice. It is likewise possible that they may not have known the very great value of some of these paintings, as they have taken many of inferior worth. As to private property, I am every where informed that it was respected by the French, and all the palaces I have yet seen confirm the report, having found all the finest and most celebrated pieces that I remember to have seen in my former visit. Thus I was recently in the palace Pisani Morandi, which contains the well-known performance of Paul Veronese representing Alexander the Great and his family; and the remarkable picture of the Death of Darius by Piacetta. This house was the residence of Madame Buonaparte: her husband did not come to Venice.

The arsenal bears the most conspicuous marks of the devastations committed by the modern Franks at Venice. They have, it is true, not removed the lions that stood at the entrance, and which were brought from Athens to this place; probably because

they thought them not sufficiently handsome, or because they were too heavy. All four are of white marble, and larger than life; one of them, which is lying down, being eleven feet six inches in length, from the tail to the end of the fore-foot. Their ravages were so much the greater in the arsenal itself. Besides five good and serviceable ships of war, they carried off the whole of the vast stores of all the materials for equipping a fleet; as cannons, balls, musquetry, swords, rigging, sails, cables, hemp, anchors, and even oars and the various articles of iron required for the construction and repair of ships. All these magazines now exhibit a naked appearance, and attest the decay of this once most flourishing maritime state in Europe. I however found all the workmen, whose number formerly exceeded two thousand, and are even now said to amount to fifteen hundred, in full activity, and the government appears to me to be determined to create a power hitherto unknown to the house of Austria.

A considerable quantity of stores is already collected in the halls which formerly contained the arms. The capture recently made by General Klenau on the Po, and the ammunition found at Brescia, Peschiera, &c. and also at Corfu, have been removed to this place, where all that is useful has been sorted from the rest, and arranged in separate apartments. In that containing the best of these articles, is the handsome monument erected by the republic to the hero Emo. It is of white marble, and by the hand of Canova. On a naval column *(columna rostrata)* is seated Fame, who is inscribing the hero's name in letters of gold. Victory hovers above, and crowns his figure with a wreath. In my opinion it is one of the finest performances of that excellent artist I have ever seen.

You know that the former government constantly had on the stocks a certain number of ships of the line, with which they proceeded regularly, but slowly. There were constantly six, seven, or eight, none of which was completed, and which were useless to the French, because they could not stay here long enough to finish them. These they destroyed as much as they could and the shortness of the time permitted, for as they had so much to remove, every moment was precious. From some they took away the stocks by which they were supported, so that they fell, and were rendered unserviceable; they destroyed the keels of others, and the strong beams to which the rudder is affixed: some they cut entirely to pieces, and others they sunk. The latter have since been weighed, and the former the government is now occupied in repairing, but the work proceeds but slowly, as the principal attention is directed to the smaller vessels, especially gun-boats. In all these devastations and ravages

the French had, however, a certain object; and excepting the injustice of the thing, not much can be said against their proceedings. But they destroyed a great many other things, merely out of childish petulance, and that arrogance which so peculiarly distinguishes the modern French, which is not only desirous to overturn every government that differs from their own, but even wishes to annihilate all the traces of former constitutions. Thus the lions, and the figures of the Doges in this city were the objects of their inveterate persecution, as the monuments of their former kings were in France; and many proofs of this are to be seen in the arsenal. Among the rest, the Bucentoro was particularly obnoxious. The large figures of this rich and remarkable vessel were destroyed, the many small bass-reliefs, and the carved work, which was richly gilt, were broken in pieces: besides which, they wantonly damaged it in various places. Such is the state in which it is seen at present; and, as the Austrian government cannot be interested in its preservation, it will probably not be many years before it falls entirely to ruin.

I was last Sunday in the church Della Pieta, and found with pleasure that this institution is still maintained. It is a kind of foundling-hospital, in which girls are educated. They are instructed in all kinds of employments; and particular attention is paid to the respective talents and inclination of each. Music, however, has always been their principal study, and in this art some have attained great excellence. On Sundays they give concerts in their church, when the girls not only sing, but likewise play on every kind of instrument.

I have likewise been again to San Giorgio Maggiore. You know that this is an island which, though an Italian mile in circumference, is entirely occupied by a Benedictine convent, and the buildings belonging to it. With pleasure I again beheld the church, which I always considered as one of the finest works of Palladio, at Venice, because it is less incumbered with ornament that so many others. It has not been robbed of its paintings, nor the fine bass-reliefs in wood, representing the history of St. Benedict, which decorated the choir. But in the refectory was the celebrated marriage of Cana, reckoned to be the chef d'œuvre of Paul Veronese. Unfortunately it was on canvas, like most of the pictures at Venice, and it was therefore included among the plunder which the French carried off from this place. The refectory is now shut, and contains salt and flour for the army. The large trees which formerly adorned the extensive and charming gardens of this island, have all been cut down by the levelling hands of these modern Franks. The library of this convent was highly celebrated. It not only contained abundance of rare and valuable works, but likewise many manuscripts, and,

as they were called, *editiones principes*, or books printed in 1400. Most of the best works have been removed by the French.

That great poverty prevails at Venice, and that the city swarms with mendicants, is well known: but both have recently increased in an extraordinary degree. The square of St. Mark, and all the churches, are infested with beggars that are inconceivably troublesome to strangers, whom they particularly follow. I must confess, that I sometimes lose all patience, when I observe how I, out of twenty or thirty persons, am made the object of their attack. They run after you from one end of the long square of St. Mark to the other, with an obstinacy that is doubly provoking, when you perceive that the inhabitants of the place are at the same time suffered to walk along in peace. But there is another class of paupers, whose appearance and history must move even the most unfeeling. On the day of our arrival, I saw on the Rialto a woman dressed in black silk, before whom, on one of the steps of the bridge, lay a little child. The mother knelt on the hard stone, having a fan in her right hand, with which she drove away the flies from the child, while her left was silently extended to receive charity. On another bridge a well-dressed man was kneeling, and silently holding his right hand before him. I imagined that he was engaged in some act of devotion, but was informed that he, in this manner, implored the compassion of the passengers. I also frequently see well-dressed women, whose faces are entirely veiled, walking in St. Mark's Square, with saucers in their hands. They never ask charity, nor speak to any person, nor even hold out their saucers, but keep their hands quietly before them, leaving it to the humanity of the passenger to put a trifle into them. Of these things the inhabitants of Venice take no notice, being accustomed to them. It is admitted, that there are families which have been ruined by the Revolution. The Austrian government has indeed, as much as possible, left every thing as it found it; few of the inferior officers in the different departments of the state have lost their situations; but that it could not provide for all those who were in various ways deprived of a subsistence, may very easily be conceived.

With respect to the *nobili* of this city, as they were called, there were always some among them who were very poor; but as long as the aristocratic government continued, they occasionally obtained some little place or other. This now ceases to be the case; but the emperor allows to each person of that class two *lire* (about tenpence sterling) per day; which, in a city like Venice, is a very insignificant sum indeed.

In my journey through the continental territories of Venice I

observed, that the emperor in general appoints natives to official situations. For the same reason, probably, Pesaro, a man of one of the first families at Venice, was appointed minister. He has not been long dead; at Vienna many believed that he was poisoned, but this opinion is positively contradicted here, and by persons who are perfectly acquainted with the recent history of the city. From all that I can collect, Pesaro was not so disagreeable to the Venetians as at Vienna he was supposed to be. Discontents will always exist, and be excited by those who are at the head of every government. Thus they are already discontented with Pellegrini the new Regent; and for this additional reason, that, being a native of Florence, he is a foreigner. "Since the death of Pesaro," say they, "every thing has become dearer, and Venice is impoverished." In my opinion, the dearness arises from the renewal of the war, and not from Pesaro's death; but with respect to the increasing poverty of the town, this will continue to be more evident the more it is perceived, that a general change has taken place.

At Venice there must, from the nature of things, be a great number of discontented persons. Consider only what a number of *nobili* where sent over the whole country in the quality of Podesta, Luogotenenti, &c. so that there was scarcely the smallest place whose chief magistrate was not from the body of the sovereignty. This rich source of emolument has now ceased; for when the Austrian government appoints a native to an official situation, he is selected from the place itself, and not from among the ancient nobility of Venice. All business was formerly transacted in that metropolis; but now each province has its own regency; and Verona, Padua, and other towns, may be considered as the capitals of their particular districts. From these and other circumstances Venice is a ruined city. Only consider the number of inhabitants of the provinces who were obliged on so many occasions to visit the metropolis; how many persons derived a subsistence from that source, and how much it contributed to the general prosperity of the inhabitants. Even many of the *nobili*, who were confined to the city by their situations in the council, and there spent their income, partly derived from estates on the continent, have retired to those estates, since they no longer have a capital, nor a share in the government. Those who held official posts in the provinces, usually brought back with them at the expiration of their government, a sum of money, acquired either by just or unjust means. This source of profit no longer exists; as well as that which the city derived from the many foreign ambassadors, who expended annually considerable sums. All these circumstances considered, it would indeed be wonderful, if the city of Venice were contented with

the alteration.—Another cause of dissatisfaction is, that this State is not yet organized, and that all the regulations which have been adopted are only provisory. As few alterations as possible have been made; but the old government no longer exists, and the new one is not fixed on a solid basis. Conversing on this subject with a very intelligent and well-informed Austrian, he said to me: *En attendant ils seront provisioirement ruinés.*—"In the mean time they will be provisiorily ruined."

Notwithstanding all this, the present government seems in general to be more liked than the democracy which succeeded the overthrow of the former republic, and which, to my surprise, was most detested by the very lowest classes of the people. Had the Senate possessed the courage to defend itself, had not the cancer preyed too deeply on the vitals of the government, it might have relied on receiving powerful support from the people. I am informed, that the Dalmatians in particular shewed an extraordinary willingness to defend it with all their power. But here appeared that phenomenon, which would have been the more striking had it not been before observed at Naples, and in other countries: a great number of the most decided Jacobins belonged to the nobility. Many of that class were quite intoxicated with the *Republica Veneta Democratica*, and the female part of their families danced like Bacchantes round the tree of liberty.

In my present visit to this city, I think I derive much greater pleasure from the pictures of the Venetian School than five years ago. I then came from Rome; but perhaps, now that the best pieces have been removed, I set a higher value on the remainder. The city, indeed, still contains much that is excellent, of which I shall not detain you with the description, but proceed to mention the principal of those which have been carried off by the French.

In the Church della Carita is wanting the Resurrection of Lazarus by Leander Bessano, which was regarded as the best piece that structure contained. In the Scuola della Carita all the pictures were left; but the silver plate, to the amount of eleven thousand ounces, was taken away.

In the former Jesuits Convent, situated near the Dogana di Mare, and now belonging to the Dominicans, an excellent library was cruelly plundered by the French.

In the church of San Giovanni e Paolo hung Titian's celebrated picture of Peter the Martyr, which, as may naturally be supposed, was removed. To this church belongs a convent of immense extent, and constructed in a grand and rich style. The refectory was particularly beautiful, but the French destroyed it; and the monastery is now a military hospital.

Contiguous to this convent is the Scuola di San Marco, an extensive building, with large and elegant halls. The French destroyed and defaced the interior, and robbed it of two of its best paintings. It has since undergone a partial repair.

In the great church of the Jesuits, which is one of the most magnificent in Venice, hung the Martyrdom of St. Laurence, an admirable performance of Titian, which has likewise found its way to Paris.

In the church of Serviti I saw the statue of Admiral Emo, erected to his memory by his nephews. It is by Ferraro Torretti, the master of the celebrated Canova. The workmanship is very good, but the figure is represented in a modern uniform, and, it must be admitted, that lace, epaulettes, tassels, &c. are not fit subjects for sculpture. The whole is without effect, and without taste, whatever merit the details may possess.

The church of St. Jeremiah is a new, and as yet unfinished, structure, the architect of which is the Abbate Carlo Corbellini, of Brescia. I confess that I cannot look at this church without the utmost regret; nay, I even consider the undertaking as a theft committed on the public, because this city has already two hundred churches; that is, at least twice the number it wants. The worst point belonging to enterprizes of this kind is, that the clergy announce them to the people as good works, and that not only the rich, but many of the inferior classes, and even the poor, contribute their mite, and thus frequently debar themselves of immediate necessaries.

Near the Suola di San Fantino is the eighth and newest theatre, called La Fenice, which was finished but two years since. It is the most elegant structure of any, and the largest but one, which is very old. The assembly-rooms, contiguous to it, are large, handsome, and convenient. I saw one night at this house the grand opera of Adelaide and Guesclin, in which Mad. Angiolini, whom I think I have seen on the stage in Germany, Davide, whom I have frequently heard in England, and Bombelli, performed. The decorations were diversified and elegant; the ballet was by Vigano the elder, who, as well as his son, danced. The wife of the latter is the celebrated dancer who some years since attracted such admiration at Vienna. The interior of this edifice has five stories.

In the library of San Marco, or the great library belonging to the city, I again saw with pleasure the fine painted ceilings, as well as some antiques, in what is denominated the Hall of Antiquities. Many of the manuscripts and scarce books were carried off by the French.

In the church of St. Zachariah there was formerly a beautiful painting, by Giovanni Bellino, and another by Paul Veronese.

Both were taken away by the French; but the nuns, to whom this church belongs, have already replaced them with two other pictures, one of which is by Jordans, and the other by Palma Vecchio.

A few days since we made an excursion to Malamocco and Palestrina, which I so contrived, that we obtained a sight of all the islands that lie scattered in the Venetian Lagunes. On the island of Palestrina are three tolerably populous places, San Pietro, Portosecco, and Palestrina. Beyond the last place, towards Chioggia, this island extends several Italian miles, but is perfectly unserviceable. In this part it is not one hundred feet broad, and of these the Mole occupies above seventy. Of the Mole only four Italian miles and a half are quite finished; namely, from the harbour of Chioggia to the village of Palestrina. It has lately suffered great injury from the breaking of the Adriatic Sea against it; so that should it be neglected a few years longer 200,000l. would perhaps not be sufficient merely to repair it. The stone of which it is constructed, an inferior species of marble, was brought from Istria, a distance of nearly one hundred miles. The small portion of land lying between the three above-mentioned villages and the Mole, is almost entirely occupied by gardens, the productions of which are principally carried to Venice. As the island is very narrow, there is but a very small quantity of land left for cultivation, so that, on comparing the number of its inhabitants with its contents in square miles, it would probably be found to be more populous even than Malta.

The island on which the town of Malamocco is situated contains a greater quantity of land, and is not so much exposed to the violence of the sea as Palestrina. The town is lively, and tolerably populous. At the north end of this island lies San Nicolo, which had a harbour capable of admitting ships of moderate size. It was from this harbour that the Doge annually went some distance out to sea, to solemnize the celebrated nuptials.

The island of San Eleazaro is likewise called *i Padri Armeni*, because it is inhabited by Armenian monks. We landed, and were very courteously received by one of the fathers, who was joined by several more, all of whom vied with each other in the attention they shewed us. Their church, library, refectory, garden, and corridors, evince such a degree of cleanliness, neatness, and regularity, as I had never before witnessed in a convent. I imagined myself in England; every thing exhibited a certain taste, and even elegance. Besides manuscripts, they possess many printed Armenian books, several of which I inspected. Among the rest, they shewed me an Armenian Bible, with a Latin translation, printed at London. The members of this fra-

ternity wear a long black dress, and long beards. They must all be natives of Armenia; and to keep up their number they are continually receiving recruits from that country. They receive young people from the age of twelve to eighteen, whom they instruct and educate.

With respect to the pictures contained in the churches, and in private collections, I found few alterations, excepting those occasioned by the visit of the French, which I have already mentioned. In the Palace Mancini I however found an addition; namely, the Psyche of Canova, which has been there about two years, and is perhaps the finest statue I have seen from the chisel of that son of the Graces. I know no other living sculptor that can be placed in competition with him. This Psyche is a maiden in the most blooming period of youthful beauty. Her face, and her small breasts, which have not yet attained their full growth, distinctly mark her age. She is naked to the waist, and the rest of the figure is covered only in part, with a light drapery. She is attentively observing a butterfly, which she holds by the wings. In the expression and the whole body there is a tenderness which excites ths love and respect of the spectator. Every part breathes grace, and the loveliest and purest innocence.

My residence at Venice has this time pleased me much more than five years ago. At that time all the impressions of Rome were still new; I had still all the master-pieces of every kind before my eyes, and was satiated with the objects which are found in Italy, and no where but in that country. Now I could make no nearer comparisons than with Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; and Venice is certainly very different from any of those. I was, therefore, much more sensible to the beauties of the Venetian school, notwithstanding the difference between its productions and those of the Roman and Bolognese schools, and the excessive incumbrance of the architecture.

Venice, however, is far from being the city it once was, though Austria treats it with the utmost indulgence. It is wonderful how much the government retains of its ancient form. Among other things, the greatest part of the troops which do the duty of the city, is composed of the same Dalmatians whom the republic was so fond of employing, and to whom the people were accustomed. Even their uniform is the same, with the exception of some slight alterations.

The contrast between the former and present times is no where so striking as on the Grand Canal, which is now very dead in comparison with what it once was. "What is become of all the gondolas which used to swarm on this canal?"—*La rivolutione!* they reply, with an Italian shrug. "But there must yet be a great number of opulent families who pay visits, or go abroad to

take the air?"—*Stanno in casa*—"They remain at home," is the answer.—"And the numerous boats and gondolas, which formerly rowed for wagers, while a crowd of loiterers ran after them? And the many gondoliers and boat-men who used to sing and laugh and joke of an evening?"—*Non hanno piu spirito*—"They have no spirits, or life."—I frequently become impatient at such unsatisfactory answers; but it is certain, that in these respects a great alteration has taken place at Venice. One of the most sensible reasons that can be assigned is, that a great number of the members of the former council, who were confined to the city, now generally spend the greatest part of the year in the country.

LETTER XXV.

SALZBURG.—THE MÖNCHSBERG.—THE CAPUCINERBERG. MUNICH.—THE PALACE.—THE LIBRARY.—THE JESUITS COLLEGE.—CHURCHES.—THE ELECTOR.—SCHLEISHEIM. POPULATION OF MÜNICH.—INGOLSTADT.—RATISBON. THE HALLS OF THE DIET.—THE SCO CH INSTITUTION. NURNBERG.—DECAY OF ITS MANUFACTURES.—ITS POPULATION.

INNSPRUCK, *June* 26.

WE left Venice early on the 12th, and proceeded by way of Mestre and Adolo, to Padua, a place still containing a great number of monuments, by which it is distinguished from most of the cities of the North of Italy. It contains some churches, which I have again surveyed with so much real satisfaction that I cannot forbear devoting a page to them. There are certain objects which at every inspection appear more handsome than before, and perhaps make the last time the deepest impression.

Such an object the church of St. Justina appeared to me on this visit. It is well known that this edifice is considered as one of the finest in Italy, and it is perhaps superior to any in dignified simplicity. It is neither encumbered with paintings nor any kind of ornament, but yet contains several good pieces, particularly by Paul Veronese, who painted on the high altar the Martyrdom of St. Justina. The Benedictine convent, to which this church belongs, is a large, stately edifice, likewise containing many admirable performances of the first Italian masters. The library stands in a fine hall; it is copious, and formerly had a great number of manuscripts and old editions; but the best works were carried off by the French, fifteen hundred of whom were at one time stationed in this convent.

The cathedral is almost a new edifice, though it was begun to be built in the 16th century. A great number of architects were

employed upon it, till it was at length completed in the year 1756. This church has its defects, but it is a large and handsome structure, and is recommended by a certain simplicity and grandeur.

The church of St. Anthony is a remarkable building, the interior of which is, however, too much incumbered. What most interested me were the nine bass-reliefs in the chapel of the saint, which I went five times to see, and always fancied I discovered new beauties, though they are not in the most elegant style. The expression is not dignified, and the figures are by no means Grecian. These artists studied nature more than the antique; and hence the truth which is the more attractive the longer you contemplate them. This chapel was begun in the year 1500, by Giov. Minello de Bardi and his son Anthony. Among other paintings in the church is a beautiful piece on a side-altar, representing the martyrdom of St. Agatha, at the moment when her breasts were cut off. The artist Giov. Tiepolo has treated the subject with extraordinary delicacy. The expression in the faces of the saint and her two friends, one of whom covers her mutilated breast with a handkerchief, is truly admirable. The French robbed the saint of all his treasure, which was of immense value; and he suffered them to carry it off without working any miracle. I counted in this church seven altars, at all of which mass was read at the same time. In this manner great numbers of priests are cherished, and the city is poor. I have been in many other churches in Padua; in all of them the priests were reading mass, and in all there were auditors. Hence this city, which has not for many years contained 40,000 souls, is so full of beggars of every description, that you cannot stir without being inexpressibly incommoded by them. Praying and begging appear to be the profession of an innumerable multitude of people, both at Padua and Venice; and indeed the same seems to be the case, more or less, throughout all Italy.

One of the churches most worthy of notice in this city is that of the Padri Eremetani. In the sacristy there is a John the Baptist in the Wilderness, one of the finest paintings I have seen for a long time. It is of very great value, let it be by Guido, as it is said, or by one of his scholars. In my opinion, the artist had in his eye the celebrated John, by Raphael, which is seen at Paris, Florence, Bologna, and Vienna. The convent to which this church belongs once possessed a considerable library, but the French plundered it of the best part of its contents. In the passages of this convent are interred many Protestants, some of whom have have small monuments and inscriptions. English, Dutch, Germans, Swedes, &c. here rest quietly together. In the midst of them reposes the Prince of Orange, beneath a simple stone, on which is the following inscription in German:

"William Frederic George, Prince of Orange Nassau, General of the Germans in Italy, died the 6th of January 1799."—I frequently saw this prince last winter at Vienna, but little did I expect so soon to tread upon his grave, which I should not have observed, had not our guide pointed it out to me. He went towards the end of the last year, at the age of twenty-four, to assume the command in Italy, and the greatest expectations were entertained of him, when he was carried off by a putrid fever. His death was considered as a great loss at Vienna, and all whom I there heard speak of him, agreed that he was one of the best generals of the age: and a general joy seemed to prevail when he was appointed the commander of the Italian army. It was said in particular, that he was extremely beloved by the army, and that he possessed a peculiar art of conciliating every one's esteem. I was the more struck with the latter trait, as he apprared to me, whenever I had an opportunity of observing him, uncommonly grave, cold, and reserved. Several Dutchmen likewise informed me, that in his native country he was so highly beloved, that, amidst all the violence of parties, those who had been the most bitter against his family, had always made an exception of this young man.

Amidst the great decay of this city, which appears in so many different ways, I could not help wondering at the attention still bestowed on the preservation of the Prato della Valle. This is a place of great extent; which serves for a promenade, occasionally for horse-races, and at the fair-time for a market for horses and horned cattle. The interior, which is appropriated to the use of pedestrians, is surrounded with water; and here are erected a great number of statues, all of which are of common stone, and possess but little excellence as works of art. Every person, foreigners not excepted, enjoys the privelege of erecting statues here; and among the rest there is one placed by the late Lord Cowper, and another by the late King of Poland, in honour of one of his predecessors, who had studied at this University. They in general represent celebrated natives of Padua, Venetians, artists, heroes, and great men of every description.

I have again surveyed the Salone, or the Great Hall in the Senate-house, with much pleasure. As its dimensions are very differently stated by various writers, I took the trouble to measure it, and found that its length within is 257 English feet 9 inches; and its breadth 86 feet 8 inches: so that it is probably the largest hall in Europe not supported by columns or pillars. Westminster-hall is not quite so large, but higher.

I have also visited the Observatory, which occupies one of the lofty towers of the former Castello. The whole establishment is still kept in good order, having a fine stone stair-case, and

a hall painted in fresco. The instruments are preserved in the apartments of the Professor; they are not numerous. The view of the rich, fertile, and highly-cultivated plains, extending farther than the eye can reach on one side, and of the Euganian mountains with the Alps towering behind them on the other, is truly delightful. As all the fields are planted with trees, round which the vines are entwined in festoons, the whole plain resembles a pleasure-garden, in which the projecting steeples of the villages, and the towers of gentlemen's seats, produce a pleasing effect.

From Padua to Slesigo is one post; and the same to Vicenza. This distance we went in less than four hours, and arrived at the latter place before eleven in the forenoon of the 15th of June. The style of grandeur in which thirty or forty private houses of this provincial town are constructed, and some of which were erected before, and some since, the time of the celebrated Palladio, is particularly striking. In the same style they continue to build the few new houses that are to be seen here. In a word, Palladio, who was a native of Vicenza, seems to have given the place peculiarly lofty ideas of architecture, for which the city in other respects appears to be of too little consequence.

We went through the Campo Marzo to the celebrated hill where the Madonna del Monte is preserved, and to which you are conducted by arcades, extending from the city to the church. I was delighted with the beauty of the country, and still more by the prospect which we were shewn from some of the apartments in the convent. Here the rich smiling plain is agreeably varied by verdant hills; at some distance you see pretty lofty hills, and behind these the Alps. It is such a view as can only be seen in Italy. In one of the rooms of this convent I was surprised by a large painting by Paul Veronese, which is equalled by very few that I have seen. It powerfully reminded me of that masterpiece the Marriage of Cana, which the French carried away from St. Giorgio Maggiore. It was concealed at the time of the revolution, and the fathers supposed that the French were ignorant of its being here. These men were extremely polite, and even went so far as to shew us the miraculous picture of the Virgin Mary, painted by St. Luke, for the sake of which the church, the convent, and the arcades, two miles in length, were erected. After they had removed all the coverings and ornaments in which it was enveloped, I beheld, to my surprize, instead of the meagre, dark, and dismal countenance, (such is the character of the portrait ascribed to Luke, who was a wretched painter) a lovely female face, with full cheeks, and a fresh and delicate complexion. I was near enough to judge of the value of the performance, which was not amiss, and bore the charac-

ter of the modern Lombard school. The Madonna formerly possessed a rich treasure of silver, which was plundered by the French, who served all the churches at Vicenza in the same manner.

Instead of returning by the arcades, we took another charming road, which is maintained at the expence of the city, and terminates in an arch by Palladio, which is almost a copy of the Porta Aurea at Pola. The nearer the artist approaches to the Greek style, the more this arch surpasses in beauty that which he erected in the Campo Marzo.

The Palazzo della Ragione, or Senate-house, is by Palladio, of the Doric and Ionic order, and in my opinion, handsomer than that at Padua, though the *Salone* is not by far so large. The palace of the former Podesta was partly consumed by fire, during the last winter, and the damage it received will not very speedily be repaired.

We arrived at Verona on the 16th, at noon. Among the northern cities of Italy this is still one of the principal; and contains many remains of the antiquities of the middle ages, which are interesting. The ancient Roman Amphitheatre at this place differs considerably from that at Pola; the exterior wall of the latter is perfect, while only a small portion of that at Verona is standing, but on the contrary, its interior is in complete preservation. I here witnessed an extraordinary profanation of this noble structure, and which exhibited in a ludicrous light the contrast between ancient grandeur and modern insignificance. In the arena had been erected a small stage, in which a wretched company was performing a farce in broad day-light. The spectators were seated in the open air, on a part of the steps. They and the stage together did not occupy the twentieth part of the whole building, and formed a perfect cariacture on modern times.

An admirer of Shakspeare will scarcely pass through Verona without recollecting Romeo and Juliet. Some still pretend to point out the house inhabited by one of the hostile families; and it was once shewn to me. I entered into conversation with our Cicerone on this subject, and he conducted us to a convent where the coffin into which Juliet was put after her supposed decease, is said to be preserved. We saw this relic in the garden of a convent, where we found a female who was intimately acquainted with the history, and gave us a detailed account of the circumstances. Among the rest, she showed us some holes that had been made in the coffin, that the lady might not want air when she came to herself. What I saw was a coarse piece of workmanship, of stone, and might with as much probability have been a trough, as a coffin. Every thing, however,

proves that the remembrance of this history is still preserved, though nothing authentic is known concerning it.

The distance from Verona to Castelnuvo is fourteen miles, and as many more to Desenzano. At Peschiera you have a view of a large portion of the Lake of Guarda, and at Desenzano its whole extent is expanded to the eye. On our arrival at the latter place, I immediately hired a boat, in which we proceeded to what is denominated the Villa of Catullus, near Sarmione. I examined the remains of this structure more minutely than on my former visit, and I have no doubt of its having been an ancient Roman structure. From this villa we went on foot to Sarmione, through a wood of olive-trees, which are said to yield an oil equal to any in Italy. Here we were met by our vessel; we made a long excursion on the lake northward, and saw La Guarda, La Cisi, Peschiera, and many other places, agreeably situated on the shores of the lake.

Leaving Desenzano we proceeded to Volargni and Peri, which is the last Venetian station. Ala, or Alla, is the first on the Austrian side. Roveredo contains many very good and respectable houses; it is a populous place, but I can scarcely persuade myself that it has fourteen thousand inhabitants, as some accounts state. It exhibits that activity and bustle which are the consequence of industry and trade.

Trent appeared to me handsomer than five years ago. It has indeed many good houses, and some that might claim the appellation of palaces. The cathedral is a fine Gothic structure, whose interior is well worth seeing. In the church of St. Maria Maggiore the celebrated ecclesiastical council was held. The picture representing all the holy fathers who composed that great assembly is not only an extraordinary performance, but possesses considerable merit as a work of art.

On the 21st we reached Botzen, or, according to the Italian pronunciation, Bolzano, situated at the confluence of the Eisack and Tulfer. A little below the town the Eisack discharges itself into the Adige and loses its name. These three streams, the surrounding mountains, the luxuriant vegetation, the high cultivation of the country, and the innumerable houses scattered over the mountains and hills, render the scenery about Botzen pleasing and interesting. Botzen is a place of considerable importance, and perhaps the principal commercial town in Tyrol, but it is neither handsome nor populous. The number of inhabitants is less than ten thousand.

Brixen contains some good houses, but has not much of the appearance of a town, rather resembling the village-like capitals of the democratic Swiss cantons. The episcopal palace is a capacious building, but in other respects is not worthy of notice.

The principal church is an elegant structure, and remarkable for being embellished almost entirely by Tyrolese artists. You here find paintings by all the Unterbergers, of whom, if I am not mistaken, there were four. Christopher, known at Rome by the appellation of Don Cristofero, was patronized by Pius VI. and executed most of the decorations for the Museo Pio-Clementino. He was inferior in talent to his relation, who died last year at Vienna, and who received a thousand ducats for his Hebe. This church also contains a good picture of the crucifixion, by Schöpf, a pupil of Knoller, who is still alive and resides at Innspruck.

Mittewald, the next stage from Brixen, lies in a very narrow valley, and is rendered still more gloomy by the black woods of pines by which the steep mountains on either side are covered. On arriving at Sterzingen this narrow valley opens, and forms a plain occupied by fine pastures and meadows. Compared with this scene, the lofty mountains inclosing this valley, which are still covered with snow, exhibit a dreary appearance.

From Sterzingen to Brenner, a village on the summit of the mountain of the same name, is a distance of nine miles. This mountain cannot be compared with the Loibel, either for height, the difficulty of the passage, or for the road which leads across it. From the post-house at Brenner to Steinach is nine miles: the next station is Schönberg, a village on the hill, whose charming situation was in a lively manner impressed on my memory from a former visit. I know of no spot out of Switzerland that so nearly resembles the Alps of that country: the same charming verdure, the same luxuriant vegetation, the same universal fertility and careful cultivation, together with the same respectable appearance of the houses and their inhabitants. This picture is heightened by the magnificent view of those immense crags which bound the horizon on several sides, and never have any other covering than snow. The vast range of mountains to the north of Innspruck may here be seen so distinctly, and appears so near, that even the most experienced eye may be deceived, and the spectator can scarcely imagine that he is separated from them by the most extensive valley in all Tyrol, together with the town of Innspruck.

I passed three days very agreeably at Innspruck, which is situated in one of the most delightful vallies in Europe. It is a very handsome place, containing about twelve thousand inhabitants; and as it is the capital of the province and the seat of the Regency, the traveller always finds some society, composed of noblemen and officers, civil and military. The court contributes very little to the gaiety or amusement of the inhabitants; for the Arch duchess Elizabeth lives in a very quiet and retired manner. She inhabits an elegant structure, erected by Maria Theresa, and

designed by that princess for her own residence, after the death of her husband. The lower part is occupied with the offices of the regency, and the first story with the apartments of the archduchess, the decorations and furniture of which are very simple. The garden contiguous to the palace affords an agreeable promenade, and a rising ground in it commands a charming view of the country. The celebrated bronze equestrian statue of Leopold V. was erected two years since in the front of the palace. Among all the modern performances of this kind I think I never saw a finer horse. No person in the place could inform me by what artist it was executed, and yet it is said that he is a native of Tyrol. I cannot believe it to be the same who made all the metal statues in the Franciscan church; which, though not destitute of merit, are far inferior to this beautiful production.

The most remarkable objects in the Franciscan church, next to the statues, are the twenty-four bass-reliefs in white marble, on the tomb of Maximilian I. They are by Colin, a native of Mechlin, and bear the date of the year 1566. They are fine, but exhibit evident marks of the German or Dutch school, and attest that the artist was not an Italian. The college formerly belonging to the Jesuits is now occupied by the University, and contains the lecture-rooms, together with a handsome library, which is daily open, and has a very convenient reading-room.

The gate of the town towards Schönberg is very beautiful, but it is an imitation of the triumphal arch at Rome. Almost all the works of this kind that possess any merit are imitations of the antique; but those parts which are original, and deviate from the style of the ancients, are in general destitute of taste.

I again paid a visit to the Castle of Ambras, about four miles from this place, in a fine situation. The most valuable articles preserved there were packed up two years since, on the approach of the French, and have not been replaced. You may, however, still see the remarkable collection of armour that belonged to a great number of princes and heroes of the 15th and 16th century. The castle itself is now converted into a military hospital, and is filled with wounded soldiers. The officers with whom I became acquainted at Innspruck, complained bitterly of the want of good surgeons in the Imperial army, whose places were supplied by barbers' apprentices and ignorant bunglers, who cut off many a limb, and sacrificed many a brave man, that superior talents might have preserved.

On another side of the town is situated the charming convent of Weilau, near which the Sil forms a pleasing, but not large fall. The adjacent country is grand and picturesque. We likewise visited the little country-seat of the former princes of Tyrol, which is a very insignificant structure, but commands a noble view.

LETTER XXVII.

SALZBURG.—THE MÖNCHSBERG.—THE CAPUCINERBERG.—MUNICH.—THE PALACE.—THE LIBRARY.—THE JESUITS' COLLEGE.—CHURCHES—THE ELECTOR.—SCHLEISHEIM. POPULATION OF MUNICH.—INGOLSTADT.—RATISBON. THE HALLS OF THE DIET.—THE SCOTCH INSTITUTION. NURNBERG.—DECAY OF ITS MANUFACTURES.—ITS POPULATION.

Nurnberg, July 26, 1799.

THOSE who travel to enjoy the beauties of nature will scarcely be able to find, out of Switzerland, such a continued series of pleasing scenes as those we have traversed in the last ten weeks in Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Venice, and Tyrol.

To a great distance from Innspruck the valley continues to be nearly of the same breadth; that is, about two miles. It then becomes narrow, widening at intervals, till you reach the plain in which Salzburg is situated.

Salzburg is, in my opinion, one of the handsomest, cleanest, and neatest towns in Germany. The great number of good and respectable houses, the many fine streets, the numerous public and private fountains, several churches, the palace of the prince, the stables, riding-house, in a word, every thing evinces that this place has long been under a wise government, which is seconded by the industry and enterprize of its subjects. The town is small, but most of the houses have four stories, besides the ground-floor, many five, and some even six. Its population is reckoned at sixteen thousand persons.

But what renders Salzburg perfectly unique, is the rock which incloses it like a wall, and is called the Mönchsberg; so that formerly there were only two entrances to the city, namely, where the two extremities of this range of rock joined the river. In the present century one of the archbishops formed a handsome passage through the rock, upwards of four hundred feet in length, twenty in breadth, and thirty in height. It is a noble work, and the architectural ornaments, hewn out of the rock at each gate or entrance, are in a good taste.

What was the original form of this singular rock cannot now be discovered, it has been gradually worked away, so that it is now nearly perpendicular. It served as a quarry to the inhabitants, who hewed from it, but in a regular manner, the stone they wanted. The principal buildings in this city are constructed with it; and people are at this moment employed in reducing it to a form more nearly approaching a perpendicular line. It therefore now forms the wall of the city, and no town of anti-

quity ever had one so thick, so strong, and so magnificent. It must be in many places six, seven, or eight hundred feet in thickness; its height varies, in my opinion, from two to three hundred feet. Above are houses, gardens, meadows, trees, and even corn-fields, a magazine and fortifications, besides the citadel, which stands on a point still more elevated called the Schlossberg. On this rock any person may walk; and a more agreeable promenade, and more enchanting view cannot easily be conceived. You thence overlook the whole town, the river to the distance of many miles, and the whole rich and charming plain, interspersed with many villages, and innumerable detached houses, all of which have an air of cleanliness and comfort that delights me.

On the opposite side of the river, which is called both Salza and Salzach, is an eminence of considerable height, denominated the Capucinerberg, inaccessible on one side from its steepness, and defended by a wall on the other. This mountain is in fact only an inclosed wood, on the most elevated part of which stands a castle, that commands the most delightful view of any spot in the vicinity of Salzburg. When I saw this small, and now neglected edifice, with the arsenal as it is called, and its paltry fortifications, I said that it must have been built by some archbishop who was afraid of his subjects. Upon a nearer approach, I actually found an inscription over the entrance, which states, that one Paris, Count of Lodron, was driven out of the town, and retired to this place.

We left Salzburg on the 9th of July, and proceeded to Wasserburg, a distance of forty-seven miles, where we passed the night. This place is situated on a peninsula, formed by the winding of the river Inn, which you cross over a handsome bridge to arrive at the town. On the 10th we had thirty-three miles to go, through a perfectly level country, to reach Munich. In this tract of country I remarked a peculiar method of building houses. The upper story and roof are first finished, and are propped up by posts; the lower part is then constructed, commonly of stones and wood, or sometimes only of stone. I had before noticed the same mode of proceeding in the archbishopric of Salzburg.

Munich is accounted a fine city, and the many good houses it contains justify its claim to that character; but I scarcely know a place of the same extent that has so little architectural beauty to recommend it. Even the great electoral palace, or, as it is here termed, the Residence, looks more like barracks, a house of industry, or a large hospital, than the habitation of a prince who has two millions of subjects. The gallery of paintings, the most interesting objects contained in this palace, was packed up on the

renewal of hostilities, and the pictures have not been again replaced. The cabinet of curiosities was not packed up, and I have again seen with peculiar pleasure, among other things which it contains, an accurate model of Trajan's column at Rome. The ground is of lapis lazuli, and the bass-reliefs of bronze. The work bears the name of Levadier, a French artist of reputation whom I knew at Rome, with the date of the year 1780; but the bass-reliefs, which are the principal part of the work, are by Bartolom. Hecker, who has likewise engraved on it his name and the date 1774, in an almost imperceptible manner.

I shall say nothing of the relics, and their costly cases, preserved in the collection in the chapel, but I cannot omit mentioning a small bass-relief which may easily be overlooked, and is yet of great value. It represents the taking of Christ from the cross, in wax, by Michael Angelo. It is inconceivable how that artist could transfuse his grand manner into so small a piece, the largest figures of which are not four inches in length. It was probably the model of an altar-piece he had to execute in marble; but be that as it may, it is an admirable performance.

In the imperial apartments, as they are called, the tapestry deserves particular notice, both on account of its beauty, and because it is manufactured in the country. It is impossible to forbear smiling at the puerile vanity which could induce a prince of Bavaria to establish a manufacture, to support which, even in luxurious Paris, the king was obliged to make considerable sacrifices. As it still exists, I afterwards went to see it, and found that Sentini, a very able artist, is at the head of it. I can, indeed, perceive but little difference between its best productions and those of Paris, but the prices here are higher, and no more than ten persons are employed.

The Elector's library does not stand in the palace, but in the college formerly belonging to the Jesuits, where it occupies a handsome building, and is well regulated. It is said to consist of above 100,000 volumes, and to contain a great number of editions of 1400, and some valuable manuscripts. I here saw the first edition of Ptolemy, with maps, which is very scarce, and many other works that were extremely interesting to me. The reading-rooms, of which there are several, are spacious and commodious, and are open to the public in certain hours each day.

In the Jesuits' college there are likewise several saloons, containing various collections, and in one of them the Academy of Sciences holds its meetings. Another is occupied by physical instruments, mechanical machines and models, a collection of minerals, and some subjects in natural history.

I likewise saw the treasure in the Jesuits' church, and must

confess that it hurt my feelings to behold such a vast quantity of gold, silver, and precious stones, amassed without purpose or advantage. A few articles, such as cups, and other church-utensils, are distinguished for the excellence of the workmanship, but all the rest are destitute of taste. I saw whole chests filled with silver statues, some as large as the life; and yet this treasure is not by far so considerable as it once was. Some years since it was plundered by a knight of Malta, and recently sustained another diminution, when the late elector appropriated to his own use a considerable sum of money belonging to the church. The government will sooner or later again be obliged to have recourse to it, as well as to the other rich convents which abound in this country; but the Bavarian is not yet sufficiently prepared for such a measure, which at present might be productive of disagreeable consequences.

Among the churches in this city, there are five which I should recommend to the notice of the traveller. The church of the Blessed Virgin is a large, ancient structure, and not destitute of merit, and St. Peter's contains some things that are worth seeing. The church of the Gaetani would be a splendid monument of architecture, were not the interior so incumbered with ornament, that the grandeur of the plan and the style in which it is built, are totally destroyed. In this church is the burial-place of the electoral family, but they have no monuments. The Jesuits' church, now belonging to the Maltese, is a handsome structure, the magnitude and simplicity of whose interior inspires respect. The same cannot be said of the exterior, nor can I admire the metal statues, or rather groupes, over the doors. Lastly, the large church of the Augustines contains a large picture by Tintoretto, and among the many others there are about two more which are worthy of notice.

The trade of Munich is of very little importance, and manufactures will not flourish in this country. The few articles made here are dear; the great privileged manufactory near the palace ceases to exist, and the buildings are now employed as barracks.

You know that the present elector of Bavaria is a younger brother of the late duke of Deux-Ponts, and that he was once colonel of a German regiment in France. Many people expect of the new sovereign various alterations for the better. Some have already been begun, but I am informed that the great body of the people are dissatisfied with them, though these measures are conducive to their real interest. It was certainly a wise step of the elector to suppress all the commanderies of the order of Malta founded by his predecessor; but the emperor of Russia thought otherwise, and obliged the elector to restore them. His interference has been so effectual, that the electoral prince is

appointed grand-prior of the order, an office before held by the prince of Brezenheim, the natural son of the late elector, on whose account the commanderies were in part founded.

The late elector had three natural children; two daughters and the abovementioned prince, for whom he richly provided. A great portion of the money which, with the permission of the Pope, he took from the churches and convents, is said to have been expended on them. The new elector could not possibly see these children with pleasure: the Prince of Brezenheim has already quitted the country, and is said to have entered into the imperial service. The finances of the country are in the lowest state; the late prince was no economist, and shamefully neglected the army. It is asserted, that, at the time of his death, there were not 15,000 troops in all his dominions.

I was a few days since at Schleisheim, a magnificent country-seat, twelve miles from this place, which was once celebrated for its gallery of paintings, that were removed eighteen years since to Munich. These have been replaced with fresh pieces; and the collection might again be called important, if the value of a gallery consisted in the number of pieces it contained. This extensive building has not been inhabited for upwards of twenty years.

The architecture, though not a master-piece, is infinitely preferable to the tasteless mass of building composing the palace of Nymphenburg. To the latter, however, belong large gardens and water-works, of which the former mansion is almost entirely destitute. The situation of these two palaces cannot be commended, both standing in the vast plain which surrounds Munich on every side, and is neither distinguished for fertility nor cultivation. It is wonderful how little every thing around Munich indicates a place that is the capital of a country containing two millions of inhabitants. Very few country-houses of any description, large woods of fir, vast pastures interspersed with arid sands, and a few uninclosed corn fields—such is the level tract round Munich; interrupted only by the gigantic range of the distant Alps, separating Bavaria from Tyrol. These mountains, partly covered with eternal snows, form an interesting boundary towards the south, but are visible only when the weather is perfectly clear.

Professor Westenrieder, in his description of Munich published in 1783, states the number of all the individuals belonging to Munich at 40,379, including the electoral palaces of Nymphenburg, Schleisheim, and Fürstenried. Since that period the population is said to have been considerably increased, particularly by the many inhabitants of the Palatinate whom the war on the Rhine has driven hither; but that the present number of

inhabitants should exceed 50,000, as some assert, I cannot believe. They ground their opinion on the extravagant rise in the rent of houses, and the difficulty of procuring lodgings, without reflecting, that in a town containg only 1,488 houses, an increase of a few thousands makes a great difference. Munich is the residence of a sovereign prince and of the most distinguished persons in the country, and many very large buildings are entirely occupied by a single family.

From Munich we proceeded to Ingoldstadt, a distance of forty-three miles. Ingoldstadt is on the whole a handsome town, with a great number of good structures, among which are some fine churches and convents. I was particularly pleased with the principal parish-church, which, from the date engraved on it, I suppose to have been built in 1425. It is a large edifice, in a nobly simple Gothic style. The Franciscan convent and its gardens are worthy of notice. The Hall of Assembly, as it is termed, is a large building richly ornamented and covered with paintings. The style of the embellishments is bad, for they have more of glitter and show than of real beauty; yet it is such an edifice as you do not meet with in any Protestant university. The number of students here is very considerable, but I cannot think they amount to 2,000, as I was informed. The population of the place was stated to be between 7 and 8,000, which I likewise believe to be exaggerated.

Our conductor showed us a great number of images celebrated for the miracles they have wrought; among the rest a Virgin Mary of stone in the principal parish-church, a wretched figure of Christ in wood, which the artist threw into the Danube, because he was dissatisfied with the execution, but floating against the stream, it was taken up and placed in a public situation, where it gave a student, while at confession, a box on the ear, probably for concealing one or two of his sins: lastly, a Madonna, which the Jews threw into the Danube after cutting off her head. She, however, floated, together with the head, against the stream, till she was fished out with many solemnities, and a chapel was erected in honour of her.

You may easily suppose I should not be at the trouble to write these absurdities, had I not observed that they are generally believed by the people. The ceiling of one of the churches is painted with the incidents of the latter story, in four compartments. A traveller must now and then introduce traits of this kind, because many Protestants who do not travel, are incapable of conceiving what darkness here and there prevails in the south of Germany.

Leaving Ingoldstadt, we first proceeded nine miles along the north bank of the Danube, which we crossed at Vohburg by

means of a miserable wooden bridge. This town, as well as Neustadt, is of no importance; they have no trade, no industry, and are inhabited by people who principally subsist by agriculture. The country gradually loses its uniformity, and here and there rises into hills of tolerable height. Between Saal and Abbach there are some pretty, romantic spots, perpendicular rocks which rise on the shore of the Danube, and some wood; and the banks of the river, which were before low, now become more interesting.

I expected very little of Ratisbon, and found it even below my expectations. Here is not one handsome street, not a single regular square, no sign of life, activity, or opulence. Ratisbon has no manufactures of consequence, and its trade appears to be just sufficient to supply the wants of the place. It may be thought that the great number of foreign ministers would give the city a certain degree of life and elegance, or at least that some equipages would make their appearance in the streets; but excepting those of the prince of Tour and Taxis, you may walk about a whole day without seeing a single gentleman's carriage. The population is estimated at 24,000 souls, but I think this calculation too high.

The Ambassadors' Street, which is so called because many of the foreign ministers reside in it, is narrow, dull, and empty. Every thing here wears a dead and forlorn appearance, and this is the case with buildings which ought to be the most distinguished. The house of the Prince of Tour and Taxis was consumed by fire seven years since, and is not rebuilt, and he now resides in one which he rents of the Abbot of St. Emeran. He lives in some degree like a prince, to judge from the number of horses and carriages he keeps, but all around the house looks so dreary and forsaken, that it resembles a nobleman's mansion which the proprietor has not visited for many years.

The princely Abbot of Emeran resides in another part of the abbey, which appears equally forlorn, and where nothing indicates the mansion of a prelate who possesses very considerable revenues. To this abbey belongs a copious library, containing, however, very few of the best modern works. It is principally composed of biblical works, the Fathers, and all that belongs to the Roman Catholic religion. Of the classics there are very few; but it has some of the *principes*, as they are denominated, or editions of 1400, and a considerable collection of manuscripts, many of which are said to have been written between the 8th and 11th century.

The library of the Prince of Tour and Taxis is of much greater utility to the public. It stands in a building at a considerable distance from his dwelling. It is open to the public for

several hours on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and even at any other time you may obtain a sight of it.

The cathedral is a very ancient Gothic structure, and is one of the finest I ever saw. The exterior is rather heavy, but the inside is grand and dignified. The bass-relef, representing the multiplication of the loaves, is more celebrated than it deserves to be. Of the other churches, none is worthy of particular notice.

The halls in which the Diets of the Empire are held are antiquated, mean, and gloomy. They are six in number, and all of them have small, round, dark windows. It seems as if they were never broken, else I know not how they could be replaced, for I never saw any panes of glass resembling these, even in the most wretched cottages. The best that can be said of these apartments is, that there is nothing about them which does not correspond with the other parts. The smoky walls, the tapestry, tables, chairs, windows, floors, altogether make the completest whole of the kind that I ever saw. It is as old, as worn, and as decayed as the constitution of the German Empire.

I went to see the *Scots,* as it is denominated. This singular institution is only for natives of Scotland, who bring over young people, mostly boys, from that country, for the purpose of educating them. I enquired the number of persons it contained, and was informed that at present it amounted only to seven, and that a certain proportion of them is from time to time sent back to Scotland to do the service there, that is, to propagate the Roman Catholic faith. It appears to me that they continue to maintain an intimate connection with Great Britain; and therefore what Nicolai says concerning this institution may be perfectly correct.

The bridge over the Danube, which is of stone, and upwards of one thousand feet in length, enjoys some celebrity among structures of the kind, but it cannot be compared with that at Dresden, and is even far inferior to the bridge at Prague. It is so narrow that two coaches can scarcely pass each other, and the pedestrians are obliged to go in the carriage-way, because the foot-path, paved with flag-stones, is so narrow, that one person cannot walk on it without rubbing his clothes against the wall which supports the balustrade.

We quitted Ratisbon on the 24th of July. Our road led us first through a small part of the county of Neuburg, and soon afterwards through the Upper Palatinate. This province is not better cultivated than a great portion of the duchy of Bavaria, but is more pleasing and interesting than that level tract, being composed of moderate hills, which are more or less cultivated, and covered with wood. Schambach, Taswang, and Teining, where we changed horses, are mere villages, and Postbauer, where we passed the night, is an insignificant place. In this

whole stretch of forty-three miles there is but one small town, Neumarkt, and even this differs but little from the villages, excepting in its style of building.

On the 25th, after proceeding about half an hour, we quitted the Upper Palatinate, and soon discovered, by the Prussan eagle, what country we had entered. We changed horses at Feucht, a small town in the territory of Nurnberg, but which, as well as all the country on this side, from the frontiers of Anspach, is in the hands of the Prussians.

That Nurnberg is a decayed city every one knows, and that its population has been for many years decreasing, is evinced by the grass that grows in almost all the streets, the few persons whom you see in them, and the low price of house-rent, while that of other articles is continually rising.

The misfortunes of Nurnberg have proceeded from other causes than the mal-administration of its magistrates, of which its inhabitants have so bitterly complained, and must partly be ascribed to some circumstances for which there is no remedy. These people formerly enjoyed a kind of monopoly of the principal articles of their manufacture, I mean the various kinds of hardware: but other countries have become more civilized, and the same articles are now made by the artizans of every town in Germany. As the wares of Nurnberg were, however, either better or cheaper, this city still retained a certain proportion of the trade; but the English have gradually inundated the half of Europe with their commodities, and there are few who do not prefer the wares of Birmingham to those of Nurnberg. The manufacturers of the latter place did not accommodate themselves to the times, but retained their old fashions and forms, while the world required something more elegant, or at least something different. Many of the articles made here stand so low in the estimation of people of taste, as to have become proverbial.

Notwithstanding its decay, this city exhibits many remains of former times, capable of amusing a traveller for a few days. Perhaps the ancient state of the arts in Germany cannot be studied so well any where as here. Among the modern collections, that of Mr. Frauenholz is very considerable, and his latest purchases comprehend many valuable articles. There are also many fine pieces in his collection of pictures. The city library, several of the churches and fountains, and some of the magazines of Nurnberg wares of every description, afforded me partly amusement, and partly information. But in his walks through the town the traveller should not forget either to furnish himself with small coin, or to arm his heart with three-fold brass, for he is every where pursued by beggars. The once-celebrated arsenal has been stripped both by the French and Austrians.

The population of Nurnberg was stated to me at 36,000 souls. When I expressed my doubts of the accuracy of this statement, my informant assured me that he knew it for a fact, and that it had been communicated to him by a member of the magistracy. This city is, indeed, large; but when I reflect that the suburbs have been cut off from it, and see the grass growing in all the streets, I am convinced that there cannot be 30,000 persons within the walls, and I even doubt whether the number of the inhabitants exceeds 28,000.

LETTER XXVII.

BAMBERG.—THE NEW HOSPITAL.—THE ENGLISH NUNS.—WÜRZBURG.—THE PALACE.—THE JULIUS HOSPITAL.—THE SCOTCH COLLEGE.—HANAU.—FRANKFURT ON THE MAYNE—DARMSTADT—WETZLAR—GISSEN.—MARBURG.—THE HATZ.—CLAUSTHAL.—ANDREASBERG.—THE BROCKEN.—BLANKENBURG.—WERNIGERODE.—GOSSLAR.—JOURNEY FROM BRUNSWICK TO HAMBURG, THROUGH ZELL.

HAMBURGH, *August* 29, 1799.

WE left Nurnberg early in the morning of the 27th of July, and proceeded nine miles, to Erlangen, a handsome, regular town, the streets of which intersect each other at right angles. Some are very spacious, and have a great number of good stone houses. Its population is about 9,000 souls. The castle is a solid structure of simple architecture, and every thing about it has a very clean and pleasing appearance. It has for many years been the residence of the widow of the late margrave of Bayreuth. The buildings belonging to the University are not worthy of notice.

Between Nurnberg and Erlangen the country is, without exception, level; but at the latter place it begins to rise into moderate hills, and continues the same till you enter the territory of Bamberg. The stage from Erlangen to Furchheim is a wretched, sandy road, and this part of Bayreuth contains much barren land. There is, however, a still greater proportion in that part of Nurnberg of which the king of Prussia has taken possession, between Postbauer and that city. Notwithstanding the sterility of the soil, the tract between Erlangen and Furchheim is well cultivated.

Furchheim is a wretched, filthy place. The road from it to Bamberg traverses a charming, well cultivated country; the hills are crowned with woods, below which, on the declivities, the villages appear to great advantage.

Bamberg may be distinguished at a great distance, and its steeples excite a favorable idea of its importance. It is, in fact,

a very handsome town, with many very spacious streets, and a great number of good houses, some of which are of free-stone. The bishop's residence, though an irregular structure, the church which formerly belonged to the Jesuits, the antique cathedral, some of the other churches, the fine newly-erected hospital, the seminary, the large Benedictine convent, the town-house, several of the houses of the canons, besides many others, would do honour to any city.

The imperial hall, as it is called, in the residence of the prince-bishop, and some other good apartments, are worth seeing. The collection of paintings is neither numerous nor very valuable; it, however, contains some good pieces: others were carried off by the French; and others, as I was informed, have been sent away for security.

The new hospital deserves particular notice; I never saw any institution of the kind that afforded me such pleasure. This handsome and commodious, but at the same time solid and simple structure, was erected by the late bishop of Bamberg and Wurzburg, the excellent Erthal, at his own expence, for one hundred and fifty patients; but his circumstances, I had almost said his poverty, which was the consequence of his beneficence, prevented him from endowing it. Other benefactors have since bequeathed legacies, or contributed sums of money to the institution, and the remainder of its revenue consists of one kreuzer (something less than a halfpenny) per week, which every apprentice and domestic, male and female, at Bamberg is obliged to pay. If any individual out of these classes fall sick, he receives in this house till he recovers, attendance, medicine, board, lodging, and even cloathing; for all patients brought to this place receive the necessary linen and clothes suitable for persons in their situation, which they wear as long as they stay here. On their recovery they give up these clothes, and receive back their own. All sick foreigners unable to maintain themselves are also received, without regard to country or religion. Patients are likewise taken who pay for their attendance and cure, and the reputation of the house seems to be so firmly established, that many persons of rank and fortune prefer this institution to an inn or private house, exactly in the same manner as many a lady of rank at Copenhagen chuses to lye-in at the public lying-in-hospital of that city.

The English Nuns, so called from their foundress, who is said to have been a native of England, likewise form an excellent institution. They instruct gratuitously children of their own sex, in reading, writing, the principles of religion, and the German language. Though nuns, they are not bound by any severe rules, but are at liberty to walk about in the city, and to visit their friends. They are at present ten in number. They receive nothing from the house but board and lodging, so that they must

possess some property, besides which they occasionally receive small presents from the parents of the children; for those who frequent their school are by no means of the lowest class.

The church formerly belonging to the Jesuits, like most of the buildings of that order, is handsome; but this observation is in general more applicable to the interior than to the exterior. The other churches that I have seen are worthy of little notice; but yet those who study the progress of the arts in Germany will here and there meet with something interesting. The large Benedictine convent of St. Michael is situated on an eminence, and when viewed at a distance is a great embellishment to the town. It affords a fine view of the country round Bamberg.

The river Rednitz, or Regnitz, is navigable at this place for vessels of considerable burthen, and falls into the Main about four miles below the city. A certain degree of activity and opulence may be observed at Bamberg. The late bishop taught his subjects many things of which they were ignorant, and excited among them an industry which is very rare in countries under ecclesiastical control. Bamberg is much more lively than the capitals of most spiritual sovereigns, and pretty populous; but whether the statement of the number of its inhabitants at 24,000 be not exaggerated, I shall not pretend to decide.

From Bamberg we proceeded by the way of Wiesentheit and Dettelbach to Würzburg. When I tell you that I know of no town-residence of any sovereign which forms such a beautiful and magnificent whole as that of the bishop of Würzburg, you will doubtless be astonished; but it is literally true. It is executed from one complete plan, and is perfectly regular, the proportion of all its parts are admirably preserved, and it is open on all sides. What particularly contributes to the beauty of this place is the garden, in which two sides of it stand. The fortifications of the city that compose part of the garden, are employed to great advantage; and that portion of them opposite to the principal front of the palace, rises in the form of a semi-amphitheatre. The whole is kept in excellent order, and has an appearance of opulence and splendour, combined with the cheerful and the agreeable.

Not a fifth part of the apartments of the palace are occupied by the prince, the rest are appropriated to the residence of relations or strangers, or principally consist of state-rooms for emperors, kings, and princes, very few of whom, it is true, ever visit this city. The remainder are occupied by the domestics, or by the officers of the regency, or are vacant. One saloon is particularly distinguished for its splendour, its magnitude, and admirable proportions, and was painted by Tie-

polo, more of whose performances are to be seen at this place. But I cannot consider the celebrated stair-case as a master-piece of architecture; the style appears to me neither grand nor correct. The architect was Neumann, a native of Würzburg, who had resided a considerable time at Paris.

If I regard the palace of the prince as out of all proportion to the country, I must not omit to add that this city contains an hospital which is not less magnificent in its way. The Julius hospital is a very extensive edifice, having sixty-five windows in each story, besides another range of building of the same length behind, and two smaller at each end, so that the whole forms a vast oblong square, inclosing a court of proportionable magnitude.

The Cathedral, the Jesuits' Church, the Observatory, and the City Library, are all buildings or institutions that are worthy of notice. The many pictures suspended in the cathedral, though not master-pieces, are superior to those which you commonly meet with in Germany. The Taking of Christ from the Cross is a fine performance, by Sandrart. Some are by Fesel, an artist worthy of a better fate than to live unknown at Würzburg. I went to see him, and learned that he is a scholar of Mengs, and studied a long time at Rome. Besides several pictures, I likewise saw some good drawings of his. This city has also a sculptor, but who for want of employment works but little in marble. Many of the statues and decorations of the fountains at this place are by him, and he makes small figures of alabaster.

In this city there is likewise a Scotch college, all the members of which must be natives of Scotland. This institution has existed several centuries; for the Scotch have long had a footing in these parts, because their countryman St. Kilian lies buried here.

We left Würzburg on the first of August, and did not meet with a single town between that place and Aschaffenburg, a distance of forty seven miles. Aschaffenburg is neither large nor handsome, and the country about it is very far from answering the descriptions I had read of it. From Aschaffenburg we proceeded to Frankfurt by way of Hanau, where the present Landgrave of Hesse Cassel resided for a long time when hereditary prince. When his father changed his religion, Hanau devolved to the prince as his own property, and on this account he did many things for the place which are not usually done for a mere provincial town. For the last two years it has been the residence of the present hereditary prince. The reigning landgrave still has apartments in the palace, but they are unoccupied; for when he comes to this part of the country, he lives in a small building at Wilhelmsbad.

We arrived at Frankfurt on the 3d. What gave me the most pleasure in this place is, the increase of its trade, opulence, and industry, particularly as I had before seen scarcely any but towns which were either at a stand, or in a progressive state of decay. On the contrary, Frankfurt, since I saw it six years ago, has increased in population and opulence. Two hundred new houses have since been built, or are now building. At the present moment they are engaged in building a whole quarter, comprising a square and about eighteen streets, many of the houses of which are erected, but, though not habitable, are all let.

The Jews, who were formerly confined in a single, miserable street, are to be allowed more room. I went to see their street, and found it still in ruins. You recollect that three years ago a fire broke out in it, and that to stop the conflagration the other houses were pulled down. The Jews are now dispersed all over the city, which they like so well, that they are in no hurry to rebuild their ruined habitations.

The new buildings which have within the last six years been erected at Frankfurt, display more taste and a superior style of architecture, than those constructed in different parts of Germany during the same period. The two Calvinist churches, the German as well the French, are handsome structures both within and without. What an alteration in the spirit of the times! There are now two edifices for the Calvinist worship in this city, where a few years since the members of that persuasion were obliged to go for that purpose to a village four miles from Frankfurt.

From Frankfurt we made an excursion to Darmstadt, situated at the distance of about fourteen miles, in an agreeable but level country. Darmstadt does not contain much to distinguish it, either as a town or as the residence of a sovereign prince. The palace occupies a great extent of ground, but scarcely half of it is covered with building. The English Garden is not worthy of notice. One of the landgravines is interred in it, but her monument consists of nothing but a hillock, with a small marble urn placed upon it by Frederic II. of Prussia.

Darmstadt, however, contains a building which is not equalled by any of the kind that I have seen in Europe. This is the Exercise House, which is not supported by any column or pillar. Its length was stated to me to be 314 feet, and its breadth 157 feet, so that neither Westminster Hall, nor the Salone at Padua, can be placed in any kind of comparison with it.

We left Frankfurt early on the 9th, and arrived by four in

the afternoon at Wetzlar, though the distance is forty-two miles and the roads none of the best.

Wetzlar has not one handsome, strait, or level street. You go continually up and down hill; the pavement is bad, and the houses are small and mean. The Lahn runs through the town, and traverses below it a very agreeable valley. Wetzlar has an ancient church, and which in its kind may be called handsome. I think it a specimen of the earliest period of architecture in Germany.

On the 10th we passed through two universities, Giessen and Marburg. The former is a wretched place, and the number of students does not exceed one hundred. Marburg, though by no means a fine town, is far superior to Giessen, and the University is more considerable, and contains two hundred students. The country round it surpasses any I have seen since we left Salzburg.

We passed the night at the village of Jessberg, and proceeded on the 11th to Wavern, twelve miles, and to Cassel, fourteen miles. Wavern is a wretched village, like most of those in the territories of Hesse.

From Cassel, by way of Münden and Gottingen, to Nordheim, was a country with which I was well acquainted, having traversed it only fifteen months ago. From Nordheim a direct road leads to Brunswick, by way of Seesen, Lutter, &c. but those who wish to see the Harz, go from Nordheim to Osterrode, Clausthal, &c. The country between Seesen and Clausthal is a miserable tract, like the greatest part of the Harz, at least as far as I have seen.

Clausthal is a very neat town, where I found in a high degree that cleanliness which I have so often remarked in mountainous countries. The houses are mostly of wood, but are in general painted, so that their appearance is not amiss. As it is the capital of the Harz, it is the seat of several colleges, and the residence of a number of officers, most of whom have handsome houses. The town has neither walls nor gates. The population of Clausthal does not exceed 9000 souls, most of whom subsist by working the mines. The mint which supplies all the Hanoverian dominions, is established at this place.

The country around Andreasberg is still more barren than that near Clausthal, and I found it much less romantic than I had been taught to expect. The houses too are far inferior, and the place contains no more than 1000 inhabitants. Not long ago great part of it was destroyed by fire, but has been rebuilt with wood. It is 1773 Paris feet above the level of the sea.

As the journey over the Brocken can only be made on foot, we set off soon after four in the morning of the 16th of August from Andreasberg, with a guide. I expected to find a beaten road over the mountain, or at least a kind of foot-path, but soon discovered how indispensably necessary it is to be accompanied by a guide, for in many places not the least tract was percep-

tible; and we met with so many boggy places, that our feet and legs were soon quite wet. We met with a boy collecting a particular kind of moss which grows on the mountain, and which is said to be employed with advantage in consumptions. The upper part of the Brocken is entirely bare, and is such a shapeless mass, that it appeared to me the ugliest mountain I had ever seen. It has nothing romantic or picturesque, and no masses of rock of various forms. The whole is a vast, clumsy cone, covered with stones, between which are scanty patches of grass, with dry moss, and here and there a low shrub. Of plants or herbs there are very few.

When we had reached a certain elevation, we arrived all at once at a broad and tolerably good carriage-road, constructed a year and a half ago by the Count of Wernigerode, for the conveyance of wood and other materials requisite for his new building for the accommodation of travellers. The mountain is annually visited by a great number of persons from the circumjacent provinces, and they have hitherto been crowded into two rooms, forming the principal part of two huts, which are half sunk below the surface of the earth. The new edifice has in front eight windows and three doors, and will contain twelve apartments, all of which are on the ground-floor, on account of the incessant storms and other circumstances. The walls are four feet thick, entirely of stone, joined with moss, and not with mortar, for lime would be an article too expensive on these heights. The cellar will be entirely blasted out of the rock, and the house is intended to be completed in the course of next year.

As the summit of the Brocken is not pointed, but presents a broad, flat surface, the natural consequence is, that it conceals the scenery immediately surrounding it, at least for the distance of two miles. You have therefore no grand or distinct object sufficiently near for your eye to repose upon, or that forms a picturesque spectacle. The first and nearest objects you here discover would serve for the back ground of a good landscape; and in my opinion a prospect is fine only in as far as it is picturesque, and presents a variety of forms and masses. The Brocken derives its importance chiefly from the circumstance that the provinces around it to a considerable distance are either perfectly level, or have but very low hills.

At the house on the Brocken we took another guide, to conduct us to Elbingerode. On this side the mountain is steeper than on the other, but less dreary and disagreeable. On leaving the naked summit you soon arrive at a wood, which, compared with the former, affords quite a delightful view. Nor is the traveller here obliged to wade through bogs, as there is a kind of a road, on which, though rugged enough, he may at least walk dry-

shod. Four miles before you reach Elbingerode the country again becomes civilized, and from the contrast appears even agreeable.

From some accounts of journies to the Brocken, it might be concluded that it is a very lofty mountain, though every one knows this not to be the case. The Brocken is not more than 3000 feet above the level of the sea. In Switzerland, at the height of 4000 feet, there are fertile, smiling, and populous vallies. The Brocken has all that is rude, wild, and disagreeable in the lofty Swiss mountains, without possessing any of the beauties or the fertility that embellish their vallies.

We passed the night at Elbingerode, a small insignificant place, and on the 17th proceeded, still on foot, to Blankenburg. The country becomes more interesting, and here and there I discovered some agreeable spots. This whole tract contains many iron-works, furnaces, &c. and among the mountains you perceive a peculiar kind of rocks and caverns, that reminded me of part of Carniola. One of these called Biel's Cavern, and situated near the village of Rübeland, was discovered in the year 1789 by a miner named Becker, who has enlarged the entrance, cleared away the sand and earth, hewn steps in the rock at one place, and fixed ladders in another, so as to form a tolerably commodious descent. The man shews the whole *con amore,* and has given names to every object it contains. He considers the cave as his property, and has provided it with doors and locks.

Blankenburg, the next town we came to, lies in a pleasing country, and though not a handsome, is not quite an insignificant place. We were here shewn a private house where Louis XVIII. resided for a considerable time. The ducal palace, an ancient and rather decayed building, stands on an eminence, various parts of which command a charming prospect.

From Blankenburg we went nine miles to Wernigerode, a small but bustling and tolerably populous town, principally composed of wooden houses. The Count resides near it on a hill, which affords the finest view I have seen in my journey through the Harz. The castle is a very extensive, ancient building, furnished with such simplicity that I was astonished.

On the 18th we went to Gosslar, a town whose magnitude forms a striking contrast with its population, which does not exceed above 6000 souls. The most remarkable object at Gosslar is the cathedral, said to have been erected in the 11th century. In point of architecture it has but little merit; and indeed scarcely any of the edifices of Germany constructed between the 11th and 14th centuries can be compared with those erected in England during the same period. There you find a great and bold style in the whole, and high perfection in the parts: the German buildings, with few exceptions, are rude, often mean, and the embellishments not only heavy, but in a barbarous taste. In this church

is the altar of one of the deities of the ancient Saxons, which was brought hither from Harzburg. I conversed concerning it with one of the canons of the town, and likewise with a man whose inquiries are particularly devoted to the antiquities of Gosslar, and neither of them had the least doubt but that it was the genuine altar on which the Saxons used to sacrifice children to the God. It is a brass chest, perforated on every side in such a manner that the flame could strike through to consume the victim as it lay on it. You are likewise shewn in the same church a christian altar, surrounded with large metal columns, which was found at the same place, and is said to have been a monument of the heathen ages in Saxony. I must confess that I have great doubts concerning the justice of the pretensions of either of these altars to such high antiquity.

On the 19th of August we left Gosslar. A wretched road conducted us to Lutter, distant nine miles; but from that place a good paved road leads to Brunswick. This part of the bishopric of Hildesheim is an agreeable tract, and well cultivated. On the greater part of the way we had pleasing views of the Harz, and particularly of the Brocken, which appears to much greater advantage at a distance than near.

The road we travelled from Brunswick, through Zell, Verden, and Bremen, to Hamburg, is about one hundred and forty miles. As I had traversed the Hanoverian dominions in so many directions, I did not expect to find nature clothed in charms, or a high degree of population, fertility, and cultivation. Next to Lauenburg, I think it is the worst tract of an equal extent that I ever met with. The soil is one vast sandy desert, which is either naturally bare, or covered with patches of heath or grass. Such a country seems at the first view to be unsusceptible of cultivation; its inhabitants, however, raise several kinds of grain, which yield, it is true, but a scanty produce. Hence the wretched appearance of the villages, and people thinly scattered over the surface of this sandy tract. The houses are mean in general, without chimnies, and attest in various ways the poverty of their inhabitants.

From Brunswick to Bremen the distance is eighty-five miles, in which you pass through only two towns, Zell and Verden; even the villages are very scanty, and we once went fourteen miles, without meeting with a single one. The wood principally found here is the pine, which, as is well known, thrives on the most barren soils. Here and there the sand is so deep and loose, that it produces absolutely nothing. In general this country is flat, yet it contains some eminences like those I have seen in Holland. They are low sand-hills, which appear to have been originally washed together by water, or blown in heaps by the wind before the sand had acquired a certain consistence. They produce no grass, but are either naked, or covered with a small quantity of

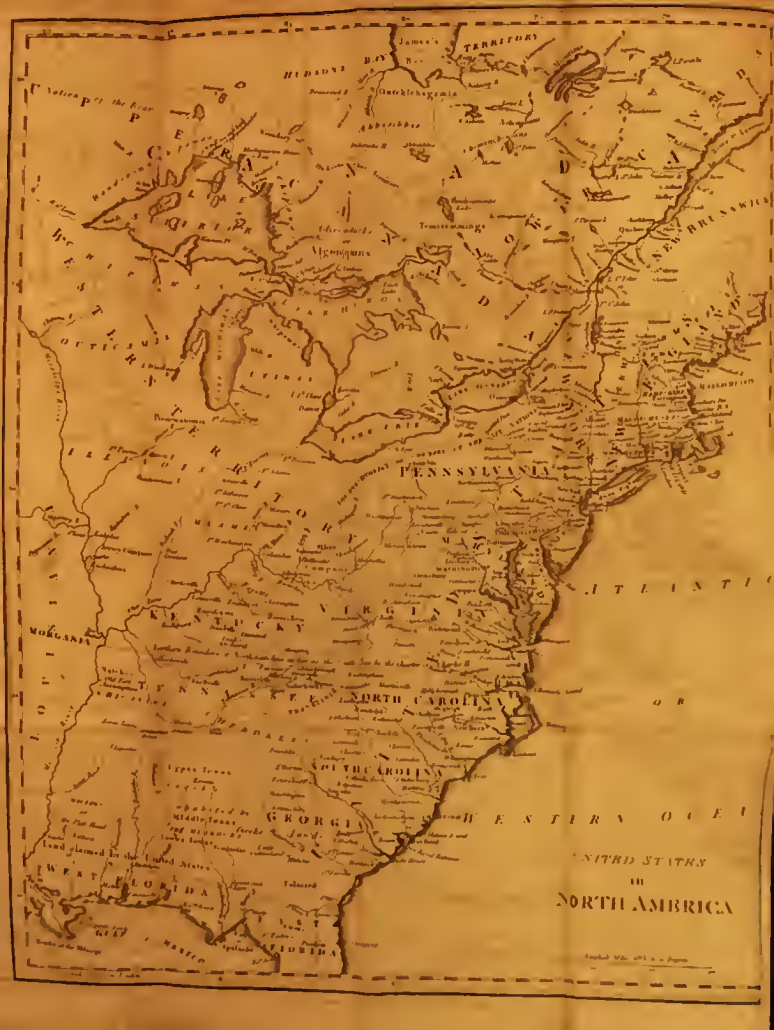
heath. But even in this dreary country I found here and there some good corn-fields, and a few fine woods of oaks intermingled with beech and other kinds of trees, and in the neighbourhood of villages, meadows and pastures.

Between Bremen and Rothenburg, twenty-four miles, the soil is far better, and the country more highly cultivated, than that between Brunswick and Bremen. The scenery around the latter is even pleasing; the country-houses of its inhabitants extend to a considerable distance on every side, and this tract is consequently better cultivated than you would expect from the nature of the soil. This pleasing appearance gradually vanishes, and the tract between Rothenburg and Haarburg, twenty-eight miles, is steril, uncultivated, and thinly inhabited. The country immediately surrounding Haarburg is an exception, and contains some very agreeable spots. The finest and richest part of the Hanoverian dominions is that between Cassel and Hanover, and between Cassel and the Harz.

Verden, though the capital of a county, is but an insignificant place, and contains only a small population. The principal street that runs through the town is of considerable length and rather handsome, but all the others are extremely mean. The cathedral is a large and respectable edifice, but the interior contains nothing worthy of notice except a couple of monuments.

Haarburg is by no means a place of importance, but its situation on the Elbe, in the road to Hamburg, gives it the appearance of bustle, and a certain degree of opulence. From this town a boats sails regularly to Hamburg at stated hours, and at a certain price. We hired one for ourselves; the distance is reckoned to be about four miles and a half. When you have passed the Fort, you immediately sail between the islands of Wilhelmsburg and Hochschaur; the former is upwards of fourteen miles in circumference, and, as well as the latter, belongs to Hanover. Its produce in milk, cream, and other articles, is conveyed to Hamburg, where it is sold to great advantage. Beyond Wilhelmsburg, higher up the Elbe, are the islands of Oswater and Morwater, the greater part of which belongs to the city. You then pass by Neuhof, a Hanoverian island belonging to the family of Grote. Still lower lie Olwater and Finkwater; the first belongs to Hanover, and the other is divided between Hanover and Hamburg. We at length arrived at the Block-house, as it is called, where the Hamburg guard enquire the name and quality of strangers, and immediately afterwards we were set on shore at the boom at the entrance of the harbour.

END OF KÜTTNER'S TRAVELS.


TERRITORY
PENNSYLVANIA
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
UNITED STATES
IN
NORTH AMERICA

TRAVELS

TO THE

WESTWARD

OF THE

ALLEGANY MOUNTAINS,

IN

THE STATES

OF THE

OHIO, KENTUCKY, AND TENNESSEE,

IN THE YEAR 1802.

CONTAINING

ACCOUNTS RELATIVE TO THE PRESENT STATE OF AGRICULTURE, AND THE NATURAL PRODUCTIONS OF THOSE DISTRICTS; TOGETHER WITH PARTICULARS OF THE COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WHICH SUBSIST BETWEEN THESE STATES, AND THOSE TO THE EASTWARD OF THE MOUNTAINS, AND OF LOWER LOUISIANA.

BY F. A. MICHAUX, M. D.
Member of the Society of Natural History of Paris, &c.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

Complete.

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1805.

ADVERTISEMENT

BY THE AUTHOR.

THE Public are already in possession of numerous books of Travels in the United States, and many observations relative to those countries are likewise to be met with in various Works; so that the mass of information already acquired might appear on superficial consideration to be sufficient, and to render any additional account superfluous. The greater part of those Works, however, relate almost exclusively to the United or Atlantic States: and though some of them treat of those situated to the Westward of the Allegany Mountains, yet they do so only in a slight or extremely vague manner; and from certain opinions which I entertained of those countries, I was induced to consider them as far more interesting than is generally imagined. I therefore proposed to myself, when an opportunity should occur, to travel through them;—and in June 1802, being at Philadelphia, I was enabled to carry this design into execution.

The extent of my journey could not be less than two thousand miles; and I could not, consistently with the object which had brought me for the second time into the United States, devote to it a portion of time sufficient for collecting all the facts which would obviously result from it. A year at least would have been necessary to fulfil the intentions I had in view, by obtaining accu-

rate ideas, from my own observations, of the progress of vegetation.

This space of time would also have enabled me to procure more extensive information relative to the commercial transactions which form an essential union between the Western Countries and those of the United States and Lower Louisiana, and relative to which I do not believe any thing has hitherto been published. Hence my Tour ought not to be considered as perfect. I trust, however, that with respect to the appearance of those countries, the prosperity to which they have arrived in modern times, and that of which they are yet susceptible, it will be found to contain sufficient details to enable the reader to alter any opinion he may have conceived to their disadvantage.

I must also observe, that when I undertook this journey, I had no intention of giving publicity to my observations, and I have consequently omitted the collection of a multitude of facts which, however indifferent they may appear to the traveller, often prove highly interesting on perusal; a circumstance of which I had ample proof, while writing this short relation. But, on the other hand, I have entered into details which will perhaps to many persons appear trifling, though I think they will be far otherwise to those who may henceforth visit the countries in question; because they form that kind of intelligence which a traveller would first endeavour to obtain, relative to the region which is the object of his journey, and of which few productions treat in a satisfactory manner.

TRAVELS

TO THE WESTWARD

OF

THE ALLEGANY MOUNTAINS.

CHAP. I.

THE AUTHOR'S DEPARTURE FROM BOURDEAUX, AND ARRIVAL AT CHARLESTON.—REMARKS ON THE YELLOW FEVER. — BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF CHARLESTON.—OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OF THE TREES OF THE ANCIENT CONTINENT, CULTIVATED IN A BOTANIC GARDEN NEAR THAT TOWN.

CHARLESTON, in South Carolina, being the first place of my destination, I repaired to Bourdeaux, which is the French port most nearly connected in its commercial intercourse with the southern part of the United States, and from which vessels are continually sailing for different ports of North America. I therefore embarked on the 25th of August, 1801, on board the John and Francis, commanded by the same captain with whom I had returned to Europe several years before.

About a fortnight after our departure we were becalmed in sight of the Azores Isles: we were lying nearest to those of St. George and Graciosa; and could easily distinguish some of the houses, which appeared to be built of stone, or whitewashed, while the steep declivities of the soil were divided by hedges, which probably formed the boundaries of private property. Most of these isles contain a number of high hills, which take different directions; and behind which the summit of Pico, in a pyramidical form, and as it were sloping towards the upper part, is seen rising majestically above the clouds. At the time when we enjoyed this sublime view, its grandeur was increased by the glowing tinge imparted to the clouds by the rays of the setting sun: but a slight breeze springing up, we were soon deprived of our prospect;

and on the 9th of October 1801 we made the road of Charleston, in company with two other vessels, one of which had quitted Bourdeaux eighteen days, and the other a month, before we sailed.

The pleasure, however, which we experienced from our safe arrival, was soon diminished. The pilot informed us that the yellow fever had prevailed for some time at Charleston, where a great portion of the inhabitants had been carried off by its ravages: this intelligence alarmed the passengers, who were fourteen in number, and most of whom had relations or friends in the town. We had no sooner cast anchor, than those who had not before resided in hot climates were conveyed by their friends to the isle of Sullivan. This isle is situated seven miles from Charleston: its dry and barren soil is almost deprived of vegetation; but as it is exposed to the sea breezes, its air is fresh and agreeable. For some time past, or since the bilious and inflammatory epidemic generally called the yellow fever has regularly appeared every year at Charleston, a great number of the inhabitants and planters who took refuge in the town in order to avoid the intermittent fevers which attacked seven-tenths of the people in the country, have built many houses in this isle; in which they reside from the first of July till the commencement of the frost, which generally happens about the 15th of November. Some persons on the island keep boarding-houses for the reception of those who have no establishments of their own. It has been remarked, that strangers newly arrived from Europe or from the states of North America, and who immediately land on this island, are not attacked by the yellow fever.

Yet these considerations, however strong they might be, could not induce me to pass an indefinite time in a place so destitute and unpleasant; I therefore resisted the advice of my friends, and remained in the town. But I nearly fell a victim to my obstinacy; having, a few days afterwards, been attacked with the first symptoms of that dreadful disease, from which I did not recover till I had been three months a sufferer.

The yellow fever varies every year in point of intenseness; and medical practitioners have not yet been able to determine the characteristic signs by which, at its appearance, its degree of malignity in summer may be discovered. The inhabitants of the town are not so subject to its attacks as strangers, eight-tenths of whom died in the year of my arrival; and when the former are attacked, it is always in a far smaller proportion.

It has been observed, that during the months of July, August, September, and October, when this malady generally prevails, the persons who absent themselves from Charleston only for a few days, are, on their return, much more susceptible of its attacks than those who have remained in the town. The inhabitants of

Upper Carolina (distant two or three hundred miles) who come hither during this season, are as liable to take the fever as strangers, and those of the environs of the town are not free from its ravages. Hence it appears, that during one-third of the year all intercourse is nearly cut off between the town and the country. The place is then supplied with provisions by the negroes alone, or the native inhabitants of the country, who are not attacked by this disease. When, on my return from my tour in the western districts, I repaired to Charleston in the month of October 1802, I did not meet in the most frequented road, for the space of three hundred miles, a single traveller either on his way to or returning from the town; while at the houses where I stopped, they could not believe that my business could be of such importance as to induce me to repair thither in such a calamitous season.

From the beginning of November, however, till the month of May, the country makes a totally different appearance. Every thing seems to have acquired new life: commerce, and the communications which were broken off, are all resumed; the roads are covered with carts and waggons bringing from all quarters the production of the interior; a concourse of coaches and cabriolets drive about with rapidity, and keep up an incessant intercourse between the town and the houses in its vicinity, where the owners pass a part of the winter season; in short, commercial activity renders Charleston at this time as animated as, during the summer, it is melancholy and deserted.

It is generally believed at Charleston, that the yellow fever which every year prevails there as well as at Savannah, is similar to that which appears in the colonies, and that it is not contagious; but this opinion is not universally adopted in the northern towns. It is a fact, that when this malady appears at New York and Philadelphia, the inhabitants are as apt to take it as strangers; and therefore they remove from their houses as soon as they learn that their neighbours are attacked by it. But they enjoy a very valuable advantage which those at Charleston do not possess: and this is, that the country which surrounds Philadelphia and New York is agreeable and salubrious; so that, on retiring to the distance of two or three miles, they remain in perfect security, even when the disease prevails within those towns in its greatest violence.

I have made this slight digression, in order to inform those who may have to travel to the southern parts of the United States, that they will be in great danger if they arrive in the months of July, August, September, or October. I was, like many others, of opinion, that the adoption of proper means to prevent the effervescence of the blood, would be an infallible preservative

against this disease; but every year's experience proved to me, that those who had followed a kind of regimen proper for this purpose, though such a method is undoubtedly the best, do not always avoid the fate of such as are less abstemious.

Charleston is situated at the confluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper. The space of ground which it occupies is about a mile. From the middle of the principal street we should perceive both these rivers, were not the view intercepted by a public edifice built on the banks of the Cooper. It is on those of the Ashley that we find the most populous and commercial part of the town. Sections of quays project to a considerable distance into the river, to facilitate the loading of merchant ships;—these quays are made of the trunks of the cabbage palm-tree, fixed together, and arranged in squares one above the other. Experience has proved that the branches of these palm-trees, though of a very spongy nature, remain under water a great number of years without going to decay; for which reason they are preferred, for these kinds of constructions, to all other species of trees in the country.

The streets of Charleston are wide, but not paved: and the feet of the passenger sink into the sand every time he is obliged to quit the brick foot-paths attached to the houses. The rapid course of the coaches and cabriolets, the number of which is proportionately much greater in this than in any other town in America, continually reduces this moving sand, and attenuates it to such a degree that the slightest wind fills the shops with its dust, and renders the situation of pedestrians peculiarly disagreeable. At certain distances the inhabitants are supplied, by pumps, with water which is so brackish that it is truly astonishing how a stranger can accustom himself to drink it. About seven-tenths of the town consist of wooden buildings; the rest are of brick. According to the last census, taken in 1803, its population, including strangers, amounted to 10,690 whites, and 9,050 slaves.

Travellers who may arrive at Charleston, or at the other towns of the United States, will find no furnished houses or apartments to let for their accommodation; no *tables d'hôte* or cooks' shops; but only boarding houses, where all their wants may be supplied. In Carolina the charge at these establisments is from twelve to twenty dollars per week; which is excessive, and not proportionate to the price of the articles which are provided. Beef, for instance, seldom costs more than sixpence per pound; and vegetables are dearer than meat. Besides the articles of consumption furnished from the country, the port of Charleston is continually filled with small vessels which arrive from Boston, Newport, New York, and Philadelphia, and from all the little intermediate harbours, bringing flour, salt-meat, potatoes, onions, carrots,

beet-root, apples, oats, maize, and hay. Planks and timber also form a considerable part of the importations; and though all these productions are brought from a distance of nine or twelve hundred miles, they are cheaper and of a better quality than those of the surrounding country.

In winter the markets of Charleston are supplied with sea-fish alive; which are brought from the northern parts of the United States, in vessels so constructed that the sea-water is continually renewed in them. The ships engaged in this commerce return loaded with rice and cottons; the greater part of which is re-exported to Europe, the freight being always cheaper in the Northern than in the Southern States. The wool and cotton which remain in the North are more than sufficient for the supply of the manufactures, which are but few in number; and the excess is distributed in the country parts, where the women make it into gross articles of clothing for the use of their families.

Wood is very dear at Charleston: yet the forests, of which even the extent is unknown, begin at six miles, and some parts at a less distance, from the town; and the conveyance is facilitated by the two rivers at the confluence of which it is situated. This high price of wood arises from the scarcity of hands to cut it; and a great number of individuals burn, from *œconomy*, coals which are *brought from England!*

As soon as I had recovered my health, I quitted Charleston; and went to reside in a small habitation about ten miles from the town; where my father had formed a botanic garden, and in which he carefully collected and cultivated the plants which he found during the long and tedious journeys that his ardent love of the science induced him to make almost every year in various parts of America. Always impressed with the desire of serving the nation among whom he resided, he thought that the climate of North Carolina might be favourable for the production of several useful vegetables of the old continent, and he mentioned these in a memoir which he read to the Agricultural Society of Charleston. Some fortunate attempts had already confirmed him in his opinion, but his return to Europe prevented the continuance of his exertions.—On my arrival in Carolina I found in this garden a fine collection of American trees and plants, which had resisted an almost total neglect for four years. I likewise found a great number of the trees of the old continent which had been planted by my father, and some of which displayed the most vigorous vegetation. I particularly observed two *Ginkgo biloba*, planted only seven years ago, and which were already upward of thirty feet high; several *Sterculia platanifolia*, which had come to perfection and afforded seed five or six years since; and about a hundred and fifty *Mimosa*

illibrisin, the first stock of which came from Europe, and was about ten inches in diameter. Before I returned to France I made presents of several of these trees, which are much esteemed on account of their magnificent blossoms.—At present the Agricultural Society of Carolina possess this garden: they intend to keep it; and to cultivate in it the useful vegetables of the ancient continent, which, from the similarity of the climate, promise to afford the most favourable results. I employed the remainder of the season in making a collection of seeds to send to Europe; and the winter in visiting different parts of Lower or South Carolina, as well as in reconnoitring the districts where in the following year I hoped to procure several desirable species which I had not been able to collect during the autumn.

I shall take this opportunity of observing that in North America, perhaps more so than in Europe, there are plants which are peculiar to certain determinate spots; hence it happens that one botanist, notwithstanding all his zeal and activity, does not discover them till after a search of several years; while another, at a fortunate moment, will meet with them in his first excursion. I must add, for the advantage of those who may be inclined to travel over the southern parts of the United States with botanical views, that the period of blossoming begins on the first of February; and that it will be necessary to arrive in the month of August in order to collect the seeds of herbaceous plants, and by the first of October for those of forest trees.

CHAP. II.

DEPARTURE FROM CHARLESTON FOR NEW YORK.—BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THAT TOWN.—BOTANICAL EXCURIONS TO NEW JERSEY.—REMARKS ON THE QUERCITRON OAK AND THE WALNUT-TREES OF THAT COUNTRY.—JOURNEY FROM NEW YORK TO PHILADELPHIA, AND RESIDENCE THERE.

IN the spring of 1802 I left Charleston for New York, where I arrived after a journey of six days. The intercourse is so active between the Northern and the Southern States, that one frequently finds at Charleston as many opportunities as can be desired for going to the first-mentioned settlements. Several vessels have apartments tastefully fitted up and conveniently arranged for the reception of passengers; who every year proceed in great numbers to reside in the northern parts of the United States during the sickly season, and return to Charleston in the November following. The charge for the voyage is from forty to fifty dollars,

and its duration varies according to the seasons. The ordinary time is ten days; but it is sometimes much longer in consequence of the violent adverse winds experienced in doubling Cape Hattrass.

New York, situated at the confluence of the North and East rivers, is much nearer to the sea than Philadelphia. Its safe harbour, which is easy of access in all seasons, gives it a great advantage over the last-mentioned town; and continually promotes its extent, riches, and population, which last is estimated at upwards of fifty thousand souls, among whom are only a very small number of negroes. The necessaries of life are not so dear here as at Charleston, and the charge at the boarding-houses is from eight to twelve dollars per week.

During my stay at New York I had frequent opportunities of seeing doctor Hosack, professor of botany, who is a man of considerable reputation. He was then occupied in forming a botanic garden, in which he intended to give a regular course of lectures on that science. This garden is several miles distant from the town; its situation is well chosen, and convenient spots have been selected for such plants as require particular management. Mr. Hosack is physician to the hospital and the prison; and he permitted me to accompany him in one of his visits, by which I had an opportunity of seeing those establishments. The hospital is well situated; the buildings are extensive, and the wards large and airy. The beds, however, appeared to me to be bad: they consisted of a very low couch, or frame, with a border of scantling about four inches high; a thin mattrass, or rather a paillasse, filled with oat-straw; coarse brown blankets, and a coverlet. The prison is remarkable for its good order and arrangements, the regularity which prevails in it, and particularly for the readiness of the prisoners to perform the tasks imposed upon them. Some are occupied in shoe-making, and others in manufacturing *cut-nails*. These nails, which are made by means of a machine, have no points; and cannot be used for every kind of work, like those manufactured by the ordinary process: many people, however, prefer them for nailing the shingles with which almost all the houses in the United States are covered. It is asserted that these nails are not liable to the inconvenience of quitting their holes, which often occurs with the other kinds; for on the roofs of old houses there may be seen a great number of nails which appear as if they had only been driven in half or three-fourths of their length.

While I staid at New York I likewise made some botanical excursions along the North River, into New Jersey. This part of New Jersey is very unequal; the soil is bad and stony, to judge from the corn which I saw growing on some of the farms. Large lumps of rock, of a calcareous nature, and as if in a state of

decay, appeared at the surface of the soil on almost all the hillocks. There are, nevertheless, several species of trees: and among others, a variety of the red oak, the acorn of which is swelled at the small end; the white oak, *quercus alba*; and in the different species or varieties of the walnut-tree, the *juglans tomentosa*, or mocker-nut, and the *juglans minima*, or pig-nut. In the low and moist parts, where the water remains almost all the year, may be found the *juglans hickery*, or shell-barked hickery; and the *quercus prinus aquatica*, which belongs to the series of *prinus*, and is not mentioned in the "*Histoire des Chênes**." The valleys are planted with ash and plane-trees, *cornus Florida*, poplars; and particularly with *quercus tinctoria*, or quercitron, known in this country by the name of black-oak.

The quercitron oak is very common in all the Northern States, and is likewise found to the westward of the Allegany mountains; but it is scarce in the lower parts of the two Carolinas, and Georgia. The leaves of the lower have a different form from those of the upper branches, which latter are more deeply indented. Among the great number of species and varieties of oaks, the leaves of which differ in their forms according to their age, which often causes them to be confounded, there are characteristic signs by which the black oak may always be distinguished. In all the other species, the stalk, the veins, and the leaves themselves, are of a green more or less deep, and towards autumn this colour changes to a red: on the contrary, the stalk, the veins, and the leaves, of the quercitron, after the spring, become yellowish, and as it were pulverulent; while the yellow colour gradually grows deeper towards the approach of winter. This remark is sufficient to prevent it from being mistaken: but there is a more positive circumstance by which this species may be distinguished in winter, even when it has lost its leaves; this is the bitter flavour of its bark, and the yellow colour acquired by the saliva on chewing it: I however thought I could discover in the bark of the *quercus cinerea* the same property; of which I informed Dr. Bancroft, who was at Charleston in the winter of 1802. But in all cases no mistake can arise respecting these two species of oak: for the latter only grows in the most dry and barren parts of the Southern States; it is rarely more than four inches in diameter, and eighteen feet high, and its leaves are lanceolated;—while the quercitron attains the height of eighty feet, and has very long leaves.

Among the species of acorns which I sent to France from the United States, were those of the quercitron oak; which have

* History of the Oaks of North America, by A. Michaux: one vol. folio with plates, 1802. Levrault, Paris.

grown abundantly in the nursery of Trianon. The species and varieties of the walnut-tree indigenous in the United States, are also very numerous, and might form the subject of an useful and interesting monography: but such a work would never be accurate, unless the varied character of these trees were studied for several years in the country where they grow. I have seen some of the walnut-trees, which by their blossoms and leaves appeared to belong to the same species, but of which the nut, as well as the shell, seemed to be a distinct kind. There were others on the contrary, whose leaves and blossoms were absolutely different, while their fruit was perfectly similar. It is true that there are some, the blossoms and fruit of which present characters very decisive; but these form a very small portion of the number. This multitude of varieties and species of walnut-trees is not confined to the United States; but prevail in every part of North-America, from the northern extremity of the United States as far as the Mississippi: an extent of more than two thousand four hundred miles from north to south, and of fifteen hundred from east to west. I brought home new walnuts of six different species; which have grown well, and appear not to have been deteriorated by the change.

On the 8th of June 1802, I left New York for Philadelphia. The distance is a hundred miles. Some of the stages or public carriages perform this journey in a day, others in a day and a half. The fare is five dollars each person. At the inns at which the stages put up or stop, we pay a dollar for a dinner, and half-a-dollar for breakfast or supper, and give the latter sum also to the coachman. The space between the two towns is entirely cultivated, and the farms are contiguous to each other.—About nine miles from New York is Newark; a small but very pretty town, situated in New Jersey. The fields which surround it are planted with apple trees, and the cyder made from their fruit is considered to be the best in the United States.—Among the other small towns on the road, that of Trenton is worthy of notice. Its situation on the Delaware, and the fine fields which surround it render it a very agreeable place of residence.

Philadelphia is situated on the Delaware, about a hundred and twenty miles from the sea. It has hitherto been the largest and most populous town in the United States; and perhaps there is not one on the continent of Europe which is built on so regular a plan. Its streets intersect each other at right angles: they are from forty-five to fifty feet wide; except that in the middle, which is double this width. In this street is the market; which is observable for its extent, and the extreme propriety with which it is regulated. It stands in the centre of the town. The

streets are paved with brick, of which also they have wide foot-paths. Pumps are placed on each side, at the distance of about fifty fathoms from each other, and furnish water in abundance: each of these is surmounted by a lamp. Several of the streets contain Italian poplars planted along the paths; and which are of a very fine size.

The population of Philadelphia is continually increasing: in 1749 it contained eleven thousand inhabitants, in 1785 forty-thousand, and at present they are calculated at seventy thousand. The small number of negroes that are here are free, and most of them act as domestics. Provisions are rather dearer at Philadelphia than at New York, so that the price of the boarding and accommodations is from six to ten dollars per week. At Philadelphia we never meet with a beggar: no man has the appearance of misery; and that afflicting sight, so common in the towns and cities of Europe, is unknown in America. The propensity and necessity for work, added to the scarcity of hands, the consequent dearness of labour, the activity of commerce, and the independence which results from it, are the causes which militate against the introduction of mendicity, in either the towns or the districts of the country.

During my residence at Philadelphia, I was introduced to the Rev. Dr. Collin, minister of the Swedish church, and president of the Philosophical Society; Mr. John Vaughan, Messrs. Piles, and John and W. Bortram. These different gentlemen had been particularly intimate with my father, and I received from them every mark of esteem and benevolence. Mr. Piles has a fine cabinet of natural history: the legislature of Pennsylvania granted him a place to keep it in, and this is the only recompence which he has received for his exertions. He is continually employed in enriching it, and increasing the number of his correspondents both in Europe and in the most distant parts of the United States; but with the exception of a bison, I saw nothing in his collection but what may be found in the Museum of Natural History at Paris.

The absence of Mr. W. Hamilton deprived me of the advantage of seeing him; but I went to visit his magnificent garden on the banks of the Schuylkill, about four miles from Philadelphia. His collection of exotic plants is very considerable, and particularly those from New Holland. All the trees and shrubs of the United States, or at least those which are capable of passing the winter in the open air at Philadelphia, are distributed to decorate the bowers of an English garden. It is difficult to find a site more agreeable than that of the residence of this gentleman.

CHAP. III.

DEPARTURE FROM PHILADELPHIA FOR THE WESTERN COUNTRIES.—COMMUNICATIONS BY LAND IN THE UNITED STATES.—ARRIVAL AT LANCASTER.—DESCRIPTION OF THAT TOWN AND ITS ENVIRONS.—COLUMBIA.—PASSAGE OF THE SUSQUEHANNA, YORK, DOVER, CARLISLE.—ARRIVAL AT SHIPPENSBURGH.—REMARKS ON THE STATE OF AGRICULTURE IN THE EXTENT OF THIS JOURNEY.

IN the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Ohio, is comprised that vast extent of land known in America by the name of the *Western Country*. Nearly all the Europeans who have published observations on the United States, have contented themselves with remarking, according to the common report, that these countries are very fertile; but they have not entered into any particulars respecting them. It is true, that before arriving at these new establishments we are obliged to traverse a considerable extent of uninhabited tracks; and that the journies are long and difficult, and afford nothing of interest which might tend to delineate the manners of the people who inhabit the towns or other places: but as the natural history, and particularly the vegetable productions and the state of agriculture, in those districts, formed the principal objects of my enquiries, I was under the necessity of travelling at a distance from those parts which are best known, and passing my time in such as have been but slightly mentioned. I therefore made a journey to these distant countries; and had nearly two thousand miles to travel before I could return to Charleston, where I was absolutely obliged to be by the 1st of October. I expected indeed that my journey would inevitably be impeded by various obstacles of a local nature, which it would be impossible to foresee or prevent:—these considerations, however, did not induce me to change my determination, and I fixed my departure from Philadelphia for the 27th of June 1802. As I had no wish to travel slowly, to make observations which had already been repeated by various travellers, I resolved to proceed in the most expeditious manner to Pittsburgh, situated at the head of the Ohio; and at Philadelphia I took the stage which went to Shippensburgh, by way of Lancaster, York, and Carlisle. Shippensburgh is one hundred and forty miles from Philadelphia, and is the most distant place on this road to which one can travel by the public carriages.

Till the year 1802, the stages which went from Philadelphia proceeded southwards only as far as Petersburgh in Virginia, which is about three hundred miles from Philadelphia; but in

the spring of that year a new line of communication was established between that town and Charleston. The journey requires fifteen days: the distance is about six hundred and fifty miles, and the price is fifty dollars. There are likewise stages between Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, as well as between Charleston and Savannah in Georgia; so that we have the convenience of public conveyance from Boston to Savannah, the distance of which is one thousand two hundred miles.

I reached Lancaster, which is sixty-six miles from Philadelphia, on the afternoon of my departure. The turnpike-roads are kept in good order, by means of tolls collected at certain distances. In this space the houses are nearly all within sight one of another, and each owner has an inclosure. Throughout the United States the cultivated lands are all inclosed, to secure them from the ravages of all kinds of cattle; which, for the greater part of the year, are left by every proprietor in the woods that are for this purpose common to them all. In the vicinity of the towns these inclosures are made with stakes, placed at the distance of ten or twelve feet from each other, and perforated with five mortises at the space of eight or nine inches; in which are fitted branches of trees unstripped of their bark, of a proper length, and about four or five inches in diameter. This mode of inclosing is most proper and economical, because it saves the wood, which is very dear in the environs of the large northern towns; but in the interior parts and the southern states, the inclosures are made of pieces of wood of an equal length, placed one above another in an angular form, and supported by their ends, which are crossed and intertwined together. The inclosures are generally seven feet high. In the lower parts of Carolina they are made of pine; but in the rest of the country, and in the whole of the north, they are of oak or chesnut. When they are kept in good order they last about five-and-twenty years.

The country before we arrive at Lancaster is very fertile; the fields are covered with corn, rye, and oats, the fine growth of which is a proof that the soil is better than between New York and Philadelphia. The inns on the road are very numerous, and at almost all of them the people speak German. My travelling companions, who were always thirsty, caused the stage to stop at every inn that they might drink some glasses of grog. This liquor is in general use in the United States: it consists of a mixture of brandy or rum and water, the proportions of which depend upon the taste of the person who drinks it.

Lancaster is situated in a fertile and well-cultivated plain. The town is built on a regular plan; and the houses, which are two stories high, are of brick. The two principal streets have, like those at Philadelphia, footpaths and pumps. The population amounts to about four thousand individuals, almost all of

whom are of German origin, and profess different religions. Each sect has its particular church. That of the Roman Catholics is most numerous. The inhabitants are mostly gunsmiths, hatmakers, sadlers, and coopers, but amongst them are a few tanners. The gunsmiths of Lancaster have long had the reputation of being good manufacturers of rifle-guns, which are the only kind used by the inhabitants in the interior of the country, as well as by the Indian nations on the frontiers of the United States.

At Lancaster I formed acquaintance with Mr. Muhlenberg, the Lutheran minister, who for twenty years has devoted his attention to the science of botany. He shewed me the manuscript of a *Flora Lancastriensis*, in which the number of species described already amount to upwards of twelve hundred, a hundred and twenty-five of which are of grasses; this is the class which he most esteems. Mr. Muhlenberg is very communicative, and keeps up a regular correspondence with Mr. Wildenow and Dr. Smith. I found here Mr. W. Hamilton, whose magnificent garden at Philadelphia I have already mentioned.

On the 27th of June, I left Lancaster for Shippensburgh; there were only four of us in the stage, which was capable of holding twelve persons. Columbia, situated on the Susquehanah, is the first town you arrive at; it contains about fifty unconnected houses, almost all of which are built of wood: at this place the turnpike-road terminates.

It will not be useless to observe here, that in the United States they frequently give the name of town to an assemblage of six or eight houses; and that their manner of building is not every where alike. At Philadelphia the houses are of brick; but in the other towns, and even in the fields which surround them, the half, and frequently the whole of the houses are of shingles; while between seventy and eighty miles from the sea, in the Middle and Southern States, but particularly in those that lie to the westward of the Allegany mountains, seven tenths of the inhabitants live in *log-houses*. These are made of the trunks of trees from twenty to thirty feet long, and about four or five inches in diameter, placed one above the other, and supported by being dove-tailed at the ends. The roof is constructed of pieces of the same length, as those that form the shell of the house, but they are not so heavy, and are gradually drawn together on each side: these limbs support the covering of shingles, which are fastened by means of small wooden pegs. Two doors, which often serve instead of windows, are made by sawing away a part of the trunks that form the body of the house: the chimney, which is always situated at one of the angles, is likewise made of the trunks of trees, of a convenient length. The back, which is of potter's clay, about six inches thick, separates the fire from the wooden wall; but not-

withstanding this slight precaution, the accident of fire very seldom happens in these houses. The space between the trunks of trees is filled with clay, but in such a slovenly manner, that the light is perceptible on every side; hence these hovels are very cold in winter, notwithstanding the great quantity of wood that is burnt in them.

The doors move on wooden hinges, very few of which have locks; and at night they only push them to, or fasten them with a wooden pin. Two men will build one of these houses in four or five days, without the use of nails or other iron-work. Two large beds serve for the whole family; and in summer the children often sleep on the ground, wrapt in a coverlet. The floor, which is planked, is raised about two feet above the surface of the soil. They use feather-beds, and not mattresses; sheep being very scarce in these parts, wool is dear, and is reserved only for making stockings. The clothes of the family are hung round the room, or suspended upon a long pole placed across it.

At Columbia, the Susquehanah is a quarter of a mile wide. We crossed it in a small ferry-boat; and at this time its water was so shallow, that we could easily perceive the bottom. On the banks of this river are a number of high hills, and the middle contains a variety of wooded isles, which appear to divide it into several branches: some of them are, at the utmost, only five or six acres long, and yet they are as elevated as the neighbouring hillocs. Their irregularity and singular forms, render this spot picturesque and truly remarkable, particularly at the period when I saw it, the trees being then in full leaf.

About a mile from the Susquehanah I observed the *Annona triloba*, the fruit of which is very good, though insipid: when at maturity it is the size of a hen's egg. Mr. Muhlenberg told me, that this shrub grows in the environs of Philadelphia.

Twelve miles from Columbia is York, a small and well-built town, the houses of which are connected, and almost all of brick. The number of inhabitants is reckoned at eighteen hundred. They are chiefly of German origin, and do not speak English. Six miles beyond York we passed through Dover, which consists of about thirty log-houses, built on both sides of the road; and the stage stopped at one Macolegan's, who keeps a miserable inn about fifteen miles from York. This day we only travelled thirty-eight miles.

Taverns or inns are very numerous throughout the United States, but particularly in the small towns; every where, however, except in the large towns and their environs, they are of a wretched description, though they never fail to afford brandy, rum, and whiskey. These articles are considered of the first importance; so that the profits of those who keep inns, arise chiefly

from the sale of liquors, for which there is a great demand. Travellers generally wait till the family hour to take their meals: they are served for breakfast with bad tea, still worse coffee, and small slices of fried bacon, to which are sometimes added eggs and a broiled chicken. For dinner they give you a piece of salt beef, roast chickens, and rum and water for beverage. In the evening there is coffee, tea, and ham. There are always several beds in one chamber; clean sheets are a great rarity, and fortunate is the traveller who arrives on the day when they are changed; but this is a point on which an American gives himself little concern.

On the 28th of June we arrived betimes at Carlisle, which is fifty-four miles distant from Lancaster. It contains about two hundred houses, some of which are of brick, and several shops. In the latter, which are often met with in the interior parts of the country, are sold mercery, hardware, groceries, &c. and the purchaser is always presented with something to drink! The owners of these warehouses also buy from, or barter with, the inhabitants of the country, for the produce of their farms, which they afterwards send to the sea-ports.

From Macolegan's inn to Carlisle, the country is bad, irregular, and hilly; consequently the habitations on the road are few, and are between two and three miles from each other; but out of the road they are still farther distant. The white, red, and quercitrou oaks, chesnut, and maples, are the principal trees which constitute the forests in these parts. On the summits of the hills I observed the *Quercus Banisteri*. From Carlisle to Shippensburgh, the country continues mountainous, and is thinly inhabited, the soil being of a very indifferent nature.

There are only a few houses to be met with on the road, and their miserable appearance sufficiently indicates, that the circumstances of the inhabitants are far from easy, and that the produce of their agricultural labours is at most only sufficient for their subsistence.

The stage stopped at Shippensburgh, at the house of Colonel Ripey, who keeps a good inn, known by the sign of the General Washington. He is very obliging to travellers who alight at his house, when on their journey to the Western Country. Shippensburgh contains scarcely seventy houses. Its chief trade is in meal of different kinds. At the time I was there, the barrel of flour, weighing 196lb. sold for five dollars.

From Shippensburgh to Pittsburgh, the distance is 170 miles; and the stages not going farther, you are obliged to perform the rest of the journey on foot, or to purchase a horse, of which there are always many for sale; but the country-people are such cheats, that they always make you pay double the value for them; and on

arriving at Pittsburgh, you are obliged to dispose of them for half what they cost. I was inclined, from motives of economy, to travel the rest of the way on foot; but from some remarks which were made to me, I thought proper to join with an American officer, who had travelled with me in the stage, and was likewise going to Pittsburgh; we therefore bought a horse between us, on which we rode thither by turns.

CHAP. IV.

DEPARTURE FROM SHIPPENSBURGH FOR STRASBURGH.—PASSAGE OF THE BLUE RIDGES.—NEW SPECIES OF RHODODENDRUM.—PASSAGE OF THE RIVER JUNIATA.—USE OF THE CONES OF THE MAGNOLIA ACUMINATA.—ARRIVAL AT BEDFORD COURT-HOUSE.—EXCESSES COMMITTED BY THE INHABITANTS OF THESE COUNTRIES.—DEPARTURE FROM BEDFORD.—PASSAGE OF THE ALLEGANY RIDGE AND LAUREL-HILL.—ARRIVAL AT WEST LIBERTY-TOWN.

ON the 30th of June, in the morning, we left Shippensburgh, and arrived by noon at Strasburgh, a distance of about ten miles. This town, which does not contain more than forty log-houses, is situated at the foot of the first chain of the Blue Ridges. The country through which we had passed on our way, though uneven, was better than that which leads to it: it contained many houses, and was tolerably well cultivated. After having taken a little rest at Strasburgh, we continued our journey notwithstanding the heat, which was excessive, and ascended the first ridge by an extremely rough and stony road. With much difficulty we attained the summit in three quarters of an hour, and then passed two other ridges, which were equally high as the first, and which took the same direction. These three ridges form two small vallies, which contain a few houses that are built about mid-way; and in the second, which is rather more extensive, stands Fenetsburgh, consisting of about thirty houses, built on both sides of the road, and having about twenty plantations or farms in the vicinity. Each of these contains from two to three hundred acres of wood-land, of which, in general, not more than seven or eight are in a state of cultivation, and very seldom more than twenty or twenty-five. The want of hands and the limited means of encouragement are serious obstacles to the progress of agriculture. In this part of Pennsylvania, every individual is satisfied with cultivating as much land as is necessary for the support of his family; and according as it is more or less numerous, the cultivated portions are more or less extensive. Hence it follows, that the more children a man has

who are capable of assisting him in his agricultural labours, the more he is enabled to live at his ease; and this is one of the principal causes of the rapid progress which has taken place in the population of the United States.

On this day we only travelled twenty-six miles, and put up for the night at Fort Littleton, about six miles from Strasburgh, at a very good inn kept by Colonel Bird. Between Shippensburgh and this place, the mountains are very stony, and the soil is of a bad kind; so that the trees it produces, are stinted in their growth, particularly the white oak, which is found on the summit, and the *Kalmia latifolia*, which occupies all the exposed situations.

The next day we departed early in the morning, in order to proceed to Bedford Court-House. From Fort Littleton to the river Juniata, we met with but few habitations; here nothing but ridges succeed each other, the intervals of which are occupied by a number of hillocs. When on the top of the highest of these ridges, the inequality of this crowd of mountains, covered by continual forests, which extend over the country, and beyond which no habitation can be perceived, presents a picture resembling the sea after a storm.

About two miles before we come to the river Juniata, the road divides into two branches, which are reunited at that river. The right branch leads over the heights, and the left, which we followed, appeared to have been, or perhaps still is, the bed of a deep stream, the steep banks of which are extremely swampy. These banks are covered with *Andromeda*, *Vaccinium*, and more particularly a species of *Rhododendrum*, the flowers of which are perfectly white. The threads of the stamina are also white, and one third shorter than the corolla; the anthers are of a pale pink, and the leaves are smaller and more obtuse, than those of the *Rhododendrum maximum*. These remarkable differences may perhaps shew it to be a distinct species. I have since met with this beautiful shrub in the mountains of North Carolina. Its seed was then ripe, and I brought some of it to France, where it has been cultivated with success.—At this place the river Juniata was only from thirty to forty fathoms wide; its water was remarkably low, and we forded over; but, during the greater part of the year, it is usual to cross in a ferry-boat. Its banks are high, and well covered with verdure. The *Magnolia acuminata* is very common here, and is known by the name of the *Cucumber-tree*. The inhabitants of the back settlements of Pennsylvania, of Virginia, and also of the Western Countries, on meeting with the fruit, when green, infuse it in whiskey, which thus acquires a strong bitterness. This bitter is much esteemed in the country, as a remedy for intermittent

fevers; but its use would certainly be less general, if, possessing the same properties, it were made with water only.

From the place where we crossed the river Juniata, to Bedford Court-house, the country, though every where uneven, is better and more fully inhabited, than that through which we passed from Shippensburgh. The houses, though seldom in sight of each other, are sufficiently near to impart a more animated appearance to the scene. On the approach of night, we arrived at Bedford, and took up our lodging at a tavern, the master of which was known to the American officer with whom I travelled. The house was spacious, and one story high, which is unusual in these parts. The day of our arrival was a day of rejoicing to the peasantry, who had assembled at this little town to celebrate the suppression of the tax on the whiskey distilleries, a tax of some importance, which had much irritated them against Adams, the former President. The inns, and particularly the one in which we lodged, were full of drinkers, who made an intolerable uproar, and committed such horrible excesses, as it is scarcely possible to conceive. The rooms, the stairs, and the yard, were covered with men dead-drunk, and those who were yet capable of speaking, expressed themselves in accents of fury and rage. A passion for spirituous liquors is one of the traits which characterise the peasantry of the interior of the United States. This passion is so strong, that they frequently quit their houses to get drunk at the taverns; and if they had liquor at home, I do not believe that there are ten in a hundred who could resist the temptation of drinking as long as it lasted. In summer, however, their common beverage is water or milk. They care little for cider, which they consider as too mild; and their dislike to this salutary and agreeable beverage is the more to be regretted, as it might be obtained at a trifling expence; for apple-trees of every kind are abundant, and arrive at great perfection in this country. In both the eastern and western parts of the Allegany mountains, I have observed lofty trees, produced from pips, which bore apples from eight to nine inches in circumference.

At Bedford there are scarcely more than a hundred and twenty houses, of which some are constructed of brick, and others of shingles. This little town, like all those which have been built on this road, trades in grain, which, with salted provisions, are the only articles of exportation from these parts. During the war occasioned by the French Revolution, the inhabitants obtained greater advantages by sending their grain, &c. to Pittsburgh, whence they were conveyed by the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans, there to be embarked for the Antilles, than by sending those articles to Philadelphia or Baltimore. Notwithstanding this, it is reckoned but two hundred miles from Bedford

to Philadelphia, and a hundred and fifty miles from Bedford to Baltimore, on a well-frequented road; whilst the distance from Bedford to New Orleans is known to be two thousand two hundred miles, viz. a hundred miles by land to Pittsburgh and two thousand one hundred miles, by water, from Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Mississippi. Thus we perceive that the navigation of the Ohio and of the Mississippi is easy, and of light expence, since it compensates for the enormous difference which exists between the two distances. The situation of New Orleans relative to the Antilles, insures great advantages to this town, over all the eastern parts of the United States; and in proportion as the new States of the West increase in population, New Orleans will become the centre of an immense commerce. Other facts also occur in support of this observation.

The next day, the 1st of July, we quitted Bedford early in the morning. The heat was excessive; the ridges which we incessantly had to climb, and the little mountains which are between them, rendered travelling very laborious; so that we this day advanced only twenty-six miles. Four miles from Bedford, the road divides; we turned to the left, and stopped to breakfast at the house of a miller who keeps an inn. We there found a man lying on the ground, wrapped up in a blanket, who the night before had been bitten by a rattle-snake. The first symptoms which appeared, an hour after the accident, were violent vomitings, almost immediately succeeded bp a high fever. At the time when I saw him, his leg and thigh were prodigiously swelled, his respiration was extremely difficult, and his face was bloated, resembling those whom I have had occasion to see at the hospital, afflicted with the hydrophobia. I asked him some questions, but his senses were so entirely absorbed, that it was impossible to obtain any answer: I however learned from the people of the house, that, immediately after the bite, they had applied the juice of some plants to the wound, until the arrival of the doctor, who lived at the distance of fifteen or twenty miles. In America, I have known several persons to whom the same accident has happened; those who did not die in consequence of it have ever since remained valetudinarians, and are remarkably susceptible of affections arising from the changes of the atmosphere. The plants which are used against the bite of the rattle-snake are very numerous, and are almost all of them drawn from the different species of succory. In this mountainous part of Pennsylvania, there are great numbers of rattle-snakes, many of which we found killed on the road. In hot and dry weather, they come from beneath the rocks, and conceal themselves in places which contain water.

On the same day, we crossed the ridge which more particu-

larly takes its name of Mount Allegany from the Allegany ridge. We ascended by a road extremely steep, and covered with enormous stones. After a laborious march of two hours, we arrived at the summit. It is really surprising, that travelling vehicles surmount so easily, and with so few accidents, this multitude of high hills or ridges, which succeed each other without interruption from Shippensburgh to Pittsburgh, and the intervals of which are occupied by hills of inferior elevation.

Allegany ridge is the highest link of Pennsylvania: on its top we found two common log-houses, which are about three miles distant from each other, and which serve for inns. The rest of the country is inhabited; but these were the only houses that we met with on the road from Bedford. We stopped at the second, which is kept by a man named Chatlers, and which, for its situation, is well supplied; for dinner we obtained some slices of fried ham and venison, with cakes of wheat-flour, baked on a dish before the fire.

Notwithstanding a heavy rain, we slept this night at Stanley town, a small town, which, like all those in this part of Pennsylvania, is built on a hill. It is composed of fifty houses, half of which are log-houses, with some taverns and two or three warehouses, the merchandize of which is obtained from Philadelphia. The distance from Chatlers's is seven miles, and the intermediate country is remarkably fertile. Here are some very lofty trees: those in the wood are the white, red, and the quercitron, or lemon oak, the beech, the tulip-tree, and the *Magnolia acuminata*.

The horse that we bought at Shippensburgh, and which we mounted by turns, was extremely fatigued, and we made no greater progress than if we had been constantly on foot. Notwithstanding this, the American officer with whom I travelled, was anxious to reach Pittsburgh, in order to be present at the festival of the 4th of July, in commemoration of American independence. For the purpose of gaining a day, he hired a horse at Stanley-town, with which we went over Laurel-hill, an extent of four miles. The direction of this ridge was parallel with those which we had left behind; the wood that covers it is of a more bushy description, and the vegetation wears a more cheerful aspect. The name which has been given to this mountain is without doubt derived from the great quantity of *Kalmia latifolia* (from eight to ten feet in height,) by which the open parts are exclusively occupied, while the banks of the rivers are lined with the *Rhododendrum maximum*; for both the *Rhododendrum* and the *Kalmia latifolia* obtain from the inhabitants the general appellation of *Laurel*. By some, the latter shrub is called the *Calico tree;* the leaves of which, it is said, are a deadly poison to sheep, which perish almost immediately after

eating them. At the foot of Laurel Hill commences the valley of Ligonier, in which is situated, a quarter of a mile from the mountains, West Liberty-Town, composed of about twenty log-houses. The soil of this valley appears to be very fertile. It is near this place that the French, when masters of Canada, built Fort Ligonier; all that part of the United States, which lies to the westward of the Allegany mountains, having been dependant on Canada or Louisiana.

CHAP. V.

DEPARTURE FROM WEST LIBERTY-TOWN TO THE MOUNTAINS, IN SEARCH OF A SHRUB SUPPOSED TO YIELD OIL OF A SUPERIOR QUALITY.—NEW SPECIES OF AZALEA.—VALLEY OF LIGONIER.—COAL MINES.—GREENSBURGH.—ARRIVAL AT PITTSBURGH.

On my way to Lancaster, Mr. W. Hamilton had told me, that at a short distance from West Liberty-Town, near the residence of one Patrick Archibald, there was a shrub, the fruit of which, he had been informed, yielded an excellent oil. Some persons had also heard of it at New-York and Philadelphia, and had conceived the hope that, extensively cultivated, it might become of general utility. It thus appeared desirable to discover a plant, which, to the advantages of the olive, united that of sustaining the cold of the most northern countries. Impressed with this idea, I left my travelling companion and proceeded among the mountains in search of that shrub. Two miles from West Liberty-Town, I passed *Proboss Furnace*, a foundery established by a Frenchman from Alsace, who manufactures brass cauldrons of every description. The largest, which contain fifty gallons, are sent to Kentucky and Tenessee, where they are used in the manufacture of salt by evaporation. The others, which are much smaller, are used for domestic purposes. At the foundery, they explained to me the road which I should pursue; notwithstanding which I could not avoid deviating, for there are a number of paths, more or less agreeing with my directions, which lead to the respective houses, that are scattered about the wood; but every where, the inhabitants obligingly set me right, and I at length arrived, the same night, at Patrick Archibald's, who made no difficulty in receiving me, when I apprised him of the cause of my visit. This man, who keeps a mill, might easily procure himself better accommodation; he lives, however, in a common log-house, with only one room, from twenty-four to thirty feet in length, and on all sides exposed to the weather. Four large beds, two

of which being low, stand under the others during the day, and are drawn into the middle of the chamber at night, receive the whole of the family, consisting of six persons, and sometimes of strangers who come to obtain a night's lodging. This manner of living would in Europe indicate poverty; but not so in these countries; for, in an extent of more than two thousand miles which I have travelled, there is not a family but is possessed of milk, butter, smoked or salt meat, and maize, for their food; even the poorest man has one or more horses, and it is very seldom that a person visits his neighbour on foot. On the day after my arrival, I explored the wood, and in my first excursion, I found the shrub which was the object of my research. I knew it to be the same which my father had discovered fifteen years before, in the mountains of South Carolina, but which, notwithstanding his care, he could not bring to perfection in his garden near Charleston. Mr. W. Hamilton, who had also received some seeds and cuttings of it, from that part of Pennsylvania where I then was, had not been more successful. The seed so quickly turns rancid, that in a few days it loses its germinative property, and acquires an extraordinary acridity. This shrub, which seldom rises above five feet, is *diœcious*. It grows exclusively among the mountains, and is only found in cool and shady places, where the soil is very fertile. Its roots, which are of a citron colour, do not branch out, but extend horizontally to a great distance, giving birth to suckers, which seldom rise above eighteen inches. The roots and the barks when bruised, emit an unpleasant odour. I directed my host to gather half a bushel of the seed, and to send it to Mr. W. Hamilton, informing him what precautions to take for its preservation until it should reach him. On the banks of the creek on which Archibald's mill is built, and by the side of the stream in its vicinity, grows a species of *Azalea*, which was then in full blossom. It rises from twelve to fifteen feet. Its flowers are perfectly white, and larger than those of the other known species, sending forth the sweetest scent. The *Azalea coccinea*, the flower of which is of a nasturtium colour, grows on the tops of mountains, and blossoms two months earlier.

The valley of Ligonier is fertile, producing wheat, rye, and oats. Some of the inhabitants plant maize on the tops of the mountains; but the country being too cold, it does not succeed well, the sun only appearing on this spot for three quarters of an hour after it rises. Hemp and flax are also cultivated here, each inhabitant raising a sufficient quantity for the wants of his family. All the women spin and weave, and it is they who make the clothes for themselves and their families. The price of land is from one to two dollars per acre. The taxes are very light,

and there is no cause for complaint. In this part of the United States, as in all mountainous countries, the air is very healthful. I have seen old men, upwards of seventy-five years of age, which is very uncommon in the Atlantic States that are situated to the south of Pennsylvania. During my journey in this county, the measles were very prevalent. At the solicitation of my host, I visited several of his relations and friends, who had been attacked by this disorder, and found them all drinking whiskey to excite perspiration. I recommended a decoction of viscid elm leaves, adding a spoonful of vinegar, and an ounce of maple sugar, to each quart. The country being rather poor, and the population small, medical men are seldom to be met with; and, if the case be urgent, they must be sent for at the distance of five and twenty or thirty miles.

I left Archibald's on the 4th of July, and proceeded to Greensburgh, a distance of eleven miles. Almost immediately on quitting the house, I had to ascend Chesnut Ridge, a steep hill, the summit of which, for an extent of two miles, exhibits a dry and barren soil, where nothing grows but a few stinted white oaks, and shoots of chesnut; but on approaching Greensburgh, the face of the country changes, the soil becomes better, and the houses, though surrounded by wood, are nearer to each other than those in the valley of Ligonier. The larger houses commonly consist of two rooms. The superior cultivation of the land, and preservation of the inclosures, indicate this to be a German settlement, or canton: every thing has the appearance of ease, the result of assiduity and labour. These settlers assist each other in the harvest: they form alliances together, speak only in the German tongue, and retain as much as possible, the manners of their European ancestors. They live much better than the Americans who are descendants of the English, Scotch, and Irish. They are less addicted to the use of spirituous liquors, and have not like them, that unsettled disposition, which frequently, from the slightest motives, induces them to wander hundreds of miles in the hope of meeting with a more fertile soil.

Before I arrived at Greensburgh, I observed some parts of the forest consisting exclusively of white oaks *(quercus alba)*, the foliage of which was of a more delicate green, agreeably bordering on other trees of a deeper colour. A mile from the town, and on the banks of a deep ravine, I perceived some certain indications of a mine of sea-coal. I learned, at Greensburgh and at Pittsburgh, that this substance was so common, and so easily to be procured, that many of the inhabitants burnt it from economy. Wood is not scarce, for the whole country is covered with it; but labour is so extremely dear, that there is

not a landholder at Pittsburgh who would not dispose of a cord of wood for half the sum which must be paid for coals, on condition that the purchaser would travel a mile to fell the trees, cut them up, and carry them home.

Greensburgh contains about a hundred houses. This town is built on the top of a hill, on the road from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. On part of the road are seen numbers of emigrants, who are going to settle near the Lakes. The soil of the environs is fertile; and the inhabitants, who are of German origin, successfully cultivate wheat, rye, and oats, which they export to Pittsburgh.

I lodged at the *Seven Stars*, a good inn, kept by a man named Erbach. Here I met a traveller who had come from the State of Vermont, and who slept in the same room with me. Without explaining our motives for travelling, we communicated to each other our remarks on the countries through which we had passed. He had come six hundred miles from the place of his residence, and I had come four hundred from New-York. He proposed that we should proceed together as far as Pittsburgh. I observed that I was on foot, and assigned my reasons for it: because in America it is very unusual to travel in this manner, the poorest inhabitant always having one or more horses.

From Greensburgh to Pittsburgh the distance is computed to be thirty-two miles, over a very mountainous road: to avoid the heat, and to accelerate my progress, I set out at four o'clock in the morning. I had no difficulty in leaving the house, the door being only on the latch; at the inns of small towns, on the contrary, great care is taken to lock the doors of the stables, for horse-stealers are not uncommon in certain parts of the United States. This is one of the accidents to which travellers are most liable, particularly in the Southern States, and in the Western parts, where they are sometimes obliged to sleep in the woods. They often steal them from the inhabitants, which is extremely easy, as during a part of the year, the horses live in the forests, and in spring they go several miles distant from the house; but, on the slightest indication of the route which the thief has taken, the sufferer pursues him to the utmost, and sometimes succeeds in taking him; in that case he confines him in the prison of the county where he takes him; or, what is very usual, kills him on the spot. In the different States, the laws against horse-stealing are extremely severe, and the motive for this severity appears to be the facility with which in this country the crime is committed.

I had proceeded fifteen miles, when I was rejoined by the American traveller whom I had met the night before at Greensburgh. Though on horseback, he had the politeness to slacken

his pace, and I accompanied him to Pittsburgh. This second interview made us more fully acquainted. He informed me that it was his intention to descend the Ohio; and as I had the same view, I conceived a wish to make the journey with him, the more willingly as he was not a lover of whiskey; for, compelled by the heat to make frequent stoppages at the inns, which are sufficiently numerous on the road, I observed that he drank only a little of that liquor with water, and that he preferred sour milk when he could obtain it. In this respect, he was very different from the American officer with whom I had travelled all the way from Shippensburgh.

Nineteen miles from Greensburgh, to the left, we found a road which cuts off about three miles, but which is only passable for people on foot or on horseback; we followed it, and, after half an hour's progress, we perceived the river Monongahela, by the side of which we kept till within a small distance from Pittsburgh. A heavy shower obliged us to take shelter in a house about two hundred yards from the river. The master, finding us to be strangers, informed us that this was the place where, in the Seven Years' War, the French completely defeated General Braddock; he pointed out to us several trees which had been damaged by the balls, and the injury of which was still apparent.

We arrived tolerably early at Pittsburgh, and I went to lodge with a Frenchman, named Marie, who keeps a good inn. I was the more pleased at my arrival, as I began to be tired of travelling in so mountainous a country; for, in an extent of a hundred and eighty miles which I had traversed almost wholly on foot, and during the greatest heats, I do not believe that I went a hundred yards on level ground.

CHAPTER VI.

DESCRIPTION OF PITTSBURGH.—COMMERCE OF THIS TOWN AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRY WITH NEW-ORLEANS.—CONSTRUCTION OF VESSELS OF HEAVY BURDEN.—DESCRIPTION OF THE RIVERS MONONGAHELA AND ALLEGANY.—TOWNS WHICH ARE SITUATED ON THEIR BANKS.—AGRICULTRUE.—MAPLE-SUGAR.

PITTSBURGH is situated near the conflux of the rivers Monongahela and Allegany, the junction of which forms that of the Ohio. The level ground on which it is built is not more than from forty to fifty acres in extent. It is a triangle, the sides of which are confined, on all parts, either by the bed of

the two rivers, or by the mountains. The houses are mostly of brick, and may be computed at about four hundred, the greater number of which are built on the Monongahela, and on that side is the most commercial part of the town. As many of the houses are not contiguous, but separated by considerable spaces, the entire surface of the angle is occupied, and they have already begun to build on the sides of the high hills which command the town. It was at the upper part of the angle, that the French constructed Fort Duquesne, but which has been entirely destroyed, nothing remaining but the vestiges of the fosses which surrounded it. We here enjoy a delightful view produced by the perspective of the three rivers, the banks of which are shaded by forests, particularly those of the Ohio, which extends in a right line, and permits the eye to follow its course to a considerable distance.

The air of Pittsburgh and its neighbourhood is very healthful; intermittent fevers, so common in the Southern States, are here unknown; nor are the inhabitants tormented with musquitoes during the summer. Here also they live one third cheaper than at Philadelphia. Pittsburgh contains two printing-offices, each of which publishes two newspapers per week.

Pittsburgh has long been considered by the American Government as the key of the Western Countries. It was from thence that the Federal forces were sent against the Indians, who opposed the first establishment of the Americans in Kentucky and on the banks of the Ohio. But now that the Indian nations have been driven back to a great distance, and deprived of the power of annoying the inhabitants, even in the remotest parts of the interior; and the Western Countries having also acquired a vast population, there is at Pittsburgh only a weak garrison, in palisaded barracks, contiguous to the town, on the bank of the river Allegany.

But though this town has lost its importance as a military post, it has acquired more in point of commerce. It is the *depôt* of merchandize from Philadelphia and Baltimore, sent thither at the commencement of spring and autumn, to supply the States of the Ohio and Kentucky, and of the Settlement of Natches. Through these towns, in the course of last war, they communicated also with New-Orleans, sending their goods down the Ohio and Mississippi.

The conveyance of merchandize from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, is performed in large covered waggons, drawn by four horses, harnessed two a-breast. The price of the carriage varies according to the season; but seldom exceeds six dollars per *cwt.* The distance is computed to be three hundred miles from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and the carriers perform the journey

in twenty or four and twenty days. The charge of conveyance is not high, for the waggons generally return empty; sometimes, however, they bring skins, which come from the Illinois, or from Ginseng, and which are commonly met with in that part of Pennsylvania.

Pittsburgh is not only the depository of the merchandize of Philadelphia and Baltimore, for the Western Countries, but also of numerous settlements that are formed on the Monongahela and the Allegany. The territorial produce of these countries finds an easy and advantageous channel through the Ohio and the Mississippi. Grain, hams, and bacon, are the principal articles which are sent to New-Orleans, whence they are re-exported to the Antilles. Bar-iron, coarse linen cloths, bottles made at Pittsburgh, brandy, whiskey, and butter in casks, are also exported for the consumption of Louisiana. Great part of these stores come from Redstone, a small but commercial town, situated on the Monongahela, at the distance of fifty-five miles beyond Pittsburgh. These united advantages have, in the course of ten years, increased the population and value of property in this town in a ten-fold degree, and continue to assist its growth, which daily becomes more rapid. Most of the merchants who are established at Pittsburgh and its environs, are either partners or factors of commercial houses in Philadelphia. Their agents at New-Orleans dispose of as much goods as they can for ready money; or they take cotton, indigo, and clayed sugar, the produce of Lower Louisiana, in exchange. These they forward by sea to the houses in Philadelphia and Baltimore, whence they come by land to Pittsburgh and its neighbourhood, where most of them reside. Notwithstanding the length of the passage from New-Orleans to either of these ports, is from five and twenty to thirty days, and that then they have to make a journey by land of three hundred miles to return to Pittsburgh, they prefer that way, because it is less laborious than the return by land from New-Orleans to Pittsburgh; this last distance being from fourteen to fifteen hundred miles. But when the vessels are bound only for Limeston, in Kentucky, or for Cincinnati, in the State of the Ohio, the conductors return by land, thus making a journey of from four to five hundred miles.

The navigation of the Ohio and of the Mississippi is so much used, that the distance from Pittsburgh to New-Orleans, is ascertained with sufficient exactness, and has been settled at 2100 miles. Merchant vessels in spring, generally allow forty-five, or fifty days to perform this passage; but two or three persons in a *pirogue*, or Indian bark, may accomplish it in twenty, or five and twenty days.

What many people are perhaps ignorant of in Europe is, that, at Pittsburgh, and on the Ohio, are constructed vessels of heavy burden. One of the principal docks is on the Monongahela, at the distance of 400 yards beyond the extremity of the town. The sorts of timber used in their construction are, the white oak, *quercus alba;* the red oak, *quercus rubra;* the black oak, *quercus tinctoria;* a species of walnut tree, *juglans pignut;* cherry tree, *cerasus virginiana;* and a species of pine, which is employed as well for the masts, as for those parts of the ship which require a lighter wood. All these woods growing near, the expences of building are here considerably less than in the ports of the Atlantic States. The ropes are manufactured at Redstone and at Lexington, where two fine rope-walks have been established, which also furnish rigging for the ships that are built at Marietta and Louisville. On my passage to Pittsburgh, in the month of July 1802, there were on the stocks, a ship of three masts*, of 250 tons, and a galliot of 90, which were on the point of being finished. In the following spring, they were to go down to New-Orleans, freighted with the productions of the country, performing a passage of about 733 leagues, before they arrive at the ocean. From what follows, there is no doubt but that they might equally construct vessels at the distance of 200 leagues above the mouth of the Missouri, of fifty from that of the river Illinois, and even in the Mississippi, and at 200 above the fall of these rivers; that is to say, at 650 leagues from the sea; for their bed, in the space alluded to, is as deep as that of the Ohio, at Pittsburgh, and it would be erroneous to suppose that the countries through which these rivers pass, may not, ere long, be so peopled as to render them capable of similar undertakings. The rapid population of the three new Western States, under circumstances infinitely less favourable, strengthens this assertion. These states, which thirty years ago contained scarcely 3000 inhabitants, now possess more than 40,000; and, among all the habitations, which on the road are seldom at a greater distance than four or five miles, it is very rare to meet with one, even among the most flourishing, where one might not confidently enquire of the proprietor, whence he had emigrated; or, after the manner of the Americans,—*From what part of the world did you come?* as if these vast and fertile regions ought to be considered as the central point, and the common country of all the inhabitants of the globe. Now, if we reflect on these rapid and astonishing improvements, what expectations may not be formed, of the high degree of pro-

* Since my return, I have been informed that this ship, called the Pittsburgh, had arrived at Philadelphia.

sperity to which the western countries may be raised, and of the new progress which the commerce, population, and culture of these parts will make, by the uniting of Louisiana to the American territory?

The river Monongahela rises in Virginia, at the foot of Laure Hill, which forms part of the chain of the Allegany mountains; turning immediately to the west, it passes into Pennsylvania; and, before it joins the Allegany, it receives in its course the rivers Chéat and Youghiogheny, which come from the south-south-east. The territory watered by this river is extremely fertile; and the settlements which have been formed on its banks are nearly contiguous. At Morgan-Town it begins to be navigable. This town, consisting of sixty houses, is situated on the right bank, at the distance of 107 miles from its mouth. Of all the little towns on the Monongahela, trade flourishes most in those of New Geneva and Redstone. The first has a glass-house, solely for the manufacture of bottles, which are exported to the western countries. In the second, which contains 500 inhabitants, there are flour-mills, a rope-walk, and a paper-manufactory. At this town, a number of emigrants, from the Eastern States, embark for those of the West. Here, also, they build large boats, called *Kentucky boats,* which are used in the Kentucky trade. At Elizabeth-Town, situated on the same river, twenty-three miles from Pittsburgh, similar boats are likewise constructed; and from that place, they launched *The Monongahela Farmer,* a trading vessel of two hundred tons burden.

The Allegany rises at the distance of fifteen or twenty miles from lake Eri; and is enlarged in its progress by the French Creek, and other little rivers still less considerable. The Allegany begins to be navigable two hundred miles from Pittsburgh. The banks of this river are fertile; and the inhabitants, who have there formed settlements, as well as those on the Monongahela, export the produce of their culture by the way of the Ohio and the Mississippi. On the side of this river, some small towns are now building, the most considerable of which are Meadville, situated at the distance of two hundred and thirty-five miles from Pittsburgh; Franklin, at two hundred; and Freeport, at only one hundred. Neither of these at present contains more than forty or fifty houses.

Whatever may be the state of the weather, the waters of the Allegany are clear and transparent; those of the Monongahela, on the contrary, become turbid after it has rained for some days in that part of the Allegany mountains where it derives its source.

The maple-sugar tree is very common in all that part of Pennsylvania which is watered by the Monongahela and the Allegany.

This tree mostly delights in cold, wet, and mountainous countries, and its sap abounds in proportion to the severity of the winter. The sugar which is extracted from it, is of as dark a colour as that of clayed-sugar after the first baking; it is sold in loaves of six, eight, and ten pounds, at the rate of fourteen sols or seven pence per pound. The inhabitants manufacture it only for their own consumption: most of them take tea and coffee every day, but they only use that sugar which is obtained by the first evaporation of the sap; as, on account of the great expence which would attend the process, no person is employed in refining it.

CHAP. VII.

THE OHIO.—NAVIGATION OF THAT RIVER.—MR. S. CRAFT.—OBJECT OF HIS JOURNEY.—INFORMATION RESPECTING THE STATE OF VERMONT.

THE Ohio, formed by the junction of the rivers Monongahela and Allegany, appears to be rather a continuance of the former than of the latter, which only obliquely arrives at the conflux. To Pittsburgh, the Ohio may be about two hundred fathoms wide. The course of this immense and magnificent river, for about five and twenty miles, is directed to the north-west; it then gradually turns to the west-south-west; follows that course for a space of five hundred miles, turns from thence to the south-west for a hundred and sixty miles; then to the west for two hundred and seventy-six; and at length falls into the Mississippi, in a south-east direction, in the latitude of 36°, 46′, one thousand one hundred miles from Pittsburgh, and at nearly the same distance from New Orleans. This river is extremely tortuous; so much so, that in descending it, we frequently appear to be going in a direction opposite to that which was proposed to be taken. Its width varies from four hundred to two thousand yards. The islands which it meets in its course are extremely numerous; in an extent of from three hundred and seventy-five to three hundred and ninety miles, I counted nearly fifty. Some contain only a few acres; others are more than a mile in length. Their banks are not very high, and they must consequently be subject to inundations. These islands greatly impede navigation during the summer. The sand which the river carries with it, forms, at the head of each of them, a considerable land-fall; and, in that season, the channel is so contracted from the want of water, that the few boats, even of moderate size, which then hazard a descent, frequently run aground, and are with much difficulty again set

afloat; but at all times there is sufficient water for a canoe or a skiff. As these boats are very light, when they touch the high grounds, they can easily be raised or pushed forward, till they reach a part where there is more water. It is only then in spring and autumn that the Ohio is navigable, at least to Limestone, a distance of four hundred and twenty-five miles from Pittsburgh; for, beyond that, it is open at all times. In these two seasons, the waters are so high, that vessels of three hundred tons burden, conducted by men well acquainted with the river, may go down in perfect safety. The spring season commences in February, and lasts for three months; that of the autumn begins in October, and continues only till the 1st of December. These periods, however, are hastened or retarded, according as the summer happens to be more or less rainy, or as the rivers thaw sooner or later. It sometimes happens too, that in the course of the summer an abundance of rain falls in the Allegany mountains, which suddenly swells the Ohio. A descent may then be made with perfect safety; but no dependance should be placed on such circumstances.

The banks of the Ohio are high and firm; and its course is free from that crowd of obstacles which renders the navigation of the Mississippi difficult, and often dangerous, without very able conductors. On the Ohio, vessels may proceed without danger during the night; but, on the Mississippi, prudence requires that they should stop every night, at least from the mouth of the Ohio to Natches, for a space of nearly seven hundred and fifty miles.

The rapidity of the current of the Ohio is very great in spring, and, in that season, rowing is not necessary; the excess of motion which that process would give the boats, would rather impede, than facilitate their progress, by turning them out of the current, or by throwing them on a point of some island, where they might be entangled among rotten trees, that are sometimes collected together, half under water, and from which it is not easy to get disengaged. They should therefore be left to the current, which is always strong enough to carry them with great celerity, and which is always most rapid in the middle of the channel. The extreme rapidity of the Ohio induces the builders to give a peculiar form to the boats which are employed in its navigation; this form is not calculated to accelerate their progress, but to render them subordinate to the swiftness of the current. All the boats which are used in the Kentucky and Mississippi trade, as well as those that convey the families from the Eastern to the Western States, are constructed in the same manner. Their shape is that of a square, more or less lengthened, the sides of which are raised about four feet and a half above the water; their length is from

fifteen to fifty feet; and their width, ten, twelve, and fifteen feet; the two extremities of which are not sloped like those of common boats. A little deck, made of slate, like those of houses, covers one end of the boat. Under this deck they pass the night, and seek shelter when it rains. I was alone, by the side of the Monongahela, when I first saw, at a distance, five or six of these boats, which were going down the river. I could not conceive what such large square boxes could be, which seemed abandoned to the current, presenting alternately their ends, their sides, and even their angles. As they advanced, I heard a confused noise, without distinguishing any thing, on account of the height of the sides. On ascending the banks of the river, I perceived in these boats several families, bringing with them their horses, cows, fowls, dismounted carts, ploughs, harness, beds, instruments of husbandry; in short, all the furniture requisite for house-keeping, agriculture, and the management of a farm. These people had thus abandoned themselves to the water for several hundred miles, probably without knowing where they might stop, to exercise their industry, and to enjoy in peace the fruit of their labours, under one of the mildest governments in the world.

I remained ten days at Pittsburgh; during which I frequently saw M. le Chevalier Dubac, an old French officer, who, compelled by the events of the Revolution to quit France, went to live at Scioto, but soon changed his residence, and settled at Pittsburgh, where he engaged in commerce. He possesses a very correct knowledge of the western countries, and is perfectly acquainted with the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi, having made several voyages to New Orleans. To the small number of his countrymen who resort to these parts, he gives, with all possible politeness, such directions as may facilitate their voyage, and prevent the accidents which might befal them.

During my stay at Pittsburgh, I was particularly intimate with my travelling companion, Mr. Samuel Craft, an inhabitant of the State of Vermont, whom I had met, for the first time, at Greensburgh. Among other things, I learned from him, that, in that State, and those which are contiguous, the expences incurred by the clearing of the land are always defrayed by the produce of the pot-ash, which is obtained from the ashes of the trees that are burnt; and that there are people who will undertake this clearance or grubbing up, on the sole condition of having the pot-ash. This kind of management, indeed, is not prevalent in the rest of North America; for, in all the States to the eastward of New York, and in those of the west, the trees are burnt at an entire loss: yet it is true, that the inhabitants of New England, properly so called, which comprehends all the States to the eastward of New York, are known to be, of all the

Americans, the most enterprising, the most industrious, and above all, those who are best acquainted with domestic economy.

Mr. Craft now informed me, that the motive of his journey was to ascertain from actual observation, whether all that had been reported of the salubrity and extraordinary fertility of the banks of the river Yazous was correct; and, in that case, to obtain for himself and some friends several thousand acres of land, and to come there and settle with some families of moderate competence, in his neighbourhood. His intention of emigrating to a country so distant, was founded, in one respect, on the length of the winters, which, in the State of Vermont, are as severe as in Canada, and repress the exertions of the inhabitants for more than a third of the year; and in another, on account of the small value of the produce of the country. On the contrary, in the districts which are watered by the river Yazous*, the temperature of the climate, and the fertility of the soil, permit the cultivation of cotton, indigo, and tobacco; the produce of which is much more lucrative than that of the northern part of the United States, and of which the sale is certain, by its exportation to New Orleans, whither you may go and return by the river, in less than a fortnight.

CHAP. VIII.

DEPARTURE FROM PITTSBURGH FOR KENTUCKY; JOURNEY BY LAND AS FAR AS WHEELING.—STATE OF AGRICULTURE ON THAT ROAD.—WEST-LIBERTY-TOWN IN VIRGINIA.—WHEELING.

MR. Craft and I agreed to go together as far as Kentucky, by the Ohio; preferring that way, though longer by a hundred and forty miles, than by land, which is more expensive. But as at that season, the waters were at the lowest, to gain time, and to avoid a considerable winding of the river, on quitting Pittsburgh, we were advised to embark at Wheeling, a little town situated on the Ohio, eighty miles lower, following the course of the river, but a much less distance by land. On the 14th of July, at night, we set out on foot, and crossed the Monongahela, at John's Ferry, situated on the opposite bank, at the bottom of *Coal-hill*, a very high hill, which, on this side, extends along the river a considerable way.

After travelling for about a mile and a half, close along the banks of the Ohio, we entered a wood, and retired to rest in an execrable inn, on Charter Creek, where there was only one bed allotted for travellers. When several persons meet together,

* The river Yazous falls into the Mississippi, between the thirty-second and thirty-third degree of north latitude.

those who arrive last, lie on the floor, wrapped in their coverlet, which they always carry with them, when they undertake a journey into the distant parts of the United States.

On the following day we travelled 28 miles, and stopped at the house of one Patterson. On this road, the dwellings are two or three miles distant from each other; and they are here more numerous than in the interior of the country;—a circumstance which is also observable on all the roads which cross these regions. The inhabitants of this part of Pennsylvania are extremely regular in their morals, and very religious; we saw in some places insulated churches in the woods, and, in others, pulpits for preaching placed under large oaks. Patterson has a pretty considerable farm, and a good corn-mill erected on a small river: he sends his flour to New Orleans. Rivers and creeks are of rare occurrence in this part of Virginia, so that they are obliged to have recourse to mills turned by horses; but the flour thus obtained is consumed in the country, as it does not here constitute an article of commerce. No one has thought of building wind-mills; notwithstanding there are, on the tops of some hills, tolerably clear and extensive spots, which would be convenient for that purpose.

On the 16th of July, we arrived at Wheeling, extremely fatigued; we were on foot, and the heat was intense: our walk was rendered more difficult by the nature of the country, which is covered with hills that lie very close together, and whose summits cannot be attained in less than twenty or twenty-five minutes. Six miles from Patterson's house, appears the line of demarcation, which separates Pennsylvania from Virginia, and which intersects the road at a right angle. This line is formed by large trees, which have been felled on the eminencies, from 30 to 40 feet in breadth. Twelve miles before we reach Wheeling, we passed West-Liberty-Town; a small place, consisting of 100 houses, and built on a hill. Dwellings are numerous in its vicinity: and the soil here, though unequal, is fertile. Its produce is various; yielding from 15 to 20 bushels of corn per acre, when it is perfectly cleared; and affording only from 12 to 15, when the operation has not been completely performed; that is, when there are several stumps of trees remaining; for, when a spot of ground is about to be cleared, they begin with felling the trees at the distance of two feet from the earth, and afterwards gradually remove the stocks. It is worthy of remark, that the inhabitants give only one ploughing, that they use no manure, and that they never suffer the land to lie fallow. The rent of these lands is regulated by their quality. The best, in the proportion of twenty or twenty-five acres cleared in a lot of two or three hundred, are not worth more than from three to four dollars per acre: the taxes to which they are subject, are from one to two *sous* an acre. Hands

being scarce, labour is very dear, and bears no proportion to the price of the productions: hence it follows, that in all the Middle and Southern States, about fifty miles from the sea-shore, every proprietor clears only a little more than he can cultivate with his family, or with the mutual aid of some neighbours. This applies particularly to the Western Countries, where each individual can easily procure land, and is stimulated to labour by the incomparable fertility of the soil.

A mile and a half from West-Liberty-Town, the road passes through a narrow valley, four miles in length, the lofty banks of which are in some places five and twenty or thirty feet in height; and discover horizontal strata of sea-coal, from five to six feet in thickness. This mineral is very common in all this part of Pennsylvania and Virginia; but, as this country is only a continued forest, and its population is thin, considering its immense extent, these mines are not worked. They might be opened with advantage, if they were situated in the Eastern States; where sea-coal, imported from England, is burnt in the great towns, on account of the extreme dearness of wood.

The trees which grow in this valley, lie very closely together: their diameter is very great; and they are in more variety than in the countries I had hitherto crossed. These indications of an uncommonly fertile soil are observable in all those vallies where, as in the present, there run large streams or creeks which fall into the Ohio; and the land of which partakes much of the nature of the flats bordering on that river, while it presents nearly the same productions.

Wheeling, which stands on one of the lofty banks of the Ohio, has only been erected about twelve years. At present there are computed to be about sixty-six houses built with shingles; which, as in all the rising towns in the United States, are separated one from another by an interval of several fathoms. This little town is confined by a long ridge, from one hundred and eighty to two hundred fathoms in height, and the base of which is only about two hundred fathoms distant from the river. In this intervening space the houses are erected: they form only one street, in the centre of which passes the road, that follows the course of the river upwards of two hundred miles. It contains from twelve to fifteen shops, well supplied; whither the inhabitants, who are settled for twenty miles round, resort to purchase provisions. This small town also participates in the export trade, carried on by Pittsburgh with the Western Countries. Many merchants of Philadelphia prefer sending their commodities hither, though the distance is greater by upwards of a day's journey, than to the former place: but this trifling inconvenience is amply compensated by the benefit derived from avoiding the long circuit which the Ohio takes af-

ter it leaves Pittsburgh; where the very numerous shallows and slowness of the current during summer, impede navigation.

We resided at Wheeling in the house of Captain Reymer, who keeps a tavern, known by the sign of the Waggon, and who takes boarders at the rate of two dollars a week. This price is to him a very good one, provisions being cheap in the country: a dozen fowls cost only a dollar; and the quintal of flour sold at that time for no more than one dollar and a half.

CHAP. IX.

DEPARTURE FROM WHEELING FOR MARIETTA.—PROSPECT ON THE BANKS OF THE OHIO.—NATURE OF THE FORESTS.—EXTRAORDINARY SIZE OF SOME TREES.

ON the 18th of July, in the morning, we purchased a pirogue or canoe, about twenty-four feet long, eighteen inches wide, and as many in depth. These canoes are always made of the single trunk of a tree. The pine and tulip-tree are employed for this purpose preferably to any other, their wood being lighter. These canoes are too narrow to work easily with an oar, and are moved forward by means of a paddle, or with a pole, in shallow water. Being sometimes obliged, in order to shorten our journey, to leave the shady banks of the river, and go into the middle, or to pass from one point to another; in consequence of being exposed to the inconvenience of a burning sun, we covered our canoe, for one quarter of its length, with a piece of canvass stretched on two hoops. In less than three quarters of an hour, all our arrangements were made for continuing our voyage. We were, however, compelled to defer our departure till the afternoon, that we might attend to our supply of bread, which travellers are liable to want on this route; because the inhabitants, who reside at a distance from each other on the banks of the river, are themselves often scantily supplied with provisions. It is therefore proper to take precaution previous to departing, and to renew one's stock in the little towns that occur on the way.

We left Wheeling at six o'clock in the evening. We made twelve miles that evening, and stopped for the night on the right bank of the Ohio, which forms the boundary of the government, denominated the territory North West of the Ohio, and which is at present admitted into the Union, under the name of the State of the Ohio. Although we had advanced only twelve miles, we were nevertheless fatigued, less from paddling continually, than from remaining constantly in a sitting posture, with extended legs. Our canoe, the bottom of which was very narrow, compelled us to keep that position; the slightest motion would have exposed

us to upset. At the expiration of a few days, however, custom caused these inconveniencies to disappear, and we proceeded on our journey with comparative ease and comfort.

We were three days and a half on our way to Marietta, which is 100 miles distant from Wheeling. Our second day's progress was 30 miles; the third, 40; and on the morning of the fourth day, we reached that small town which is situated at the mouth of the Great Muskingum. On the first day, being entirely occupied with this mode of travelling, which to us was altogether novel, and did not appear to me a very safe one, I did not carry my observations to any extent; but, on the succeeding day, being more accustomed to such a method of navigation, I noticed with greater tranquillity, from our canoe, the prospect afforded by the banks of that noble river.

On leaving Pittsburgh, the Ohio flows between two ridges or lofty hills, nearly of the same height, which we thought to be from 150 to 200 fathoms: occasionally their summits appeared to be irregular; on the contrary, at other times, they seemed to be perfectly level. These ridges continue, uninterruptedly, for the space of a few miles, when there is a small interval observable, that sometimes affords a passage to the rivers which fall into the Ohio; but, most commonly, another hill, of equal height, arises at a small distance from the spot where the preceding eminence has terminated. These ridges also extend through a space of about three hundred miles; and, from our canoe we could observe them with various degrees of distinctness, in proportion as they were more or less remote from the banks of the river. Their direction is parallel to the chain of the Allegany Mountains; and, notwithstanding they are sometimes distant from these from 80 to 100 miles, and from that to the extent of one or two hundred, yet they cannot but be considered as a continuation of these mountains. The whole of that part of Virginia which is situated on the left bank of the Ohio, is extremely mountainous, covered with forests, and thinly peopled: such at least is the account given me by the inhabitants of the banks of the Ohio, who go every winter to hunt wild bears in these desert regions. The name of *River's-Bottoms*, and also of *Flat-Bottoms*, is given to the flat spots of land covered with wood, which are comprised between the foot of the hills just mentioned, and the banks of the river; and which are sometimes from five to six miles in breadth. Most of the large and small rivers that fall into the Ohio have similar *River's-Bottoms;* which, as well as those here spoken of, are easy to cultivate, but by no means equal in point of fertility to the banks of the Ohio. The soil is a genuine vegetable mould, formed by the thick bed of leaves with which the land is annually loaded, and which is speedily converted into

earth by the moisture prevailing in these thick forests. But what adds still more to the depth of these successive strata of vegetable soil, is the vast trunks of trees, that have fallen by age, with which the ground is every where strewed, and which are rapidly decaying. For upwards of a thousand leagues of the countries through which I have passed at different times in North America, I do not recollect to have seen one, which could be compared to this for the vegetative power of the forests. The finest grounds of Kentucky, and of that part of Tennessee, that lie beyond the mountains of Cumberland, afford equally abundant quantities; but the trees there do not attain so considerable a thickness and height as on the banks of the Ohio. Thirty-six miles before we reached Marietta, we stopped at the house of an inhabitant of the right bank; who shewed us a plane tree, the *Platanus occidentalis*, the trunk of which was, to the height of two feet, tumefied in a wonderful manner: we measured it four feet above the surface of the earth, and found it forty-seven feet in circumference. It appeared to preserve the same dimension to the height of fifteen or twenty feet; when it divided itself into several branches of a proportionable size. Nothing externally announced this tree to be hollow; I ascertained this circumstance as far as it was possible, by striking it in several places with a log. Our host informed us, that, if we would pass the day with him, he would shew us trees of equal size in other parts of the wood, at the distance of two or three miles from the river. This fact confirms the observation made by my father, when travelling in these districts, that the tulip-tree and plane-tree are the only trees in North America which attain so great a diameter.

"Fifteen miles," said he, "above the river Muskingum, in a small island of the Ohio, there is a plane-tree, the *Platanus occidentalis*, the circumference of which, at the height of five feet from the earth, where the stem is most uniform, is forty feet four inches, which makes about thirteen feet in diameter. Twenty years before I passed it, General Washington had measured this identical tree, and found it nearly of the same dimensions. I have also measured plane-trees in Kentucky, but I observed them to be only from fifteen to sixteen feet in circumference.—This tree grows in moist situations.

"The largest tree in North America, next to the plane, is the tulip-tree, *Liriodendron tulipifera*, denominated *Poplar* by the Americans of the Western Countries. It is sometimes fifteen, sixteen, and even eighteen feet in diameter. Kentucky is the native country of the tulip-tree; between Beard-town and Louisiana, we saw a few spots in the woods, which consist of that tree alone. The soil is argillaceous and moist, but never inundated."

The trees usually found in the forests on the banks of the Ohio, are the plane-tree, *Platanus occidentalis*; the tulip-tree; the beech-tree; the *Magnolia acuminata*; the *Celtis occidentalis*; the *Acacia*; the sugar-maple; the red-maple; the *Populus nigra*; and several species of walnut-trees. The most common shrubs are, the *Annona triloba*; the *Euonimus latifolius*; and the *Laurus benzoin*.

CHAP. X.

MARIETTA.—SHIP-BUILDING.—DEPARTURE FOR GALLIPOLI.—MEETING WITH A KENTUCKY BOAT.—POINT PLEASANT.—THE GREAT KENHAWAY.

MARIETTA, the chief of the settlements of the New-Continent, in the State of the Ohio, is situated on the left bank of the Great Muskingum, at its conflux with the Ohio. This town, which fifteen years since was not in existence, is already composed of two hundred houses, some of which are built of bricks, but most of them are constructed only with planks; almost all of them front the Ohio. The hills, which line that river from Pittsburgh, appear at Marietta at some distance from its banks, and leave a pretty considerable tract of level ground, which will facilitate in every respect the enlargement of that town on a regular plan, and will enable its inhabitants to make the most beneficial and agreeable arrangements; while it will not have the inconvenience of Pittsburgh, which is contracted by the lofty hills that surround it.

The inhabitants of Marietta first formed the idea of exporting directly to the Antilles the produce of the country, in a vessel built in their town, which they sent to Jamaica. The success which attended this first experiment, excited such a spirit of enterprise among the inhabitants of this part of the Western Countries, that new ships were launched at Pittsburgh and Louisville, and dispatched directly for the islands, or for New York and Philadelphia. The docks of Marietta are situated in the vicinity of the town, on the Great Muskingum. At the time I passed them, there were three brigs building, one of which was 220 tons burthen. The work was superintended by master-builders who had come from Boston.

The river Muskingum has its source near Lake Erie: it is navigable only for 250 miles from its disemboguing itself into the Ohio, where it is sixty fathoms in width. The country through which it flows, and especially its banks, are fertile. Houses appear for 200 miles above Marietta.

At a small distance from this town, we saw the remains of

some ancient earthen works, supposed formerly to have been thrown up by the Indians as fortifications. When they were found, they were covered with trees of the same nature as those of the neighbouring forests, some of which were even more than three feet in diameter. These trees have been felled, and the soil is at present almost entirely cultivated with maize.

Major-general S. Hart, whose son I knew at Marietta, has given in the *Columbia Magazine*, for 1787, vol. 1. page 9, a plan and very minute description of these ancient Indian works, a translation of which is inserted in the Travels in Upper Pensylvania. That officer, who was of distinguished merit, fell in the celebrated battle which General Sinclair lost, in 1791, near Lake Erie, against the united Natives. During my residence at Marietta, General Sinclair was governor of the State of the Ohio, which office he has held since the admission of that State to the Union. His excellency, who had come from Pittsburgh, and was going to Chillicoth, alighted at the tavern where I lodged. As he travelled in an old cabriolet, and without any attendant, he did not at first strike my attention. In the United States, the men who are called by the desire of their fellow citizens to discharge important functions, do not change their customs; they continue to reside in their own mansions, and to live in the same manner as private individuals, without exhibiting more ostentation, or incurring any additional expense. The emoluments attached to this office, vary in every State: South Carolina, one of the richest in the Union, gives its Governor 4,280 dollars; while the Governor of Kentucky receives only 12 or 1500. The inhabitants of the State of the Ohio differ in their opinion concerning the political conduct of General Sinclair. With regard to talents, he has the reputation of being a better lawyer than a soldier.

On the evening of my departure, I met at Marietta a Frenchman who is settled on the banks of the Great Muskingum, 18 miles above that town. I much regretted that I could not accept the invitation he gave me of paying him a visit at his own house; as it would have enabled me to extend my observations on this part of the western district.

On the 21st of July we left Marietta for Gallipoli, which is one hundred miles distant; whither we arrived after four days' navigation. The inhabitants of the country, by letting themselves drift during the night, complete this passage in three days, and even in two and a half. From the calculation we made, the mere motion of the stream was a mile and a half in an hour: in those places where the water is very deep, it is scarcely perceptible; but as one approaches the

islands, which, as I have already mentioned, are very numerous, the bed of the river becomes more shallow, so that there is often not a foot of water out of the channel. When we advance towards these shallows, the rapidity of the current becomes extreme, the canoe is carried along with the velocity of an arrow, and it is only in proportion as we recede from the islands that the bed increases in depth, and the current is less rapid.

On the day of our departure, we joined, towards evening, a Kentucky boat, bound for Cincinnatti. This boat was 40 feet in length by 15 in breadth, and was laden with bar-iron and brass kettles. There was also on board a family of emigrants, consisting of the father, mother, and seven children, who carried with them all their furniture and implements of agriculture. The conductors, three in number, permitted us without difficulty, to lash our canoe to their boat, and to pass the night with them. By this expedient we proposed to expedite our journey, by not stopping during the night, as we had hitherto done every evening; and we hoped to spend the night in a more tranquil manner than the preceding, during which we had been cruelly tormented with fleas, with which most of the houses were filled, where we had lodged since the moment of our embarking. But our hope was frustrated; for, so far were we from being more fortunate, that we were more than ever incommoded by them. In the course of my voyage, I have experienced this unpleasant circumstance only on the banks of the Ohio.

We were preparing to part about two o'clock in the morning, when the boat ran aground. In this situation we could not desert our hosts, who had entertained us with their best, and who had even made us partake, with much cordiality, of a wild turkey, which they had killed in the evening on the banks of the river. We went into the water with our conductors; and, by means of some large poles, which served us as levers, we at length succeeded in setting the boat afloat, after two hours laborious efforts.

During this night, we passed the mouth of the Little Kenhaway, which, after watering this part of Virginia, falls into the Ohio, on its left bank. The shores of the Little Kenhaway are inhabited only from 15 to 18 miles from its mouth; the remainder of the country is so mountainous, that settlements will not for a long time be formed there. Five miles before we reached the mouth of this small river, and on the right bank of the Ohio, is situated Belle-pré, where there are at present reckoned only twelve houses: but the settlements established in its vicinity are rapidly increasing. This information was

given us in a house, where we halted after we had left the conductors of the Kentucky-boat above-mentioned.

On the 23d of July, at 10 o'clock in the morning, we discovered Point Pleasant; which is situated a little above the mouth of the Great Kenhaway, at the extremity of a point formed by the left bank of that river, which projects nearly in a straight line into the middle of the Ohio. This spot is the more agreeable, as, four miles before we arrive there, the Ohio, which is about 400 fathoms broad, retains that breadth throughout its course, and runs in a perfectly straight direction. Its sloping banks, which rise from twenty-five to forty feet in height, are covered, as in the remainder of its course, with willows, fifteen or eighteen feet high; and the pendant branches and foliage of which, being of a fine green colour, form an agreeable contrast with that of the sugar and red-maples, and of the oaks which stand immediately above. These, in their turn, are overtopped by the plane-trees, tulip-trees, beeches, and the magnolia, of still more elevated growth, whose large and thick branches, in consequence of their greater expansion, spread over the banks, entirely covering the trees beneath them, and also extending much farther over the river. This arrangement of nature, which prevails on each bank, presents on every side a regular arch; the image of which, being reflected by the crystal waters, greatly adorns this magnificent prospect.

The Ohio, at Marietta, presents a landscape nearly similar; —perhaps even more picturesque, from the appearance of the houses of that small town, which may be seen at the distance of five or six miles; and which, as you ascend, seems to stand in the middle of the river.

The Great Kenaway, which is better known in this country by the present name, than under that of New River, given to it in some maps, takes its rise at the foot of the Yellow Mountain in Tennessee; but the body of its waters is supplied from part of the Allegany mountains. The *falls* and *rapids*, which occur very frequently in this river, through a course of more than four hundred miles, will for a long time impede the exportation, by means of the Ohio and Mississippi, of the commodities of that part of Virginia which it waters. Its banks are inhabited, but not to so great an extent as those of the Ohio.

CHAP. XI.

GALLIPOLI.—STATE OF THE FRENCH COLONY OF SCIOTO. —ALEXANDRIA, AT THE MOUTH OF THE GREAT SCIOTO. —ARRIVAL AT LIMESTONE, IN KENTUCKY.

FOUR miles below Point Pleasant, on the right bank of the Ohio, is situated Gallipoli; a spot, at which have assembled nearly one fourth of the French, who in 1789 and 1790 left their country to form a colony on the Scioto; but they were not able to take possession of the lands which they had so dearly purchased, till they had remained fifteen months at Alexandria, in Virginia, during the war that then prevailed with the Natives. They had even nearly been deprived of this territory from the disputes which arose between the Company of the Scioto and that of the Ohio, of whom the former had in the first instance bought the land; but scarcely had they arrived on the soil which belonged to them, before war was renewed between the Americans and the Indians, and completed the ruin of these unfortunate colonists. There is no doubt, that, from their desolate state in the midst of the forests, they would all have been massacred, notwithstanding the kind of predilection which the Indian nations in the vicinity of Canada and Louisiana have for the French: hence, as long as they took no active part in this war, they were not disturbed; but the American army having obtained a decisive advantage near the mouth of the Great Kenhaway, and crossed the Ohio, the inhabitants of Gallipoli joined them. From this time they no longer received mercy, and could not leave the boundaries of their village; for two of them, who had gone to only twice the distance of a musket-shot from their residence, were seized by the natives, when one was killed and scalped, and the other made prisoner, and carried into the interior of the country. At the time of my arrival at Gallipoli, they had just received some account from this man, which stated, that he gained a comfortable subsistence by mending guns, and practising his trade of a goldsmith in the village where he resided: so that he expressed no wish of returning to his countrymen.

The war being at an end, Congress, in order to indemnify these unfortunate Frenchmen for the successive losses they had sustained, gave them twenty thousand acres of land, situated between the small rivers Sandy and Scioto, seventy-five miles below Gallipoli: this portion of territory was divided at the rate

of two hundred and ten acres for each head of a family. Those individuals who did not possess sufficient courage to proceed a second time with no other aid than that of their children, into the midst of the wood, for the purpose of felling, burning, and rooting out trees, which are often more than four feet in diameter, sold their portions either to the Americans or to more enterprising Frenchmen; so that only thirty families established themselves in these new possessions. In the course of three or four years, they succeeded by incessant labour in forming decent establishments, where, in consequence of the extreme fertility of the soil, they now have abundance of articles of the first necessity.

Gallipoli, which is built on the banks of the Ohio, contains about seventy log-houses, more than half of which are uninhabited and fallen to ruin, the others are still occupied by French families, who live in a miserable manner, as only two of them appear to be in easy circumstances: one keeps an inn, and distils brandy from peaches, which he sends to Kentucky, where it is sold to much advantage: and the other was M. Burau, from Paris, who gave me a kind reception, though I was unknown to him. Nothing can exceed the activity of this Frenchman, who is obliged from the nature of his profession, to travel continually on the banks of the Ohio, and to make once or twice every year a journey of four or five hundred miles through the woods to the towns which lie beyond the Allegany mountains. I learned from him, that intermittent fevers, which formerly were very calamitous to the inhabitants of Gallipoli, had not appeared during the last three years; but about a dozen of the inhabitants, who had removed to New Orleans, with a view of bettering their condition, had nearly all died the first year of their arrival.

On the 25th July, we left Gallipoli for Alexandria, which is 104 miles farther, and which we reached in three days and a half. This town is built at the mouth of the Great Scioto, and in an angle formed by the right bank of that river with the north-west shore of the Ohio. Though the plan of Alexandria had been drawn up for several years, yet no person could be induced to reside on that spot: and at present the number of houses is not more than twenty, while most of these are built with logs. Its position, however, is very favourable with respect to the numerous establishments that have been formed beyond this new town on the great Scioto, the banks of which are lower, more dry, and, it is said, nearly as fertile as those of the Ohio. The population might be greater, if the inhabitants were not every autumn liable to intermittent fevers, which are extremely severe, and do not leave them until the approach of winter.

This country is more unhealthy than any in the vast State of the Ohio. The seat of Government at this new State is at Chillicoth, a town containing about one hundred and fifty houses, and situated sixty miles from the mouth of the great Scioto. A newspaper is published in this town once a week.

At Alexandria and in the other small towns of the Western Countries, which stand in a very rich soil, the space between each house is entirely covered with *Stramonium*. This dangerous and bad-smelling plant thrives in a surprising degree in every spot, where the soil has been cultivated for twelve or fifteen years; and notwithstanding all the exertions of the inhabitants, it seems to increase in quantity every year. It is supposed to have first appeared at James-Town, in Virginia, whence it derives its name of *James-Weed*. Travellers use its leaves for covering the wounds on the backs of their horses, that arise from the friction of the saddle.

The petty mullein is the next European plant which I found in great abundance, though in less quantities than the *Stramonium*. It is vary common on the road leading from Philadelphia to Lancaster, but less so beyond that town, and I never found it on the other side of the Allegany mountains.

On the first of April we arrived at Limestone, in Kentucky, fifty miles beyond Alexandria, and here my journey along the Ohio was at end. We had travelled three hundred and forty-eight miles in a canoe from Wheeling, and were ten days on the passage, during which we were obliged to paddle incessantly, on account of the slowness of the current. This labour, so painful to those who are not accustomed to it, was to us still more irksome on account of the excessive heat: we also suffered much from thirst, not being able to drink without landing at the inns on the banks of the river; for during summer the water of the Ohio acquires such a degree of heat, that it is not drinkable till it has been kept in the shade for twenty-four hours. This extraordinary warmth of the water arises on one hand from the extreme heat of the climate at this season, and on the other from the slowness of the current.

I had fixed on the first of October for my return to Charleston, and had nearly a thousand miles to travel by land before I could reach it, as I intended to pass through the State of Tennessee, which would make a great addition to my journey. Being pressed for time, I therefore abandoned the project I had formed of going down the Ohio as far as the falls, and left Mr. Samuel Craft, who continued his voyage alone in a canoe to Louisville, whence, after descending the Ohio and Mississippi, he intended to go up the river of the Yazous to Natches, and afterwards to return by land to the State of Vermont, where he expected to

be about the fifteenth of November following, after having performed in six months a journey of nearly four thousand miles.

CHAP. XII.

OF THE FISH AND SHELLS OF THE OHIO.—INHABITANTS OF THE BANKS OF THAT RIVER.—AGRICULTURE AND AMERICAN EMIGRATION.—COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE OF THIS PART OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE shores of the Ohio, though from twenty to sixty feet in height, scarcely contain any stony substances after leaving Pittsburgh; and with the exception of large detached blocks of a grey colour and friable texture, which may be observed from ten to twelve miles below Wheeling, the rest appears to be only a simple vegetable earth. It is but a few miles before reaching Limestone, that you observe a bank of calcareous stone, the great thickness of which clearly shews, that it is of a considerable extent.

Two kinds of flints, round and of a middling size, are very abundant in the bed of the Ohio, particularly near the islands, where they have been accumulated by the force of the current; some are of a deep colour and split easily; others smaller and less numerous, are of a white quartz, but rather opaque.

In the Ohio, as well as in the Allegany, the Monongahela, and other rivers in the West Country, there is an abundance of mullet from two to five inches long; they are not eaten, but the mother of pearl which they afford, being very thick, is made into sleeve-buttons. I saw some of these at Lexington, which were as fine as those made from the same substance in Europe. The new species which I have mentioned has been defined by M. Bose, *Unio Ohiotensis.*

The Ohio abounds in fish of different sorts, but the most common is the *Cat-fish* or *Silurus Felis:* they are taken by the line, though some often weigh a hundred pounds. The first fold of the upper fin of this fish is a pointed substance, very strong and sharp, and which it employs for killing others of a less size: its mode of attack is by swimming some inches below its object, and then, by rising suddenly, it pierces it several times in the belly, a circumstance which we twice had occasion to observe during our navigation.

In the years 1796 and 1797, the banks of the Ohio were so thinly inhabited, that there was scarcely thirty families in the space of four hundred miles, but since that time emigrants from the mountainous countries of Pennsylvania and Virginia, have arrived in great numbers in these fertile districts, and the habi-

tations have so much encreased, that they are now not more than from one to three miles distant, whilst some of them may even be perceived from the middle of the river.

The inhabitants in these quarters, chiefly employ their time in hunting the stag or the bear, the skins of which they sell; but their propensity for this kind of life prevents them from cultivating the land, so that their new possessions are not in a state of improvement: each family has from one to four hundred acres of land, though not more than eight or ten are cultivated: nevertheless, the produce derived from this small portion, together with the milk of their cows, is more than sufficient for the subsistence of the family, which is always numerous, for scarcely any man has less than six or seven children. Their houses are built on the banks of the river, and almost always in beautiful situations; but the way in which they are constructed, bears no analogy to the charming spots on which they stand, as they are nothing but miserable log-houses without windows, and so small, that two beds take up almost their whole internal space. Two men can with ease build one of these houses in less than three days, while their wretched appearance would seem to indicate an uncommon scarcity of wood, though in countries covered with forests. The inhabitants on the banks of the Ohio receive without hesitation any travellers who demand their hospitality, and afford them shelter, that is, they permit them to sleep upon the floor in their own clothes. In these houses may be procured maize-bread, smoked bacon, milk and butter, but seldom any thing more: thus the expence for food is here as well as in all the Western Countries only a trivial consideration.

Maize is almost the only grain to the culture of which they devote themselves; and though they are still far from perfection as agriculturists, yet the soil, notwithstanding it is full of roots, is so fertile, that the stalks of this grain grow to the height of eleven or twelve feet, while the produce per acre is annually from twenty-five to thirty quintals or hundred weight. During the first three years of cultivation, the corn grows too strongly and sheds its grain before the ears are ripe, in consequence of which the land is seldom sown till after it has lain fallow for four or five years, and been deprived during that time of its numerous roots and suckers. The Americans of the interior parts, cultivate wheat from motives of speculation rather than for their own consumption, as they send the flour to the sea-ports; for nine-tenths of the inhabitants eat no other bread but that of maize, of which they make loaves that weigh eight or ten pounds, and bake them in portable ovens; or they form small cakes of this flour, which they cook upon a small board before the fire. This bread is generally eaten hot,

and is not very palatable to those who are unaccustomed to its use.

The only fruit tree at present cultivated in this country is that of the peach, which, though no attention whatever is paid to it, grows so vigorously, that it bears fruit in the third year.

The price of the best lands on the banks of the Ohio, does not exceed three dollars per acre, and on the left bank, in the States of Kentucky and Virginia, they are even cheaper. The two banks of the Ohio not having been inhabited more than eight or nine years, which is the case with those of the smaller rivers that empty themselves into it, the Americans who have come to reside there, have but a small participation in the trade by the Mississippi, which consists of hams, smoked bacon, brandy distilled from corn and peaches, barrelled beer, hemp, skins, and some kinds of flour; they also send cattle to the Atlantic States. Some itinerant merchants, who procure commodities at Pittsburgh and Wheeling, and who go up and down the river in canoes, bring them mercery goods, and particularly tea and coffee, for which they take their produce in exchange. More than one half of those who inhabit the banks of the Ohio were the earliest inhabitants, or, as they are called in the United States, the first settlers: they are a wandering horde of people, who are never satisfied with the soil which they have once cultivated, but, under pretext of finding better land, a more healthful climate or more abundant chace, are always going farther, and establishing themselves in the vicinity of the savage nations, whom they brave even in their own country. The bad faith which they exhibit towards them gives rise to continual quarrels, and often produces sanguinary wars.

Before arriving at Marietta, we met with one of these settlers, who resided in the environs of Wheeling, and who being likewise on his way down the Ohio, we travelled with him for ten days. He was alone in a canoe about eighteen or twenty feet long, by twelve or fifteen inches wide, and was going to visit the banks of the Missouri, which are inhabited by Americans, about a hundred and fifty miles from its mouth. The excellent quality of the land; which is reckoned more fertile than that on the Ohio, and which the Spanish Government then caused to be distributed gratis, together with the multitude of beavers, elks, and particularly of bisons, were the motives that induced him to emigrate to those distant countries, whence, after finding a convenient spot for his residence, he intended to return to the Ohio to fetch his family, and by which is voyage would amount to fourteen or fifteen hundred miles. His costume, like that of all the American hunters, consisted of a round jacket with sleeves, a pair of pantaloons, and a large woollen belt of a red

or yellow colour: his hunting-implements were a carbine, a tomahawk or small hatchet, which the Indians use for cutting wood, or killing their enemies, two snares for beavers, and a large dirk hanging from his belt; a cloak or coverlet was all his baggage. Every evening he landed on the banks of the river, where he made a fire, and passed the night; and when he thought the place favourable for hunting, he went into the woods for several days together: the produce of the chace afforded him the means of subsistence, and by the sale of the skins he procured supplies of ammunition. Such were the first inhabitants of Kentucky and Tennessee, of which only a few now remain. It was they who began to cultivate these fertile regions, after taking them from the savages, who disputed their possession of them with the most sanguinary violence for a period of five or six years; but their long familiarity with a wandering and idle life, prevented the new comers from enjoying the fruit of their labours in profiting by the extraordinary price which those lands soon attained; they emigrated into countries still more distant, where they formed new establishments. The same conduct will, probably, be pursued by those who now reside on the banks of the Ohio; for the same propensity which led them thither, will cause them to emigrate still farther. These will be succeeded by new emigrants from the Atlantic States, who will also abandon their lands to go in search of a milder temperature and a more fertile soil. The last comers, instead of log-houses, with which the present inhabitants are contented, will probably build their residences of planks, cultivate a greater quantity of land, and by perseverance render their new possessions more valuable by raising maize, wheat, tobacco, and hemp: the peaceable enjoyment of their property will be secured by their numerous population; they will rear abundance of cattle in their rich and delightful meadows, while an advantageous sale for the products of the country, will always arise from their conveyance by the Ohio.

The situation of this river being the best of any in the United States, must cause it to be considered as the centre of commerce between the United and the Western States, as it is by its means that the latter receive the manufactured articles with which Europe, India, and the Antilles, supply the former; while it is the only medium of communication that is opened to the ocean, for exporting the goods afforded by the vast and fertile part of the United States comprised between the Allegany mountains, the lakes, and the left bank of the Mississippi.

CHAP. XIII.

LIMESTONE.—ROAD FROM LIMESTONE TO LEXINGTON. —WASHINGTON.—SALT-PITS OF MAYS-LICK.—MILLESBURGH.—PARIS.

LIMESTONE, which is built on the left bank of the Ohio, contains only between thirty and forty houses constructed of planks. This little town, which was begun rather more than fifteen years ago, might apparently have acquired a greater extent, as it was for a long time the spot at which all the emigrants stopped when travelling from the Northern States by way of Pittsburgh, and it is still the staple of all the merchandize sent to Kentucky from Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Travellers who arrive at Limestone by water find it difficult to hire horses to continue their journey, as there are scarcely any but what are for sale; and I believe the inhabitants, as well as those of Shippensburgh, know how to turn this circumstance to their advantage. As I intended to stay some time at Lexington, and afterwards to pursue a more agreeable route, I determined to travel on foot, and left my portmanteau with the master of the inn at which I put up, who undertook for a dollar to procure me conveyance to Lexington, for which place I set off on the same day. The distance from Limestone to Lexington is sixty-five miles, which I travelled in two days and a half. The first town on the way is Washington, at a distance of four miles; it is much larger than Limestone, as it contains about two hundred houses all built of planks and on both sides of the road. Trade is here very active, and consists principally of meal, which is exported to New Orleans. There are in the environs some very fine houses, which have well cultivated lands attached to them, and which are as well inclosed as those in Virginia and Pennsylvania. I proceeded seven miles the first evening, and the next day arrived at Springfield, consisting only of five or six houses, but amongst which are two spacious and well built taverns, where the inhabitants of the environs assemble. I went hence through Mays-Lick, where there is a salt pit, and at which I stopped to examine the process employed in these parts for the extraction of salt. The wells which afford the saline water are about twenty feet deep, and are only from fifty to sixty fathoms distant from the river Salt Lick, the water of which is brackish in summer. They use brass caldrons for the evaporation, which contain about twenty-

five gallons, and which are similar in their form to those used in France for making lye: they place ten or twelve of these in a row, over a trench four feet deep, and of a width proportionate to their diameter, so that their sides rest on the banks of the trench, while the spaces between the caldrons are imperfectly stopped by a few handfuls of clay. The fuel which is cut in billets about three feet in length, is thrown in at one of the extremities of the trench. These sort of furnaces have no claim to economy, as they consume a prodigious quantity of wood: I made this remark to the people who were employed in the process: but they answered that they did not know of any better process; and must continue to follow it till some people from the *old country* (meaning the Europeans) arrived to teach them better. The dearness of manual labour, in the cutting and conveyance of wood, and the few saline particles which the water holds in solution, are circumstances that cause the salt to be always at a high price, as it sold at about four dollars the quintal. This, however, induces many persons to search for saline springs, which are generally found in the parts denominated *Licks*, and whither the bisons, elks, and stags, which were in Kentucky before the arrival of the Europeans, used to go in hundreds to lick the saline particles with which the soil is impregnated. There are in this State as well as in that of Tennessee, a number of quacks, who by means of a wand of hazel nut-tree pretend to be able to discover saline and fresh springs; but they are only consulted by the least enlightened part of the inhabitants, and even these do not demand their assistance, till some circumstances have induced them to dig in a spot of ground where they suppose one of these springs to run.

The country over which you pass, ten miles before arriving at Mays-Lick, and eight miles beyond it, contains no habitation. The soil is dry and barren; and the road is covered with large flat calcareous stones, which are of a blue colour inside, and the edges of which are round. The only trees observable, are the white oak (*Quercus alba*), and walnut (*Juglans hickery*), the stunted size and bad appearance of which sufficiently indicate the sterility of the soil, which is, doubtless, caused by the salt-mines it contains.

From Mays-Lick, I proceeded to Millesburgh, which contains about fifty houses, and whither I went to visit M. Savary, who was particularly intimate with my father: he is one of the greatest landed proprietors in these countries, as he possesses upwards of eighty thousand acres, as well in Virginia as in Kentucky and Tennessee. The taxes he pays, though trivial in themselves, are burdensome to him, as he finds it difficult at present to sell any portion of his property, because the emigration from the

Eastern States having taken another direction, people seldom come towards Kentucky.

Near Millesburgh runs a small river, about five or six fathoms wide; on which sawing-mills are established. The water was so low at the time of my arrival, that I crossed it on large calcareous stones, which partly form its bed, and which were then above the water. In winter, on the contrary, it rises to such a degree, that it can only be passed by a bridge, raised upwards of twenty-five feet. The bridges thrown over the small rivers and creeks that are frequently met with in the interior of the country, particularly in the Eastern States, all consist of the trunks of trees, not bound together, but placed across by the side of each other: these bridges are not supported, and when travelling on horseback, it is always prudent to descend, and walk over. Before arriving at Lexington, I passed through Paris, the chief place in the county of Bourbon. This small town, which, in 1796, contained only eighteen houses, now has upwards of 150, nearly the half of which are of brick: it stands in the middle of an agreeable and extensive plain, and is watered by a small river, on which are several corn-mills. Every thing here announces the competency of the inhabitants; seven or eight of them were drinking whiskey at a very good inn, at which we stopped, to avoid the excessive heat. After answering a number of questions respecting the object of my journey, one of them engaged me to dine with him, for the express purpose of introducing me to a countryman who had lately arrived from Bengal. I yielded to his solicitations, and met with a Frenchman, who had left Calcutta for the purpose of settling in Kentucky: he had taken up his residence at Paris, and followed the profession of a schoolmaster.

CHAP. XIV.

LEXINGTON.—ITS MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE, &c.

LEXINGTON, the chief place of the county of La Fayette, is situated in the middle of a *cleared spot*, containing about three hundred acres, surrounded with wood, like all the other small towns of the United States which are not in the vicinity of the sea. This town is built upon a regular plan; and its streets, which are sufficiently large, intersect each other at right angles. The want of pavements renders them very dirty in winter, or at any time when it rains. The houses, most of which are of brick, are dispersed over a space of from eighty to one hundred acres, with the exception of those that form the *main street*, where they are contiguous to each other. This town was

founded in 1780, and is the oldest, as well as the largest, of the three New Western States; it contains about three thousand inhabitants. Frankfort, the seat of the government of Kentucky, which is twenty-four miles distant, is not so populous; a circumstance that may be attributed to the rapid increase of Lexington, in consequence of its position in the centre of one of the most fertile parts of the country, comprised in a kind of semi-circle, which is here formed by the Kentucky river.

There are at Lexington two printing-houses, in each of which a newspaper is published twice a week. Part of the paper is made in the country, and is about one-third dearer than in France: that used for writing is imported from England, and comes by Philadelphia and Baltimore. Two fine rope-walks, which are always employed, supply rigging for the vessels that are built on the Ohio. On the banks of the small river that runs near the town, are several tan-yards, the produce of which is sufficient for the inhabitants. At the door of one of these establishments, I observed some very strong hides, of a yellow colour, which had been tanned with the bark of the Quercitron Oak; by which I ascertained that this tree grows in Kentucky, though I did not meet with it between Limestone and Lexington, owing, probably, to the sterility of the soil.

The want of hands in this country is a stimulus to the industry of the inhabitants. While I was at Lexington, one of them obtained a patent for a new machine for making nails, which was more complete than that employed in the prisons of New York and Philadelphia; and another had specified one for pounding and cleaning hemp, and sawing wood and stone. This machine, which is moved by a horse, or a current of water, he declared to be capable of bruising and cleaning eight thousand pounds of hemp per day.

The manufactories of Lexington are well supported; and their owners are even supposed to be in good circumstances, notwithstanding the extreme dearness of manual labour: this arises from the preference given by the inhabitants to agricultural pursuits, who, preferring the assistance of their children in their exertions, refuse to bind them to useful trades. The following comparison will more clearly shew the scarcity of artisans in the Western States. At Charleston, in Carolina, and at Savannah, in Georgia, white journeymen carpenters, joiners, masons, smiths, taylors, shoe-makers, &c. gain two dollars per day, and can live for less than six per week. At New York and Philadelphia a man earns but one dollar, and his expences cost him four per week. At Marietta, Lexington, and Nashville, in Tennessee, the same artisans gain from a dollar to one and a half per day: while the produce of one day's labour is sufficient for a week's

subsistence. Another example will tend to shew the low price of articles of the first necessity in the Western States. While I was at Lexington, the sum I paid for my board was reckoned as high as any in the town, and I was abundantly supplied for two dollars a week. It is said, that a man may live equally cheap in the State of New England, which comprises Connecticut, Massachusets, and New Hampshire; but the price of manual labour is not so high in those parts, and is therefore more upon an equality, than that of provisions.

Independently of the manufactories established at Lexington, there are also in the country several establishments for common earthenware; and one or two powder-mills, the produce of which, except a small quantity that is exported to Upper Carolina and Lower Louisiana, is consumed in the vicinity. The sulphur is received from Philadelphia; and the salt-petre is made in the country: the soils which afford the lixivia being taken from the grottos or caverns in the declivities of the high hills that are found in the most mountainous parts of this State. The land here is extremely rich in nitrous particles, which is evidently owing to the calcareous rock in which all these excavations are formed, as well as to the vegetable substances, which have been accidentally propelled within them; a circumstance which seems to shew, that the assimilation of animal substances is not absolutely necessary, even in the formation of artificial nitre-beds, in order to produce a higher degree of nitrification. Salt-petre of the first evaporation is sold for the eighth of a dollar per pound; but in various specimens which I saw, I could not observe any indication of sea-salt. The processes followed in these works are as defective as those in the manufacture of salt; but I here speak only of what relates to the extraction of salt-petre, not having seen the powder-mills. I shall conclude with observing, that of all the Atlantic States, it is only in Kentucky and Tennessee that salt-petre is made.

The merchants of Lexington nearly monopolize the commerce of Kentucky. They receive their merchandize from Philadelphia and Baltimore, in thirty-five or forty days; the total charge for conveyance is from seven to eight dollars per quintal. Seven tenths of the manufactured articles consumed in Kentucky, as well as in the rest of the United States, are imported from England; and principally consist of coarse and fine hardware, cutlery, nails, tin-ware, drapery, mercery, drugs, and china. Muslins, nankeens, tea, &c. are imported directly from India, by American ships; and they derive from the Antilles, coffee and sugar, of different qualities; for it is only the lower class of inhabitants who use that produced by the maple.

The French merchandizes that are received in these coun-

tries, consist merely of taffetas, silk stockings, brandies, and mill-stones, which last are conveyed into the country, notwithstanding their considerable weight and the distance of their passage.

From Lexington the various merchandizes pass to the interior of the State, and what remains is sent by land to Tennessee.—The merchants can easily make a considerable profit; for on the one hand they generally receive a year's credit from the commercial houses of Philadelphia and Baltimore, and on the other, as they are not very numerous, they can fix in their own favour the course of exchange for the territorial productions, which they barter for merchandize, more particularly because, from the extreme scarcity of cash, most of their transactions are by way of exchange. The merchants, however, adopt every method for gaining all the money in circulation, and there are some cases, in which they will not sell certain kinds of merchandize except for specie, or for such productions as have an inevitable sale; amongst which may be reckoned hemp and home-spun linen. The payments in produce consequently always bear a difference of fifteen or twenty per cent. in favour of the merchants: all the cash collected by commerce is sent by land on horseback to Philadelphia; and I have seen convoys of from fifteen to twenty horses laden with money, though the distance from Lexington to Philadelphia by the Pennsylvanian road is about 650 miles. The difficulty of conveyance causes the bank notes of the United States to be circulated to some extent, but the country people refuse to receive them, lest they should take such as are forged.

During my residence at Lexington, I frequently saw Dr. S. Brown, a physician from Virginia, who has obtained considerable reputation in these districts, as well as several Frenchmen, who are settled here, and to whom I had letters of introduction.

CHAP. XII.

JOURNEY FROM LEXINGTON.—CULTIVATION OF THE VINE AT KENTUCKY.—PASSAGE OF THE RIVERS KENTUCKY AND DICK.—DEPARTURE FOR NASHVILLE.—MULDER-HILL.—PASSAGE OF GREEN RIVER.

ON the 10th of August, I left Lexington for Nashville in the State of Tennessee; and as the establishment for naturalising the vine in Kentucky was only a few miles out of my road, I was induced to proceed thither. There is no American who does not take a lively interest in all attempts of this kind, and several individuals in the Atlantic States have spoken largely to me of the success which has attended their exertions. As French

wines form one of the principal articles of trade with America, I wished to ascertain as much as possible the degree of prosperity to which this establishment had attained, though from the indifferent manner in which I had heard the country described, I was previously convinced, that the first attempts had not been very successful.

About fourteen miles from Lexington, I left the road to Hickman-Ferry, and turning to the left, lost myself amongst the woods, so that I did not reach the vineyard till evening, when I was well received by M. Dufour, its manager, who invited me to pass the night and the following day with him, which I accepted.

There prevails in the United States a degree of public spirit, which induces individuals to adopt any project that may tend to enrich the country by agriculture and commerce. That of naturalising the vine at Kentucky was readily embraced, and several individuals formed the design of carrying it into execution: they agreed to deposit a capital of 10,000 dollars, which was divided into 200 shares of 50 dollars each. The stock being soon filled, and Dufour, the head of a small Swiss colony who had established themselves at Kentucky, for seven or eight years, and who had projected the enterprise, was engaged to find a proper soil, to procure vine plants, and to make every necessary arrangement for ensuring success to the enterprise. The spot which he selected and cleared is situated on the river Kentucky, twenty miles from Lexington: the soil is excellent, and the vine is planted on a very steep hilloc, having a southern aspect, while its base is 200 fathoms from the river.

M. Dufour had formed an idea of going to France for the purpose of procuring vine-plants, and with this view he went to New York; but either the war or some other circumstance prevented him from sailing, and he merely collected in that town and Philadelphia a number of roots of every species he could find in the gardens of individuals. He thus made a collection of 25 different kinds, which he conveyed to Kentucky and planted: but his exertions were unsuccessful, as he could only raise four or five varieties, amongst which were two, that he called Burgundy and Madeira; while the former of these does not flourish, as the grape always decays before it arrives at maturity. When I saw them, the bunches were scarce and meagre, the grain small, and every thing seemed to shew that the vintage of this year would not be greater than those which preceded it. The stocks of Madeira, on the contrary, afforded some hopes; for of nearly 300, one-third was loaded with very fine bunches. These vines do not occupy more than six acres of land, and they are planted and fixed with props the same as

in the environs of Paris. The vicinity of the woods, however, gives rise to the depredations of a species of bird, which from the nature of the country it is difficult to avoid.

During my stay with M. Dufour, I asked him in what part of Kentucky the numerous emigrants from our country in 1793 and 1794, had taken up their residence; he said, that though a great number of Swiss had formed the project of coming hither, they had at the time of their journey changed their minds, and that the whole colony consisted merely of his family and a few friends, not exceeding eleven persons altogether.

On the second day after my arrival I left the vineyard, and, to save ground, M. Dufour offered to conduct me through the woods to Hickman-Ferry; where a passage is made over the river Kentucky. I accepted his proposition; and though the distance was only four miles, we were travelling four hours, as we were frequently obliged to alight to climb or descend very steep hills. The low grounds near the river are covered with nothing but fine plane trees; and it is worthy of remark, that the inhabitants are averse from living in their vicinity, because they believe that the down with which the bottom of the leaves is covered in spring, and which falls off in the summer, is a pre-disposing cause of consumption, by producing an insensible but continued irritation of the lungs. At this season the water of the Kentucky is so low at Hickman-Ferry, that the river may be forded.

I stopped a few minutes at the inn, where the boat is kept for passing at high water; and while they were feeding my horse, I went down to the river side to make my remarks. The banks consist of an enormous mass of perpendicular calcareous stone, about 150 feet in height, and which from top to bottom bear evident marks of the action of the water. A large and long street, the houses of which stand in a right line, will afford a good idea of the channel of this small river at Hickman-Ferry: it swells prodigiously in spring and autumn, at which seasons its water rises in a few days from 60 to 70 feet.

At this inn I met with an inhabitant, who resided sixty miles farther: this man, with whom I entered into conversation, and who appeared to me to be in easy circumstances, pressed me hard to pass a week with his family; and as he supposed, that I was in search of land on which I might form an establishment, this being the object of most persons who visit Kentucky, he offered to point out such as would suit me, from the desire, as he expressed himself, of having for a neighbour an inhabitant of the old country. In this State, however, as well as in Tennessee, I was often obliged to refuse similar propositions from unknown individuals, whom I met with in the taverns, or from whom I

demanded a lodging, and who always invited me to pass some days amongst them.

About a mile from Kentucky I left the road to Danville, and took that which leads to Harrod's-Burgh, in order to visit General Adair; and after crossing Dick's river, whose banks are covered with Virginian cedars, as well as with the black oak and hickery walnut-tree, I reached his estate. The General was absent when I arrived, but his lady received me in the most obliging manner, and during five or six days I remained with her, was shewn every mark of attention and kindness.

A large and convenient mansion, a great number of black domestics and several carriages announced the opulence of the General, who, as is well known, is not always in America: his house is situated near Harrod's-Burgh, in Mercer county, and is surrounded by vast fields of maize and magnificent orchards of peach-trees. The soil is uncommonly fertile, as is evident from the thickness of the stalks, their extraordinary height and the abundance of their produce, which annually amounts to thirty-five or forty quintals of grain per acre. The great mass of the neighbouring forests is composed of the same species of trees that grow in the most fertile districts, such as the *Gleitschia, three species of Acanthos, Guilandina divica, Ulmus viscosa, Morus rubra, Corylus*, and *Annona triloba;* while the surface of the soil in a circumference of several miles is perfectly flat, a circumstance very unusual in this country.

As I was obliged to continue my journey without delay, I did not accept the invitation of Mrs. Adair, who pressed me to stay till her husband returned, and I accordingly set off on the 20th of August for Nashville. The first day I travelled twenty-four miles and slept at the house of one Hayes, who keeps a good inn fifty miles from Lexington. The second day I made twenty-five miles and stopt at Skeggs' inn, ten miles before you reach Mulder-Hill, a high and steep elevation in the form of an amphitheatre. I ascended it on foot; and from its summit the country that I had passed, appeared like an immense valley covered with forests, and the limits of which were on the right and left farther than the eye could reach; while the tops of the trees, which seemed to touch each other, resembled a field of sombre verdure, in which no habitation was perceptible. The profound tranquillity which prevails in these woods, the absence of every dangerous animal, and the security which the inhabitants enjoy, are circumstances that are seldom to be met with in other countries.

The inn kept by Skeggs, at which I stopped after quitting Mulder-Hill, was the worst house I had met with between Limestone and Nashville: it contained no kind of provision, and

I was obliged to sleep on the floor in my great-coat, without being able to obtain any thing for supper. As there was no stable at this inn, I was obliged to put my horse in an orchard of peaches, which served him for food; the enclosures of this orchard were demolished, and for fear he should escape in the night, I fixed a bell on his neck, an article with which travellers who pass through the woods, are obliged to provide themselves for a similar purpose. The peach-trees were in a state of maturity, and I perceived that my horse had been eating all night, and had consumed a great quantity of fruit from three or four trees, the branches of which were bent by their weight to the ground.

Eight miles from Skeggs', I forded Green River, which empties itfelf into the Ohio, after some long sinuosities, and runs across a narrow valley. At the part where I passed, there were scarcely three feet water in a breadth of from fifteen to twenty fathoms; but in the spring, the only period at which it is navigable, the water rises to eighteen feet. On quitting the river, I again met with the road, which winds for two miles through that part of the valley that lies on the right bank. The soil of these low grounds is a muddy earth extremely fertile, in which grow, exclusively from all other species of trees, several beeches of a great height and a proportionate diameter, and which are deprived of their branches to the height of twenty-five feet from the ground. The soil occupied by these trees, is considered by the inhabitants as the most difficult to clear.

CHAP. XVI.

PASSAGE OF THE BARRENS.—APPEARANCE OF THE HOUSES ON THE ROADS WHICH CROSS THEM, WITH SOME ACCOUNTS OF THE PLANTS IN THEIR VICINITY. —ARRIVAL AT NASHVILLE.

ABOUT ten miles from Green River runs Little Barren, a small river from thirty to forty feet wide. The soil in its environs is dry and steril, and only produces a few Virginian cedars, some double-leaved pines and black oaks. On leaving this place, the Barrens or meadows of Kentucky begin: on the first day I travelled thirteen miles across the meadows, and stopt at the house of one Williamson, near Bears-Wallow.

The next day, before I began my journey, I wished to give my horse some water, and my host informed me, that I should find a spring with which his family was supplied at about a quarter of a mile from the house. I, however, lost my way, and after a rapid ride of two hours, I discovered a house in a narrow

and deep valley, where I learnt, that I had wandered a great distance from the road, and that I must necessarily return to the place from whence I set out. The mistress of the house informed me, that she had resided in these Barrens for three years, and that for eighteen months she had not seen a single person: that, tired with living in so insulated a manner, her husband had set off two months ago to seek for other lands near the mouth of the Ohio. Such was the pretext for the removal of this family, which would be the third they had made since they quitted the Back Settlements of Virginia. A girl fourteen years old and two children much younger, were the only society of this woman; and her house was abundantly supplied with maize and the produce of the dairy.

This part of the Barrens was exactly similar to that I had passed on the preceding day, and I found in a hole in the shape of a funnel, a spring, from which I was an hour drawing half a pail-full of water for my horse. The time thus employed, together with what I had lost by going out of my way, as well as the great heat of the weather, obliged me to shorten my journey, and I passed the night at Dripping-Spring, about nine miles from Bears-Wallow. The next day, the 26th, I travelled twenty-eight miles, and stopped at the house of Jacob Kesley, of the sect of the Dunkers, whom I recognised by his long beard. Ten miles from Dripping-Spring, I forded Big-Barrens River, the banks of which are covered with wood for nearly three miles, while the bed appeared to be one third larger than Green-River. As I was about to cross in the ferry boat, a barge laden with salt arrived from St. Genevieve, a French village on the right bank of the Mississippi, a hundred miles above the mouth of the Ohio.

The house of my host was as badly furnished as those at which I had lately stopt, and I was obliged to sleep on the floor. Most of the inhabitants of this part of Kentucky have very lately settled here, and are only well supplied with maize and forage.

On the 27th of August, early in the morning, I again pursued my journey, and at a distance of thirteen miles crossed the line that separates the State of Tennessee from that of Kentucky. There also the Barrens terminate, and to my great satisfaction I re-entered the woods; for nothing is more tedious than the dull uniformity of those immense meadows, where you meet with no living animal except abundance of partridges, *the Perdix Marilanda*.

The first house I found in Tennessee was that of a man called Cheeks, of whom I formed no great opinion from his conversation with seven or eight neighbours with whom he was drinking bumpers of whiskey. Fearing that I should be witness to some

sanguinary transactions, which, amongst the inhabitants of these countries, are often the result of intoxication, I quitted his inn, and took up my lodging three miles farther, with an honest landlord, whose house was well supplied, and in which the son of the late Duke of Orleans had resided some years before. The following day, after journeying twenty-seven miles, I arrived at Nashville.

The Barrens, or meadows of Kentucky, comprise an extent of sixty or seventy miles in length, by fifty to sixty in width; and from the signification of this word, I expected to cross a barren space, producing only some occasional plants. I was confirmed in my opinion by what the inhabitants said of these meadows, before I reached them; as they told me, I should probably perish with heat and thirst, and that I should not find a single shady spot throughout the whole distance; for most of the Americans, who live amongst the woods, cannot conceive that there are districts entirely open, and still less, that any persons can reside on them. Instead, however, of finding such a country as had been described to me, I was agreeably surprised to meet with a beautiful meadow, the abundant grass of which was from two to three feet high, and afforded excellent food for cattle: amongst it I saw a great variety of plants, but particularly the *Gerardia flava*, or gall of the earth, the *Gnaphalium dioicum*, or white plantain, and the *Rudbekia purpurea*. I observed, that the roots of this last-mentioned plant possessed to a certain degree the acrid taste of the leaves of the *Spilanthus oleracea*. When I crossed these meadows, the time of blowing was over with three-fourths of the plants; but the period of maturity of most of the seeds and grasses had not yet arrived; I, however, collected and sent to France upwards of ninety species.

In some parts of these meadows I observed several species of wild climbing vines, but particularly that called by the inhabitants summer-grapes. The bunches were tolerably large; and the grapes of as good a quality as those that grow in the environs of Paris, with the exception, that they are not quite so compact.

It appears to me, that the attempts made at Kentucky for cultivating the vine would have been more successful on the Barrens, the soil of which seems more fit for this kind of cultivation than that of the banks of the Kentucky, which, though richer, is rendered too moist by the nature of the country, and the vicinity of the forests.

The Barrens are circumscribed by a skirting of wood, from two to three miles in breadth; the trees of which it is composed are *clear planted*, that is thinly, and at a farther distance from each other, the nearer they are to the meadow. On the side of Tennes-

see, this skirting is exclusively formed by post-oaks (*Quercus obtusiloba*), the wood of which being very hard and permanent, is preferable to any other kind for making enclosures. I also perceived here and there in the meadow some black oaks (*Quercus nigra*), and walnut-trees (*Juglans hickery*), about twelve or fifteen feet high, which composed some small bowers of wood, but which were always so distant from each other, as not in any degree to circumscribe the view. The surface of these meadows is in general very even; towards Dripping-Spring only, I observed a high and long hillock, containing a few trees, and interspersed with enormous pieces of rock.

It appears that the Barrens contain a great number of subterraneous caverns, some of which are very near the surface. A short time before I arrived, an ebullition had taken place on the road, near Bears Wallow, beneath the feet of a traveller, who only escaped by the merest chance. One may easily conceive the danger of such accidents, in a country where the houses are so distant from each other, and where perhaps a traveller is not seen once in a fortnight.

There may also be seen, in these meadows, a number of wide holes, in the shape of a funnel, and the breadth of which varies in proportion to their depth, from fifteen to thirty feet. In some of these holes, above five or six feet from the bottom, runs a small thread of water, which loses itself in a crevice at the base. These kind of springs are never dry, a circumstance which induces emigrants to reside wherever they are found; for, except the river Big-Barren, I did not observe in these plains the smallest rivulet or creek. I have heard, that some attempts have been made to dig wells, but I cannot pretend to say what success attended them. From the above observations, however, it will be evident, that the want of water, and of wood for enclosures, will for a long time prove an obstacle to the increase of the establishments in this part of Kentucky. The latter of these inconveniencies might, however, be avoided, by changing the present manner of enclosing lands for that of live hedges, in which the *Gleditschia triacanthos*, one of the most common trees in the country, might be employed with success. The Barrens are at present but thinly peopled in proportion to their extent; for, on the road where the houses are nearest together, there were but eighteen in the space of seventy miles.

Some inhabitants divide the lands of the Barrens into three classes, according to their quality, and, in their opinion, the middling class is the largest. In that which I crossed, the soil was yellowish, and rather gravelly, and appeared very fit for the cultivation of wheat; maize, however, is almost the only kind of grain that is raised. Most of the emigrants who come to settle

in the country, travel along the skirts of the wood lately mentioned, or by the rivers Little and Big Barren, on account of the advantage of the meadows in that quarter, for the pasturage of cattle, and of which the inhabitants who reside in the most fertile of the wooded cantons, are in a greet degree deprived, by reason of the paucity of grasses.

Every year, in March or April, the inhabitants set fire to the grass, which at this period is dry; because its extreme length would for a fortnight or three weeks prevent the cattle from obtaining the new crop that begins to shoot. This custom is, however, generally condemned, and with reason; for the firing being made too early, the new grass is deprived of its protection against the spring-frosts, by which its vegetation is retarded. This custom of burning the meadows was formerly practised by the natives, who came to hunt in these districts, and is still adopted by them in the other parts of North America. Their object for setting fire to the grass, was to attract the stags, bisons, &c. to the burnt parts, by which they could perceive them at a distance. It is only by actual observation, that the smallest idea can be formed of these dreadful conflagrations. The flames, which generally fill a line several miles in extent, are sometimes propelled by the wind with such rapidity, that men on horseback have not unfrequently been overtaken and destroyed by their violence. The American hunters, and the Savages, preserve themselves from this danger by a method as simple as it is ingenious. They quickly set fire to the part of the meadow in which they stand, and afterwards retire to the burnt spot, where the flames which threatened them have ceased for want of aliment.

CHAP. XVII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON KENTUCKY.—NATURE OF ITS SOIL.—FIRST ESTABLISHMENT IN THAT STATE.—SMALL SECURITY FOR THE PROPERTY OF SETTLERS.—POPULATION.

THE State of Kentucky is situated between 36° 30′ and 39° 30′ lat. and between 28° and 29° of long. Its boundaries are, to the N. W. the Ohio for an extent of about seven hundred and sixty miles; to the E. Virginia, and to the S. the State of Tennessee. It is separated from Virginia by Sandy-River, and the Laurel-hills, one of the principal chains of the Allegany Mountains. The extreme length of this State is about four hundred miles; and its greatest width nearly two hundred. This vast extent appears to rest upon a base of calcareous stone, covered by a stratum of vegetable mould, which varies in its composition,

and is from several inches to ten and even fifteen feet thick. The limits of the immense stone-bank have not yet been accurately ascertained; but its thickness must be very considerable, from the appearance it exhibits at the rivers, the banks of which, particularly those of Kentucky and Dick-Rivers, rise in some parts perpendicularly to the height of three hundred feet, in which space nothing but this stone is perceptible. The soil of the Kentucky, though irregular, is not hilly, except in some few parts near the Ohio, and on the side of Virginia. Calcareous stone, and abundant mines of unexplored coal, are the only mineral substances observable. Iron mines are scarce, and, as far as I can recollect, one only is worked, which is by no means sufficient for the wants of the country.

Kentucky and Green Rivers, the two largest in this State, empty themselves into the Ohio, after a course of three hundred miles; their water is so low in summer, that they may be forded a hundred and fifty miles from their mouth; but in winter and spring they are subject to such a great and sudden increase, that the water of the Kentucky, for instance, rises forty feet in twenty-four hours. This variation is still more striking in the secondary rivers, which empty themselves into it; for these, though often from ten to fifteen fathoms wide, contain so little water in summer that almost all of them can be passed in that season without wetting one's feet; and the thread of water that winds over the bed of calcareous rock, is then reduced to the depth of only a few inches. Hence the Kentucky may be considered as a vast basin, which, independently of the natural flowing of its water through the channel of the rivers, lets a great quantity escape through internal apertures. The Atlantic part of the United States affords in this respect a perfect contrast to the Kentucky; for, after passing the Allegany Mountains, you can find no trace of calcareous stone; while the great and small rivers, however distant may be their sources, sustain no other alteration in the bulk of their water than what results from the proportion of rain that may fall in a season; and the springs, which are very numerous, afford water in abundance. This remark is particularly applicable to those Southern States with which I am well acquainted.

From the succinct idea which I have given of Kentucky, it is easy to conceive, that the inhabitants are exposed in summer to the very serious inconvenience of a want of water; though we must except those establishments that are in the vicinity of the great rivers, or their principal streams. Hence it results, that many portions of land, even of the most fertile kind, are not cultivated; and their owners cannot get rid of them without great difficulty, because the emigrants will not make purchases without having an accurate knowledge of all local advantages.

Of the three States to the west of the Alleganys, Kentucky was the first that was peopled. This country was discovered in 1770, by some Virginian hunters; and the favourable accounts which they gave of it, induced others to go there, though no establishment was formed in it before 1780. At that period, this vast country was not occupied by any Indian nation; they came to hunt in it: but all with one consent carried on a war of extermination against those who attempted to settle; from which circumstance, it acquired the name of *Kentucky*, which, in the native language, signifies "*the Land of Blood.*" When the Whites appeared, the Natives exhibited a still greater opposition to their settling; they for a long time carried death and desolation through those districts; and, according to their custom, put their prisoners to death with the most cruel torments. In this state things continued till 1783, at which time the population of the Americans having become so strong, that they could penetrate to the centre of the establishments, the natives were reduced to waylay their enemies on the road; besides which, they were at that time abandoned by the English at Canada, who had animated and supported them during the war.

In 1783, the Americans began to open carriage-roads in the interior of the country; for till this period they had only paths for foot-passengers and those on horseback. As late as 1788, the Virginia road was the only one taken by emigrants who went from the Eastern States to Kentucky: they first proceeded to Brockhouse, situated in Holstein, to the west of the mountains; and as the Government of the United States did not afford them any escort, they waited at this place till they had collected in sufficient numbers to pass in safety the Wilderness, an uninhabited space of one hundred and thirty miles in length, which it was necessary to travel through before they could arrive at Crab-Orchard, the first post occupied by the Whites. The enthusiasm for emigrating to Kentucky was then carried to such an extent in the United States, that in some years twenty thousand emigrants proceeded thither, and many of whom were so eager to go, that if they could not meet with a ready sale for the lands they previously possessed, they abandoned them. This influx of new colonists soon increased the price of land in Kentucky; insomuch, that from four or five *pence* per acre, they suddenly rose to eight or nine shillings. Knavery did not fail to profit from this speculation; and a number of illicit means were employed for selling the lands to advantage. False plans were even made, in which they traced rivers, favourable for the establishment of mills and other purposes, and thus many ideal lots, from five hundred to a hundred thousand acres, were sold in all parts of Europe, as well as

in the great towns of the United States. In 1792, Kentucky, from the amount of its population, was admitted into the Union.

In 1782, the number of inhabitants in Kentucky did not exceed three thousand; but in 1790, it amounted to one hundred thousand; and in the general census of 1800, it is computed at two hundred and twenty thousand. At the time of my journey to Lexington, in August, 1802, they calculated its population to amount to two hundred and fifty thousand; including about two thousand negro-slaves. Hence in this State, where perhaps there cannot be found ten individuals twenty-five years of age, who were born there, the number of inhabitants is already as great as in seven of the old States, while there are only two whose population is twice as numerous. This rapid increase might have been much greater but for one particular circumstance, which prevents emigration to those districts: I allude to the difficulty of establishing claims to landed property: for of all the States of the Union, it is in this that such claims are most the subject of controversy. I never stopped at the house of a single inhabitant, who did not appear convinced of the validity of his own title, while he doubted that of his neighbour. Amongst the numerous causes which have produced this incredible confusion in property, the principal may be considered the ignorance of the land-surveyors, or rather the difficulty they at first experienced in the pursuit of their operations. The continual state of war in which this country was then involved, often obliged them to suspend their labours, to avoid being shot by the natives, who espied them in the woods. The danger they incurred was extreme; for it is well known, that a savage often goes fifty leagues to kill a single enemy; that he remains for several days together in a hollow tree to surprise him; and when he has succeeded, he takes off his scalp, and returns with the same rapidity. From this state of things it results, that not only the same lot has been measured several times over by different surveyors, but that it has often been divided by different lines, describing such and such portions of a lot to depend upon others adjacent; which in their turn have been subjected to the same misapplication with regard to others in their vicinity. In short, there are lots of a thousand acres, in which every hundred is the subject of contest. The *military rights* are, however, considered as more secure. But one remarkable circumstance is, that many of the inhabitants find a guarantee for their property in this confusion; for the law being particularly favourable to agriculture, has decreed, that the clearing and amelioration of the land shall be reimbursed by the person who may succeed in ejecting the first occupier; and as the estimation, on account of the extreme scarcity of hands, is always

made in favour of cultivators, it follows that many people are not inclined to improve their possessions, lest they should sustain a considerable loss, and be in their turns expelled by others, who may attack them at a moment when they least expect it. This uncertainty, with respect to landed property, is an inexhaustible source of long and expensive law-suits, by which the attornies gain considerable advantage.

CHAP. XVIII.

OF THE DISTINCTION OF THE LANDS.—TREES PRODUCED ON THEM.—ANIMALS PECULIAR TO KENTUCKY.

In Kentucky, as well as in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas, the lands are divided into three classes, relative to their fertility: in Kentucky they rank in the second class such lands as are to the east of the mountains, placed in the first; and in the third, such as in Georgia and South Carolina would be found in the second. I do not, however, pretend to say, that in the Eastern States there are not lands as fertile as those in the West, but they are scarce, and are seldom met with along the rivers and in the vallies. In both these States the fertility of the land is appreciated by the different kinds of trees it produces; so that, where a lot is offered for sale, it is usual to specify the trees which grow on different parts: though this rule has an exception with respect to the Barrens, which are very fertile, and contain black oaks and *Juglans hickery*, while in the forests these trees indicate the most sterile soil.

In all the fertile parts, covered with forests, the soil is entirely deprived of grasses, a few plants grow only here and there; and the trees are always so distant, that a stag may be perceived at a distance of a hundred, or a hundred and fifty fathoms.

Although the Ginseng is not a plant peculiar to Kentucky, it is tolerably abundant, and as well as the *Panax cinquefolia*, is found in all parts of America, from Lower Canada to Georgia; it may also be met with in the environs of New York and Philadelphia, but it is so scarce, that the inhabitants do not take the trouble to seek for it. It grows on the declivities of mountains in fresh and constantly shaded spots, where the soil is richest. A man can scarcely draw in one day more than eight or nine pounds of fresh roots, which are always less than an inch in diameter, even after fifteen years growth, if the number of impressions may be relied on that may be observed on the upper part of the neck of the root, and which are produced by the stalks that annually succeed. The form of the root is generally elliptic; and when it is bifurcated, which is not often, one of the

divisions is much thicker and longer than the other. The seeds, which are of a striking red colour, and attached together, come to maturity between the 15th September and the 1st October.

The Ginseng was first discovered in Canada, by a French missionary, who, when he was convinced that this plant was the same as that which grows in Tartary, and the root of which is held in such high esteem by the Chinese, made it an object of commerce with China. For some time after the discovery, this root was sold for its weight in gold; but a commerce so advantageous, could not be of long duration. The Ginseng exported from America was so badly prepared, that it fell to a common price, and at one time almost ceased. In Chinese Tartary the cultivation of Ginseng belongs exclusively to the Emperor: its harvest begins in autumn and continues the whole winter, in which season the root attains the highest perfection; and, by a very simple process, they give it a semi-transparency. In the United States, on the contrary, they begin to collect it in spring, and stop at the commencement of winter. Its root, which is then soft and watery, grows wrinkled by desiccation, but afterwards becomes extremely hard, and at length loses a third of its bulk, and nearly half its weight. Within the last four or five years, the trade of this root with China seems to have acquired additional activity, and the quantity exported thither may probably exceed thirty thousand pounds. Some persons have even begun to imitate the Chinese methods of rendering it transparent; and the Ginseng, thus prepared, is bought by the merchants of Philadelphia from the manufactures at Kentucky, at six or seven dollars per lb. and is re-sold by them at Canton, at from fifty to a hundred dollars according to the quality of the roots. At all events, the profit of this trade must be very considerable, since there are people in Kentucky, who themselves export it to China.

In Kentucky, and the Western Countries, there may be seen the same animals, which exist to the east of the mountains, and even in Canada; but shortly after the establishment of the Europeans, some species disappeared entirely, particularly the Elks and Bisons: the latter, however, were more common there than in any other part of North America, in consequence of the uninhabited state of the country, the quantity of canes and wild peas, which supplied them abundantly with food, and the licks or salt-grounds already mentioned. Their number was then so considerable, that they might be seen in companies from 150 to 200, while they were so daring, or so little accustomed to timidity, that they did not fear the approach of the hunters, who often killed them for the mere sake of their tongues, which are considered as a great delicacy. When four years old, these animals weigh from twelve to fourteen hundred weight; and their flesh is said to be preferable

to that of the ox: at present they are scarcely to be seen from the Ohio to the river of the Illinois, as they have nearly all passed the right bank of the Mississippi.

The only species of animals which are still common in the country, are the deer, bear, wolf, red and grey fox, wild cat, racoon, opossum, and three or four kinds of squirrels.

The animal that the Americans call the *wild cat*, is the *Felis Lynx*, or the lynx of Canada; it is only a variety, and some authors have erroneously asserted, that the real wild cat, which is considered as the stock of the domestic animal of that name, existed in the United States, or more to the northward.

The racoon, or *Ursus lotor*, is about the size of a fox, though not quite so high, and rather thicker. If taken young, it is easily tamed, and stays in the houses, where it catches mice in the night. The name of *lotor*, which means *washer*, is very appropriate for this animal, as it prefers hollow trees that grow on the banks of creeks, or rivulets that run through the swamps, and in these places it is generally found. This animal is very common in the Southern and Western States, as well as in the more distant parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia; it commits great devastation in the fields of maize, by climbing on the stalks, laying them by its weight, and nibbling the ears; the inhabitants hunt it with dogs during the night, as it rarely makes its appearance in the day-time. Its skin is esteemed throughout the United States for making hats, and sells at the rate of about twenty-four French sous or 10d. a piece.

The squirrels are likewise a great pest to the owners of corn-fields. The *Sciurus Carolinianus* is of a grey colour, and rather larger than that of Europe; while their numbers are so considerable, that the inhabitants are obliged, three or four times a day, to send their children round the corn-fields to scare them. At the slightest noise they issue out by dozens, and take refuge in the trees, whence they descend the instant the enemy has passed. Like the bears of North America, they emigrate on the approach of winter; at which time they appear in Kentucky in such great numbers, that the inhabitants are obliged to unite in order to expel them. This kind of hunting is sometimes considered as an excursion of pleasure; persons generally go two together, and in one morning often kill from thirty to forty. A single individual, on the contrary, can with difficulty kill any; for the squirrel, fixing himself on the trunk of the tree, turns successively in opposition to the hunter, so that the latter cannot hit him. I once attended a large party of this kind; where, for dinner, which generally takes place in a part of the wood previously agreed on, they had roasted upwards of sixty of these

animals. Their flesh is white, and very good; and this manner of dressing it is preferable to any other.

Wild turkies, which begin to be very scarce in the Southern States, are still very numerous in those of the West. In the parts that are least inhabited they are so fearless, that they may be shot with a pistol; in the Eastern States, on the contrary, and particularly in the environs of the sea-ports, they can only be approached with difficulty: they are not alarmed at a noise, but they have a very penetrating sight, and the moment they perceive a hunter they flee with such rapidity, that for some minutes a dog cannot come up with them; and when they find themselves on the point of being taken, they frequently escape by taking to the wing. These birds generally harbour in the swamps, and along the rivers and creeks, whence they come out only in the morning and evening. They roost on the tops of the highest trees, where, notwithstanding their size, it is not easy to discover them. When they are not disturbed, they return to the same trees for several weeks together.

To the westward of the Missisippi, in a space of more than eight hundred leagues, there is only this one species of wild turkey to be met with: they are larger than those raised in the poultry-yards of France. In autumn and winter they feed principally on chesnuts and acorns; and, in those seasons when killed, they often weigh from 35 to 40lb. The variety of domestic or English turkeys came originally from this species of wild turkey: and, when it is not crossed with the common species, it preserves the primitive colour of its plumage, as well as that of its feet, which are of a deep red.

CHAP. XIX.

OF THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF CULTURE IN KENTUCKY. — EXPORTS OF TERRITORIAL PRODUCTS. — PEACH-TREES. — TAXES.

IN the State of Kentucky, as well as in the Middle and Southern States, nearly all the inhabitants, who live in the woods, cultivate their own lands, from which they never obtain more than the twentieth, thirtieth, or even the fortieth part of what they might produce. They assist each other at the time of harvest; and some who are in more easy circumstances, employ negro-slaves in the cultivation of their grounds.

In this State they raise tobacco, hemp, maize, and wheat; but the cultivation of cotton is precarious, on account of the early frosts. Those who form establishments here, always begin by

the culture of maize; the soil in lands of the first class being so luxurious, that the corn is shed before it comes to an ear. The following is the process adapted. After opening furrows, by means of the plough, at about three feet from each other, they are intersected transversely by others at an equal distance, and seven or eight seeds are dropt at each point of intersection. If they all come forth, only two or three of the roots are suffered to remain, a precaution which is necessary to favour the progress of vegetation. In the course of the season much labour is required to destroy the weeds, which grow uncommonly abundant; and towards the middle of the summer, the leaves of the lower part of the stalk begin to dry, as do the others upwards in succession. As this desiccation takes place, the leaves are carefully carried off and preserved as winter-fodder for horses, which they prefer to the best hay.

In lands of the first class, maize grows to the height of ten or eleven feet; and on an average gives from forty to fifty English bushels per acre, though in more abundant years it frequently produces from sixty to sixty-five; and even in the third year of its cultivation, on some particular spots, it has afforded a hundred bushels. The bushel, which weighs between 50 and 55lb. never sells for more than a quarter of a dollar, and sometimes does not fetch even half that price. The plough employed here, as well as in all the Middle and Southern States, is light, without wheels, and drawn by horses.

The culture of wheat is also of great importance. In 1802, the harvest of this grain was so abundant in Kentucky, that when I was at Lexington, it sold for only a quarter of a dollar per bushel, which very low price was attributed rather to the peace that prevailed in Europe, than to the excessive produce of the harvest.

The culture of tobacco is also considerable; and great quantities are exported. Rye is almost entirely employed for the distillation of whiskey; and oats are chiefly used as food for horses. Hemp is a considerable article of exportation, and flax is cultivated by many of the inhabitants, who make it into linen for the use of their families, and barter the surplus for articles imported from Europe.

The Americans pay little attention to the culture of fruit-trees; and those hitherto planted by the inhabitants of Kentucky, consist only of peaches and apples, the former of which are very numerous, and arrive at the greatest perfection: there are five or six species, some of which are early and others late; and their pulp is white, red, and yellow. They are of an oval form, larger than those of France, and grow to perfection from kernels without either being grafted or cut. They shoot so vigorously,

that after the fourth year they are at their full size: the inhabitants generally plant them round their houses, though some have orchards of these trees, amongst which they turn their hogs, about two months before the fruit comes to maturity: these animals voraciously devour the peaches, which fall in great numbers, and break the stone for the purpose of eating the kernel. From the immense quantity of peaches that are grown, they distil brandy, which they export and consume. A few of the inhabitants only have alembics; the others carry their peaches to the houses of the former, where they are distilled; and the owners of the stills receive a portion of the produce for their trouble. This peach-brandy is sold for a dollar per gallon.

In Kentucky the taxes are divided in the following manner: they pay a poll-tax, equal to forty French sous, for every white; thirteen for every negro; six for each horse; fifty-two for a hundred acres of land of the first class, whether cultivated or not; thirty-five for a hundred acres of the second class; and thirteen for the same quantity of the third class. Though the taxes are very moderate, and nobody complains of them, yet a great number of the contributors are always behind in their payments, as is evident from the repeated advertisements of the collectors, which I saw stuck up in different parts of the town of Lexington; and I understand, that a similar difficulty in obtaining the taxes, prevails in all the Eastern States.

CHAP. XX.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS OF THE INHABITANTS OF KENTUCKY. HORSES AND CATTLE.—NECESSITY OF GIVING THEM SALT.—OF THE WILD HORSES TAKEN IN THE PLAINS OF NEW MEXICO.—EXPORTATION OF SALT PROVISIONS.

FOR some time the inhabitants of Kentucky have devoted their attention to the breeding of horses; and by this lucrative branch of trade, they have turned to much advantage their superabundant quantity of maize, oats, and other fodder. Virginia, of all the States in the Union, is considered as having the finest saddle and carriage-horses, from which originally came those that now exist in this country, as they were brought hither by the emigrants from Virginia. Their number increases daily, as nearly all the inhabitants endeavour to improve their breeds; and they attach so much importance to this improvement, that the owners of fine stallions receive from fifteen to twenty dollars for covering a single mare. Many of these stallions, as I have been assured, though they come from Virginia, are imported from

England, and are remarkable for their fine legs, well-proportioned head, and elegant figure. But the inhabitants make no attempts to improve the breeds of their working-horses, which are small and lean, and in every respect inferior to those used for the same purpose in France.

Some individuals pretend to understand the diseases of horses; but I never met with one who had any regular ideas of the veterinary art, so necessary to be known in a breeding country, and which has attained such great perfection in England and France. In Kentucky, as well as in the Middle and Southern States, the grain generally given to the horses is maize, which is considered twice as nutritive as oats, though they are sometimes given together. In this State they do not fix rations for the animals, but fill the manger with maize, which they eat at pleasure, retire from the stable to their pasture, and return when they please. They are not tied up, and yet they almost always return to the spot they are first placed in. The stables are nothing but log-houses, open on evey side to the air, as the space between the trunks of the trees is not filled up with clay.

The Southern States, and particularly South Carolina, are the principal marts for the fine horses from Kentucky. Their owners take them in troops of fifteen, twenty, and thirty together, towards the commencement of winter, at which time they have nothing to dread from the yellow fever. The journey from the environs of Lexington to Charlestown wes made in eighteen or twenty days; and this distance, which is about seven hundred miles, causes a difference of from twenty-five to thirty per cent. in the price of the animals A fine saddle-horse at Kentucky costs from 130 to 140 dollars.

During my residence in this State, I had an opportunity of seeing the wild horses that are taken on the plains of New Mexico, and which are descended from those formerly introduced by the Spaniards. The hunters catch them by means of domesticated horses, with which, as they run faster, they come near enough to entangle the wild: they are then brought to New Orleans and Natches, where they are sold for about fifty dollars a piece, and are sometimes bought by the conductors of the boats, who return overland to Kentucky. The two which I saw and tried were of a roan colour, of a middle size, having a bad and thick head, and disproportionate neck, with heavy limbs and thin hair. These horses trot excessively uneasy, are very capricious, and hard to hold in by the bridle, which they often contrive to slip, and then make their escape.

The number of horned cattle in Kentucky is very considerable; and I often observed from forty to fifty in the same stable. Those that form an article of commerce are bought lean, and

conveyed in droves from two hundred to three hundred, by the river Potomack, to Virginia, where they are sold to the graziers, who fatten them for the markets of Baltimore and Philadelphia. The price of a good milch-cow at Kentucky, is from ten to twelve dollars; milk forms the principal food of the inhabitants; and the butter which they do not consume, is barrelled and exported to the Antilles.

They have very few sheep; for though I probably travelled more than two hundred miles in this State, I only saw them on four farms: their flesh is not much esteemed, and their wool is of the same quality as that of the sheep in the Eastern States. The greatest number of these animals is reared at Rhode-Island.

Of all domestic animals hogs are the most nemerous. There is scarcely any individual without them, while many persons have from fifty to two hundred. These animals never quit the forests, but always find in them the means of subsistence, particularly in autumn and winter. They become extremely wild, and go about in herds. When attacked by a dog, or any other animal, they unite and form a circle for their defence. They have a thick body, small tail, short legs, and erect ears. Every settler knows those which belongs to him, by his particular manner of cutting their ears. They sometimes go to the very extremity of the forests, and do not return for several months; but they are accustomed to come from time to time to the residences of their owners, by the enticement of a little maize. It is surprising that in so vast a country, covered with woods, so thinly peopled in proportion to its great extent, and where there are so few injurious animals, the hogs have not increased to such a degree as to become entirely wild.

In all the Western States, as well as in those to the east of the Allegany Mountains, at a distance of two hundred miles from the sea, it is necessary to give salt to the cattle; for without it, whatever food is given to them, they will not fatten, and it is so important to them, that they come to the house-door, every week or fortnight, in quest of it, and will spend whole hours in licking the manger on which a few particles have been sprinkled. This desire is most evident amongst the horses, perhaps because salt is most frequently given to them.

Salt provisions are another important article of commerce in Kentucky. The quantity exported, in the first six months of the year 1802, is stated to have been two hundred and seventy-two thousand weight of smoked pork or bacon, and two thousand four hundred and eighty-five barrels of pickled pork.

Notwithstanding the superabundance of grain raised in this country, there is scarcely an individual who rears poultry. This branch of domestic economy would not, however, be attended with

any expence, but would provide an agreeable variation in their food. Two principal causes, however, seem to prevent it: the first is, that the use of salted meats, to which the cutaneous diseases, so frequent among them, may be attributed, gives them a distaste for this sort of provisions, which they, perhaps, find too insipid; the second is, that the fields of maize, which are usually contiguous to the houses, would be exposed to great devastations, the inclosures with which they are surrounded being only calculated to keep out the cattle and pigs.

The inhabitants of Kentucky, as has been already mentioned, almost all originally came from Virginia, and particularly from the most remote parts of that State, and, with the exception of the lawyers, physicians, and a few of the citizens, who have received an education suitable to their professions, in the towns on the Atlantic, they retain the manners of the Virginians. They carry a passion for gaming and spirituous liquors to excess, and sanguinary quarrels are frequently the consequence. They meet often at the taverns, particularly during the sitting of the courts of justice, when they pass whole days in them. Horses and lawsuits are the usual subjects of their conversation. When a traveller arrives, his horse it valued as soon as they can perceive him. If he stop, they offer him a glass of whiskey, and a multitude of questions follow, such as, Where did you come from? Whither are you going? What is your name? Where do you reside? Your profession? Have the inhabitants of the country you have passed through any fevers? &c. These questions, which are repeated a thousand times in the course of a long journey, at length become tiresome; but, with a little address, it is easy to stop them. They have, however, no other motive for them but that curiosity so natural to persons living retired in the midst of woods, and who scarcely ever see a stranger. They are never influenced by suspicion; for, from whatever part of the world a stranger comes to the United States, he may enter all the sea-ports and principal towns, remain in them, or travel, as long as he pleases, through every part of the country, without any public officer inquiring who he is, or what are his reasons for travelling.

The inhabitants of Kentucky are very willing to give strangers the information they require respecting the country in which they reside, and which they consider as the best part of the United States; as that in which the soil is most fertile, the climate most salubrious, and where all who have come to settle, were led by the love of liberty and independence. In their houses they are decent and hospitable; and, in the course of my journey, I preferred lodging with them, rather than in the taverns, where the accommodation is frequently worse and much dearer.

The women seldom interfere in the labours of the field: they remain at home, assiduously engaged with domostic cares, or employed in spinning hemp or cotton. This labour alone is considerable, for there are few houses in which there are not four or five children.

Among the different sects which exist in Kentucky, those of the Methodists and Anabaptists are the most nemerous. Religious enthusiasm has, within the last seven or eight years, acquired a new degree of strength in these regions; for, independently of the Sundays, which are scrupulously observed, they meet, during the summer, in the course of the week, to hear sermons, which last for several days in succession. These meetings, which often consist of two or three thousand persons, who come from ten or twelve miles round, take place in the woods. Every person brings his own provisions, and they pass the night round fires. The ministers are very vehement in their discourses; and frequently, in the middle of their sermons, many of the congregation become frantic, and fall down inspired, exclaiming, *Glory! Glory!* It is chiefly, however, among the women that these absurdities take place. They are then taken from among the crowd, and put under a tree, where they lie supine for a long time, uttering deep groans.

At some of these assemblies as many as two hundred will fall in this manner, so that a number of others are required to help them. While I was at Lexington, I attended one of these meetings. The better-informed people differ from the opinion of the multitude with respect to this species of extacy; and thus they frequently draw upon themselves the appellation of *bad folks*. But this is the extent of their intolerance; for when they return from the sermon, religion seldom forms a subject of conversation. Although divided into different sects, they live in the greatest harmony, and when an alliance is projected between families, difference of religion never causes any impediment: the husband and wife follow the worship they approve; as do their children, when they have arrived at maturity, without the least opposition from their parents.

Throughout the Western Country, the children are punctually sent to school, to learn reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic. These schools are supported at the expence of the inhabitants, who procure masters as soon as the population and their means enable them: it is therefore very uncommon to meet with an American who is unable to read and write. On the Ohio, and in the Barrens, however, where the settlements are very widely dispersed, the inhabitants have not yet been able to procure this advantage.

CHAP. XXI.

NASHVILLE.—ITS COMMERCIAL RELATIONS.—INFORMATION RELATIVE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATCHES.

NASHVILLE, the principal and the oldest town of this part of Tennessee, is situated on the river Cumberland, the banks of which, in this place, consist of a mass of limestone, upwards of sixty feet in height. With the exception of seven or eight brick houses, the remainder, consiting of about 120, are built with planks, and dispersed over a space of 25 or 30 acres, in a spot where the rock is almost entirely bare. Water can be obtained only by making a very long circuit to reach the river-side, or by descending a very steep and dangerous path. While I was there, one of the inhabitants was endeavouring to perforate the rock to make a well, but he had not dug may feet, and the great hardness of the stone rendered the work long and difficult.

Although this small town has been built fifteen or sixteen years, it does not contain any manufactory or public establishment. There is, however, a printing-office, which publishes a newspaper once a week. A college, for the endowment of which some rents and other revenues are appropriated; it is still in its infancy, only seven or eight young men being yet assembled, under one professor.

In this town the price of labour is higher than at Lexington, and there is a similar disproportion between this price and that of provisions. Here are twelve or fifteen stores, which are supplied either from Baltimore or Philadelphia; but they appear to be worse provided than those at Lexington, and the goods, though dearer, were of an inferior quality. This high price is partly to be attributed to the expence of conveyance, which is more considerable, on account of the greater distance which the boats for Tennessee have to make on the Ohio: for, after passing Limestone, the place of landing for Kentucky, and which is 425 miles from Pittsburgh, they have to make a farther navigation of 619 miles to the mouth of the river Cumberland, and 180 miles up that river, to reach Nashville; which makes the total distance from Philadelphia 1521 miles, 1200 of which are by water. Several of the traders get their commodities from New Orleans, whence the boats proceed up the Mississippi, Ohio, and Cumberland. This last distance is 1243 miles; that is to say, a 1000 miles from New Orleans to the mouth of the

Ohio; thence, 63 miles to that of the Cumberland, and 180 miles on this river to reach Nashville.

Very few planters undertake the exportation of their own produce, which consists principally of cotton: but they sell it to the merchants of Nashville, who send it by the river to New Orleans, whence it is forwarded to New York or Philadelphia, or exported directly to Europe. These merchants, like those of Lexington, do not always pay money for the cotton which they buy, but oblige the planters to take goods in exchange, which makes a considerable increase to their profits. Much of it is also sent by land into Kentucky, for the supply of individuals.

On my journey in 1802, they were sending cotton by the Ohio to Pittsburgh, for the first time, to be afterwards distributed through the back parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia. I met the boats loaded with it near Marietta, which were pushed along the river with a pole, and went about twenty miles a day. Thus those parts of the Western States which are farthest asunder, are cemented by a commercial intercourse, of which cotton is the basis, and the Ohio the link of communication; while the result of this intercourse will give a greater degree of prosperity to this part of Tennessee, and secure to its inhabitants very superior advantages over those of Kentucky and the Ohio, the territorial productions of which are not of a nature to meet with a great sale either at home or in the neighbouring countries.

I had a letter from Dr. Brown, of Lexington, for Mr. W. P. Anderson, a gentleman of the law, at Nashville, who received me in the most obliging manner.

The inhabitants have an easy and unceremonious deportment. On the day of my arrival, I had hardly dismounted when some of them, who happened to be at the tavern where I stopped, invited me to visit them at their own houses.

Such of the inhabitants of the Western Country as go to New Orleans by the river, on their commercial concerns, and return by land, pass through Nashville, which is the first town they arrive at after leaving Natches. The distance between them is six hundred miles, and is entirely uninhabited; they are therefore obliged to carry provisions on horseback for the whole journey. It is true, they pass through two or three of the villages of the Chicasaw Indians; but, instead of being able to procure any thing in them, the Savages are so ill supplied themselves, that it is often difficult to avoid being obliged to divide with them what the travellers have. Several persons, who have travelled this road, informed me that, for a distance of four or five hundred miles from Natches, the country is very even; the soil sandy, partly covered with pines, and not well adapted for any kind of culture; but that the banks of the Tennessee river are, on the contrary,

exceedingly fertile, and even superior to the richest districts of Kentucky and Tennessee.

The settlement of Natches, which is known by the name of *Mississippi Territory*, daily becomes more prosperous, notwithstanding the insalubrity of the climate, which is so great, that three-fourths of the inhabitants are annually affected, during the summer and autumn, with intermitting fevers: the great profit, however, arising from the culture of the long-woolled cotton, draws thither a number of emigrants, and the population already amounts to five thousand Whites and three thousand Negroes.

The road leading to Natches was of late only a path, winding through those immense forests; but the Federal Government has just ordered a new one, which is on the point of being completed, and which will be one of the finest in the United States, as well for its breadth, as for the solidity of the bridges built over the small rivers which cross it. To these advantages, it will add that of being shorter than the other by nearly a hundred miles.

CHAP. XXII.

DEPARTURE FOR KNOXVILLE.—ARRIVAL AT FORT BLOUNT.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE DESICCATION OF THE RIVERS DURING THE SUMMER.—HOUSES ON THIS ROAD.—FERTILITY OF THE SOIL.—EXCURSIONS IN A CANOE ON CUMBERLAND RIVER.

ON the 5th of September I left Nashville, to proceed to Knoxville, with Mr. Fisk, who was sent by the State of Tennessee to determine, in concert with the commissioners from Virginia, the boundaries between the two states in a more accurate manner. On the 9th we arrived at Fort Blount, which is built on the river Cumberland, seventy miles from Nashville. On the road we stopped with different friends of Mr. Fisk; and, among others, with General Smith, one of the oldest inhabitants of this country, where he has resided sixteen or seventeen years. America is indebted to him for the best map of this State, which is given in the Geographical Atlas, published at Philadelphia.—He acknowledged, however, that this map, which has been some years drawn up, is in many respects imperfect. The general has a fine estate, on which he cultivates maize and cotton; and a well-constructed distillery, where he makes peach-brandy, which he sells for a dollar per gallon. He employs his leisure in chemistry.

During our journey we also visited General Winchester, who

was finishing a stone house, of an elegant kind for the country; it contains four large rooms on the ground-floor, a first floor, and an attic story. The carpenters had been brought from Baltimore, a distance of near 700 miles. The stone is of a calcareous nature; and there is not any other kind in this part of Tennessee, except the rounded flints which are found in the beds of some of the rivers, and originate in the mountainous districts, whence they are conveyed by the strength of the torrents. Few of the inhabitants, however, build in this way, on account of the price of labour, masons being still more difficult to procure than carpenters.

Near the General's house runs a river of forty or fifty feet in breadth, which we crossed almost with dry feet. Its banks, in some places, are upwards of twenty-five feet in height, and the bottom of its bed is formed by one single channel, furrowed with smaller ones, three or four *lines** broad, by as many in depth. The small quantity of water which it at this time contained, trickled through these furrows; but in the winter the waters are so abundant, that, by means of a sluice, a sufficient quantity is diverted from it to turn a mill, which stands upwards of thirty feet in height. We had already passed several of these rivers, which we could step over, but on which, in the winter, ferry-boats are necessary.

A few miles from General Winchester's, and out of the road, is a small town, which has been built some years; the name of Cairo has since been given to it, in commemoration of the capture of Cairo by the French.

Between Nashville and Fort Blount, the plantations, though always in the midst of the woods, are, however, so near each other on the road, that it is very uncommon not to see one in every two or three miles. The inhabitants reside in good log-houses; most of them have Negroes, and they appear to live happy, and quite secure from want. In all this tract the soil is slightly unequal, but sometimes entirely level, in general excellent; and the forests are very beautiful. This extreme fertility is, however, particularly observable about fifty miles from Nashville, and a few miles before arriving at Major Dixon's, at Dixon's Spring, where I stopped a day and a half. Considerable portions of the forests in the environs, are filled with the reeds or cains of which I have already spoken, and which grow so close that a man concealed amongst them cannot be perceived at ten or fifteen feet distance. Their bushy foliage forms a mass of verdure which relieves the eye in the midst of these solitary and silent forests. I have already mentioned that, in proportion

* This is one of the new-fangled French terms in geometry, which we know not how to translate or explain.

as new habitations are formed, these reeds disappear, because the cattle prefer their leaves to every other species of vegetable, and destroy them more by breaking the stems of the plants than by browzing their tops. The pigs also contribute to their destruction, by turning up the earth in search of the young roots.

Fort Blount was constructed about eighteen years ago, to protect the emigrants, who at that time came to settle in Cumberland, against the Savages, who made incessant war upon them, to drive them back; but a peace having been concluded, and the population being now greatly increased, they are unable to do them any further injury, and the fort has been destroyed. At present there is only one good plantation on this spot, which belongs to Captain Sampson, with whom Mr. Fisk usually resides. During the two days we stopped with him, I made excursions for several miles on the river Cumberland, in a canoe. This method of examining natural productions, always in greatest variety on the banks of rivers, is more convenient than any other, especially when, as in this case, the river is confined between enormous rocks, so steep that a man on foot cannot approach them without great difficulty. In these excursions I enriched my collection with the seeds of several trees and plants peculiar to the country, and with various other subjects of natural history.

CHAP. XXIII.

DEPARTURE FROM FORT BLOUNT FOR WEST-POINT, ACROSS THE DESERT.—BOTANICAL EXCURSIONS ON ROARING RIVER.—APPEARANCE OF THE BANKS OF THIS RIVER.—SALINE PRODUCTS FOUND THERE.—CHEROKEE INDIANS.—ARRIVAL AT KNOXVILLE.

ON the 11th of September we went from Fort Blount to Blackborn's, whose residence, situated fifteen miles from this fort, is the last possessed by the Whites before reaching the line which separates the territory of the United States from that of the Cherokee Indians. As far as West-Point, on the Clinch, this boundary is an uninhabited country, eighty miles in breadth, bearing the name of the *Wilderness*, and of which the mountains of Cumberland occupy a considerable portion. Mr. Fisk being obliged to attend the court of justice, which was held some miles farther, in the county of Jackson, we postponed crossing the *Wilderness* for a few days; and I took the opportunity of his absence to visit Roaring River, one of the branches of the Cumberland. This river, which is from ten to fifteen fathoms in breadth, receives its name from the confused noise heard for upwards of a mile, and occasioned by the falls of the water, produced by the sudden depression of its bed, which consists of

large flat stones, contiguous to each other. These falls, six, eight, or ten feet in height, are so close, that several of them occur in a space of fifty or a hundred fathoms. Large stones, five or six feet in diameter, and perfectly round, are seen lying in the middle of the river, without a possibility of ascertaining how they could get there.

The right bank of Roaring River is, in some places, eighty or a hundred feet in height, and, at this elevation, is overtopped by rocks, which project fifteen or twenty feet, and cover thick beds of horizontal ferruginous schistus. The laminæ of these have so little adhesion, and are so friable, that, on the slightest touch, they break off in pieces of a foot long, and fall spontaneously to powder, by which means deep excavations are at length formed under the rocks. On the plates of schistus least exposed to the action of the water and the light, a kind of white efflorescence appears, of an extreme tenuity, and greatly resembling snow.

There are on the banks of this river, and in other parts of Cumberland, many deep caverns, in which are found masses of an aluminous substance, so near the degree of purity required for the operations of dying, that the inhabitants collect it for their own use, and also export it to Kentucky. They cut it in pieces with a hatchet; but none of them are acquainted with the processes employed on the old continent for preparing the different substances, as they are met with in commerce.

Several large rivulets, after meandering through the forests, terminate on the steep banks of this river, whence they rush with violence into it, forming magnificent cascades of several fathoms in breadth. The permanent humidity produced here by these cascades facilitates the growth of a multitude of plants, which grow among the thick moss spread over the rock, and form a very beautiful extent of verdure. These various circumstances render the sides of Roaring River extremely cool, and give them an appearance totally different from those of the other rivers which I had hitherto passed.

Major Russel, with whom I went to lodge after leaving Blackborn, and where I was rejoined by Mr. Fisk, supplied us with provisions for our two days journey through the territory of the Cherokees. Notwithstanding the good understanding now subsisting between the Whites and these Indians, it is always prudent to form a company of five or six to cross their country. However, as we were far from the usual place of rendezvous, at which travellers wait, we determined to set off alone, and arrived safely at West-Point. The country is very mountainous, and we were unable to go further than forty-five miles on the first day, though we did not stop till midnight. We encamped near a small river where there was plenty of grass, and, after having made a

fire, lay down in our blankets, watching alternately, to enable our horses to graze more at large, being apprehensive of the Savages, who sometimes steal them.

On the second day we met a party of eight or ten Indians, who were in quest of summer-grapes, and chinquapins, a species of small chesnut, superior in taste to those of Europe. As we were not above twenty miles from the West-Point, we gave them the remainder of our provisions, which was very pleasing to them. To them bread is a great luxury, their common food being only deer's flesh roasted.

The road across this part of the Indian territory passes over the Cumberland mountains: it is as wide and as even as those in the environs of Philadelphia, on account of the great number of emigrants who travel over it, in their way to the western country. Forty miles from Nashville we met some wealthy emigrants, travelling in a carriage, followed by their Negroes on foot, who had passed it without any accident. Small boards painted black, and nailed against the trees, at every third mile, show travellers how far they have gone.

In this part of Tennessee the forests are composed of all the species of trees which belong to the mountainous districts of North America, such as oaks, maples, and walnuts. Pines also abound in places where the soil is inferior. But what appeared to me very extraordinary was, to see parts of the woods, several miles in extent, where all the pines, which amounted to, at least, a fifth of the other trees, had died in the preceding year, and still retained their withered leaves. I was unable to discover the causes of this singular phenomenon: I only learned that it occurs every fifteen or twenty years.

The following trait will give an idea of the atrocious character of some of the American settlers on the frontiers. One of them, in the neighbourhood of Fort Blount, had lost a horse, which had strayed from his house, and gone a considerable distance into the Indian territory. A fortnight after, it was brought back by two of the Cherokees: they were not fifty paces from the house, when this man, on perceiving them, shot one of them dead; the other took to flight, and carried the news to his countrymen. The murderer was put in prison, but was released in a short time, for want of proof of his crime, though he remained convicted in the public opinion. All the time he was kept in prison the Indians suspended the effects of their resentment, in the hope that the death of their countryman would be avenged; but, scarcely were they informed of his enlargement, when they killed a White at more than 150 miles from the place where the first murder had been committed. It has always been found impracticable to make the Indians, of whatsoever nation,

comprehend, that chastisement should only be inflicted on the guilty: they believe that the murder of one or several of their nation, must be avenged by the death of an equal number of individuals belonging to the nation of him who occasioned the loss of their people. This is a custom which it is impossible to make them renounce, particularly if the murdered person belonged to a family of distinction; for, among the Creeks and Cherokees, there exists a class superior to the commonalty of the nation. These Indians are above the middle size, well proportioned, and rather fleshy, considering the compulsory fasts they frequently endure when hunting. The rifle is the only fire-arms they make use of; but they are very expert with it, and kill at a great distance. The common dress of the men consists of an European shirt, which they leave loose, and of a piece of blue cloth, half an ell in length, which serves them for breeches: they pass it between their thighs, and fasten the two ends to their girdle, before and behind. They wear long gaiters and shoes, or socks, of prepared deer's skin. On particular occasions some of them appear in a coat, waistcoat, and hat, but not breeches: the natives of North America have never been able to adopt this part of our dress. They leave only one tuft of hair on the top of their heads, formed into several tresses, which hang down the sides of their faces, and very frequently the ends are decorated with feathers, or small pipes of silver. A great number of them perforate the gristle of the nose to put rings into it, and cut their ears, which are lengthened to two or three inches by means of pieces of lead hung to them, when they are very young. They paint their faces red, blue, or black.

A man's shirt, and a short petticoat, form the dress of the women, who also wear gaiters and socks of deer's skin: they permit all their hair to grow, which, like that of the men, is of a jet black; but they do not pierce the nose, or cut the ears. In winter both men and women wrap themselves in a woollen blanket, to protect them from the cold.

I learnt at West-Point, from several people who make frequent journies among the Cherokees, that for some years past they have attended to the cultivation of their lands, and have made great progress. Some of them have good plantations, and also negro slaves. Several of the women spin, and weave cotton stuffs. The Federal Government devotes a sum annually to supply them with agricultural and other implements.

CHAP. XXIV.

KNOXVILLE.--COMMERCIAL RELATIONS.—TREES GROWING IN ITS ENVIRONS.—CONVERSION OF SOME PARTS OF THE MEADOWS INTO FORESTS.—GREENSVILLE.—ARRIVAL AT JONESBOROUGH.

KNOXVILLE, the seat of government of the State of Tennessee, is situated on the river Holston, which, at this place, is 150 fathoms in width. The houses, in number about 200, are almost all of wood. Although it has been built eighteen or twenty years, this little town has not yet any kind of establishment or manufactory, except some tanneries. Commerce, however, is brisker here than at Nashville. The stores, of which there are fifteen or twenty, are also better provided. The merchants obtain their supplies by land, from Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Richmond, in Virginia, and, in return, send, by the same channel, the productions of the country, which they buy from the farmers, or take in exchange for their goods. Baltimore and Richmond are the towns with which they have the greatest dealings. The price of carriage from Baltimore is six or seven dollars the quintal. It is reckoned 500 miles from this town to Knoxville; 640 to Philadelphia; and 420 to Richmond.

They also send flour, cotton, and lime, to New Orleans, by the river Tennessee; but this method is not much used, the navigation of this river being very much interrupted, in two different places, by shoals and rocks. It is reckoned about 600 miles from Knoxville to the confluence of the Tennessee into the Ohio, and 38 miles from thence to that of the Ohio, into the Mississippi.

We stopped at Knoxville, at Hayñes's, who keeps the best tavern, the sign of the General Washington. Travellers, with their horses, are accommodated here at the rate of a dollar per day. On the 17th of September I took my leave of Mr. Fisk, and travelled towards Jonesborough, 100 miles from Knoxville, and at the bottom of the high mountains which separate North Carolina from the State of Tennessee.

I crossed the river Holston at Macby, fifteen miles from Knoxville: here the soil becomes better, and the plantations are nearer together, although still so distant as not to be within sight of each other. At a short distance from Macby, the road, for the space of a mile or two, runs beside a coppice, very thickly set with trees, the largest clumps being twenty or twenty-five feet across. I had never seen any part

of a forest in a similar state; and I made this observation to the inhabitants of the country, who informed me that this spot was formerly part of a barren, or meadow, which had become naturally re-covered with wood within the last twelve or fifteen years, since the custom of setting fire to them, as is practised in all the Southern States, had been discontinued. This circumstance seems to prove, that the extensive meadows of Kentucky and Tennessee owe their origin to some conflagration, which had consumed the forests, and that they are preserved in that state by the custom, which still prevails, of setting fire to them annually. When on these occasions chance preserves any spots of them for a few years from the ravages of the flames, the trees spring up again; but, being extremely close, the fire, which at length catches them, burns them completely, and again reduces them to the state of meadows. Hence it may be concluded that, in these countries, the meadows must continually encroach upon the forests; and, in all probability, this was the case in Upper Louisiana and New Mexico, which are only vast plains, to which the savages set fire annually, and where there is not any tree to be met with.

On the first day I stopped in a place where the majority of the inhabitants were Quakers, who had come fifteen or eighteen years before from Pennsylvania. The one with whom I lodged had a good plantation, and his log-house was divided into two apartments, which is very uncommon in this country. Some very fine apple-trees were planted round the house, which, although raised from seeds, produced fruit of an extraordinary size and excellent quality: this is another proof how well these countries are adapted for the culture of fruit-trees. Here, as in Kentucky, the preference is given to the peach, on account of the brandy made from it. At my host's I met with two families of emigrants, consisting together of ten or twelve persons, who were going to settle in Tennessee. Their torn garments, and the bad plight of the children, who followed barefooted, and in their shirts, were indications of their poverty; a very uncommon occurrence in the United States. The riches of the inhabitants of the Western Country do not, however, consist in money; for I am well convinced that a tenth of them do not possess a single dollar: but each man lives on his own freehold, and derives from it an abundance of every necessary of life; and the money arising from the sail of a horse or a few cows, is always more than sufficient to procure him all those secondary articles, which come from the English manufactories.

On the following day I passed near an iron-work, situated thirty miles from Knoxville, and stopped a short time to take a specimen of the ore. The iron obtained from it is said to be of an excellent quality. At this place the road divides into two branches, both leading to Jonesborough; but, as I was desirous of seeing the banks of the river Nolachuky, celebrated in this country for their fertility, I took that to the right. Six or seven miles from the iron-work, small rock crystals are found on the road; they are two or three lines in length, and beautifully transparent. The faces of the pyramids, which terminate the two extremities of the prism, are parallel and equal: they are uncombined, and disseminated in a reddish, slightly argillaceous land.—In less than ten minutes I collected forty of them.

On the 21st I arrived at Greenville, which does not contain more than forty houses, built of squared beams, arranged like the trunks of trees of the log houses. From hence to Jonesborough is twenty-five miles. In the interval the country is rather hilly; the soil is more adapted to the culture of wheat than of maize; and the houses on the road are at a distance of about three miles from each other.

Jonesborough, the last town in Tennessee, contains about 150 houses, built of planks, and standing on both sides of the road. The place contains four or five stores, and the merchants who keep them trade with Baltimore and Richmond. Every article of English manufacture is sold very dear here, as well as at Knoxville. A newspaper, in large folio, is published here once a week. Indeed papers are hitherto the only works which have been printed in those towns or villages lying to the westward of the Alleganies, where printing-offices are established.

CHAP. XXV.

REMARKS ON THE FIRST ESTABLISHMENTS TO THE WEST OF TENNESSEE, AND ON THE TREES PECULIAR TO THAT COUNTRY.

IT was in the year 1780 that the Whites first attempted to cross the Cumberland Mountains, and to settle in the environs of Nashville; but the emigrants did not arrive in great numbers before 1789. For several years they were obliged to maintain a sanguinary war with the Cherokee Indians; and, as lately as 1795, the establishments of Holston and Kentucky had no intercourse with those in

Cumberland, except by caravans, in order that they might cross the extensive uninhabited country between them in safety; but, for five or six years, since peace has been made with the natives, the communication between these countries is perfectly established; and, although not much frequented, it may be travelled with as great security as any part of the Atlantic States.

This country having been peopled since Kentucky, measures were taken from the first to avoid the great confusion which exists with respect to the rights of property in the latter State: consequently, the titles here are considered as more valid, and much less liable to be disputed. This reason, the extraordinary fertility of the soil, and a milder temperature, are cogent motives which attract the emigrants from the Atlantic States, rather to West Tennessee than to Kentucky. The number of inhabitants is estimated at 30,000, and 5000 or 6000 Negro slaves.

With very few exceptions, the different species of trees and shrubs which constitute the mass of the forests, are the same as those I saw in the most fertile parts of Kentucky. The *Gleditsia tricanthos*, honey locust, is, however, more common here: the Indians made their bows of the wood of it before they adopted fire-arms.

A tree is found, more particularly in these forests, which, in the form of its fruit, and the position of its leaves, appears to have a great resemblance to the *Sophora japonica*, with the wood of which the Chinese dye their silk yellow. My father, who discovered this tree in 1796, thought it might be employed for the same use, and become an important article of commerce to the country. Several persons being anxious to know if it were possible to fix the beautiful yellow colour which its wood communicates to water by simple cold infusion, I took the opportunity of my residence at Nashville to send 20lb. weight of it to New York, one half of which was to be delivered to Dr. Mitchill, professor of chemistry, and the other to be forwarded to Paris. This tree seldom grows higher than forty feet, and thrives best on the Knobs, a species of little hills, the soil of which is very rich. Some of the inhabitants have remarked that there is not any tree in the country which yields such an abundance of sap in the spring. The quantity it furnishes even exceeds that of the sugar-maple, although the latter is double its size. The time of my residence at Nashville being that of the maturity of the seeds of this tree, I collected a small quantity, and brought them with me: they have almost all come up. Some of the stems are already twelve or fifteen inches in height.

West Tennessee is less salubrious than Holston or Kentucky. A warmer and more humid temperature occasions intermitting fevers in the summer. The emigrants, in the first year of their establishment, and even travellers, are also, at this season, subject to an exanthematic affection, which makes them suffer severely, for ten or twelve days, from the extreme itching produced by a multiplicity of pimples, which first appear on the abdomen, and afterwards on the shoulders, arms, and thighs. This indisposition, with which I was attacked before I reached Fort Blount, yielded to a cooling regimen and to bathing, which I practised for several days in Cumberland and Roaring Rivers. The name given to this disease in the country is the *Tennessee itch*.

CHAP. XXVI.

OF THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF CULTURE IN WEST TENNESSEE, AND PARTICULARLY OF THAT OF COTTON.—MODE OF TAKING LANDS BY SOME EMIGRANTS.

WEST Tennessee, or Cumberland, being in a more southern latitude than Kentucky, admits of the culture of cotton; consequently the inhabitants attend almost wholly to it, and do not cultivate much grain, hemp, or tobacco, beyond their own consumption.

The soil, which is fat and loamy, appears to be a recent decomposition of vegetable substances; and therefore seems, at present, less suitable for the growth of wheat than maize: the crops of this grain are as abundant as in Kentucky: its stems also grow to the height of eleven or twelve feet, and the ears, which appear at six or seven feet above the ground, are nine or ten inches long, and have a proportionate bulk. It is cultivated in the same manner, and used for the same purposes.

The crows, which are a real scourge to the Atlantic States, where, at three different periods, they ravage the fields of maize, and frequently render it necessary for them to be replanted as often, have not yet been seen in Tennessee.

The grey rats of Europe also have not yet penetrated into Cumberland. They follow the establishments of the Whites in these distant regions, and make their appearance in a few years after the country has been inhabited. At first, they show themselves in the small towns, whence they spread into the plantations dispersed through the woods.

The culture of cotton is infinitely more lucrative than

that of wheat or tobacco. It is calculated that one man, who has no other employment, is able to cultivate eight or nine acres; but the opening of the capsules taking place very rapidly, when it is ripe, it would not be possible for him to pick it up by himself. A man and woman, with two or three children, may, however, easily cultivate four acres, independently of the maize necessary for their subsistence, and calculating on a crop of 350lb. per acre, which, considering the extreme fertility of the soil, is very moderate, there will be a product of 14cwt. of cotton, freed from the seed. At the rate of eighteen dollars the quintal, the lowest price to which it fell at the time of the last peace, when I was in the country, it amounts to 252 dollars, from which, deducting 40 for the expence of culture, there is a net produce of 212 dollars: while the same number of acres, planted with maize, or sown with wheat, would only give 50 dollars.

The species of cotton cultivated here is rather in higher estimation than that which is called *green-seed cotton*, of which it is only a slight variety.

The price of the best land does not yet exceed five dollars an acre in the environs of Nashville, and, at thirty or forty miles from that town, it is not worth more than three: a plantation completely formed, containing 200 or 300 acres, fifteen or twenty of which are cleared, together with a log-house, may be purchased at this price. The taxes are also lower in this State than in Kentucky.

Among the emigrants who annually come from the eastward to Tennessee, there are always some who have not the means of purchasing lands, but they find no difficulty in hiring them; the speculators, who are possessed of several thousand acres, not being displeased at getting a few settlers on their estates, which induces others to come into their neighbourhood: for the speculations in land, in the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, are only advantageous to those residing on the spot, and who, on the arrival of emigrants, can succeed in making them stop upon their possessions, which soon augments their value. The terms on which they let them, are, to clear and inclose eight or nine acres, to build a log-house, and to pay the proprietor eight or ten bushels of maize for each acre cleared. These agreements are made for six or eight years. By the second year the value of 200 acres of land, adjoining to such a new establishment, rises 30 per cent.; and this estate is purchased in preference by a new emigrant, who is sure of gathering, in the first year of his arrival, as much grain as is requisite for the wants of his family and his cattle.

CHAP. XXVII.

OF EAST TRNNESSEE, OR HOLSTON.—CULTURES, &c.

EAST Tennessee, or Holston, is situated between the highest part of the Allegany and Cumberland Mountains: in length, it comprises an extent of nearly a hundred and forty miles; the principal differences between it and West Tennessee are, that the lime-stone appears to lie deeper; that the beds of it, which form the mass inclined to the horizon, are divided at small intervals by strata of quartz; and, finally, that the country is watered by a great number of small rivers, descending from the neighbouring mountains, which cross it in all directions. The best land is on their banks.

Maize also forms one of the principal branches of culture here, but it seldom grows to a greater height than seven or eight feet, and thirty bushels per acre is considered as a very good crop. The nature of the soil, which is rather stony, seems better adapted to the growth of wheat, rye, and oats, which are, consequently, cultivated more here than in Cumberland. Cotton is not grown in any quantity, on account of the cold, which sets in very early. It may be inferred from what has been said, that Holston is in every respect inferior in fertility to Cumberland and Kentucky.

To turn the superabundance of their grain to advantage, the inhabitants breed a great number of cattle, which they send a distance of 500 miles to the maritime towns of the central and Southern States. Very few of these animals are lost in their passage, although they have a great number of rivers to cross, and the country is nearly an uninterrupted forest, added to which they are extremely wild, from being accustomed to the woods.

This part of Tennessee began to be inhabited in 1775, and its population has increased so much, that, at this time, the number of its inhabitants is estimated at 70,000, including three or four thousand Negro slaves.

What has been said of the manners of the inhabitants of Kentucky, will, in a great degree, apply to those of Tennessee, since, like the first, they came originally from Virginia and North Carolina: but, hitherto, the inhabitants of Tennessee do not enjoy that degree of affluence which is found among those of Kentucky. They appear also to be less religious, although they are very strict in their observance of Sunday.

CHAP. XXVIII.

MORGAN-TOWN.—SALAMANDER.—BRAR-HUNTING.—DEPARTURE FOR, AND ARRIVAL AT CHARLESTON.

ON the 21st September I left Jonesborough, to cross the Alleganys, into North Carolina; and after a tedious journey of 600 miles, during which I stopped a week at Davenport's Plantation on Doe River, I reached Morgan-town on the 5th October. There is yet no certainty as to the real height of the Allegany Mountains, nor do they produce any ore, except abundance of iron. In the mountainous part of Pennsylvania and Virginia the land is of a bad quality; but here it is rich and fertile.

The inhabitants of these parts are very expert hunters, particularly of bears, whose skins they sell, and subsist upon the flesh, the fat of which is used instead of oil. A fine skin fetches from a dollar and a half to two dollars. The black-bear lives upon roots, acorns, &c. for which he ascends the trees; but in summer, when such food is scarce, he will attack pigs, and even men. A species of salamander is found in the torrents, which is about two feet long, and is called by the inhabitants the *Alligator of the Mountains*.

Morgan-town, which is 250 miles from Charleston, contains only about 50 houses, built of planks, and is inhabited principally by working people. Columbia is about half way between the above-mentioned places, and its climate is very unhealthy.

In the general census of the United States, published in 1800, the population of North Carolina, including the Negro slaves, is stated to be 478,000 inhabitants; that of Georgia, 163,000; and that of South Carolina, 346,000. Not having had an opportunity of seeing the particular accounts of the first two States, I am unacquainted with the proportion found in them between the Whites and the Blacks, and the difference between the population of the low and high country; but an idea of it may be formed from the census of South Carolina, in which the numbers are, in the low country, including the city of Charleston, 36,000 Whites and 100,000 Negroes; and in the high country, 163,000 Whites and 46,000 Negroes.

I arrived at Charleston on the 18th of October, 1802, three months and a half after my departure from Philadelphia. I remained in Carolina until the 1st of March 1803, at which time I embarked for France, on board of the same vessel that had brought me to America eighteen months before; and I arrived at Bourdeaux on the 26th March.

END OF MICHAUX'S TRAVELS.

AN ITINERARY

FROM

LONDON TO CONSTANTINOPLE,

IN SIXTY DAYS.

(TAKEN IN THE SUITE OF HIS EXCELLENCY, THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE OTTOMAN PORTE,)

IN THE YEAR 1794.

THE expedition with which this journey was accomplished, necessarily precludes a minute description of the places through which we passed. The general face of countries, the peculiarities of ecclesiastical buildings, and the dress of the inhabitants, as they presented themselves to the eye, are the materials of which this work is principally composed. Between London and Vienna, all the great towns have been accurately described, in various Tours and Gazetteers; and in the subsequent sketches, nothing is collected from them. The few leisure hours which occurred in this long journey, were amused, by noting down subjects immediately as they offered themselves, and as the opportunity suggested. They are limited in every respect; yet may serve to enliven, in a certain degree, the topographical precision which is attempted, as the more valuable information. Beyond Vienna, no accurate account of the stages has been hitherto published.

To those who are about to visit the Levant, it may be interesting to learn from a preceding traveller the route they may take; the pleasure they may anticipate, and the fatigue and danger which they must encounter.

March 20, 1794.	London	Miles.
	Dartford -	15.

We left London at ten o'clock at night, and slept at Dartford. The companions of our journey were Dr. S. Professor of Botany at Oxford, and Mr. G. M. a very ingenious artist; both of whom are since dead.

March 21. Dover - - - 56
22.
23.

Sailed in a pacquet at two o'clock in the morning, under convoy of a frigate, Captain Lee.

24.
Becalmed.
25.

Opposite the coast of Flanders, with the town of Nieuport distinctly in our view. Landed at Ostend at five o'clock in the afternoon.

FLANDERS, CIRCLE OF BURGUNDY.

The novelty of appearance of the people standing on the beach was very amusing. They looked grotesque, compared with those on our side of the water, with their sabots or wooden-shoes, and the head-dresses of the women large and angular, like those in Holbein's portraits. Even those of the meaner sort wore golden crosses, which seemed to be with them a chief material of happiness.

The town is meanly built. In the church, which is large and modern, there is some good sculpture in wood.

March 26.

At two p. m. left Ostend.	Posts.	English Miles.
Gastel.		
Yebeck Bruges	3	---
Alter - - -	2	---
Ghent - - -	2	36.

The country near the sea is flat, and mounded by high sand-banks, with the fore-ground naked, and the horizon closed by continued villages, low spires, and wind-mills. Near Gastel, at seven miles distance, the landscape becomes more interesting; and it is remarkable, what very minute copyists the painters of the Flemish school have been. The cultivation is excellent, but

totally unpicturesque. The paved roads, of many miles extent, with plantations on either side, produec a tiresome effect, which might have been easily avoided, if, instead of abruptly branching off at right angles, they had been gradually incurvated. But that would not have been consonant to the genius of this land of rules and measures. Yebeck lies on the left hand, and exhibits all the characteristics of a Flemish village.

At Bruges 5 p. m.

Our stay in this city was limited to two hours. An air of stately sombreness pervades this spacious and well-built town. In the great market-place is the Stadt-house, the tower of which is a very lofty and curious structure; it is square, for a very considerable height, and where a spire is usual, another octangular tower is placed upon it, almost as high; but the effect is rather surprising than beautiful. The cathedral is massive in all its parts, and apparently ancient. In so slight a survey, I did not perceive any ornament or style earlier than the time of our Henry VI.; and those matched with most incongruous additions. The Flemish Gothic is scarcely less fanciful and void of beauty, than that invented by English carpenters. The carillons or chimes played by hand, are very musical, and frequent. Eight times in every hour, during the day, their agreeable melody is heard.

As we passed the gates of Bruges, at seven, the evening was closing; and as the darkness increased, we lost sight of the country, and did not reach Ghent before one in the morning.

March 27. FLANDERS.

	Posts.	English Miles.
Quadreght -	1	—
Aloost - -	1½	—
Asche - -	1½	—
Bruxelles -	1½	34.

Attended the early prayers in the Cathedral, the internal decoration of which is splendid in the extreme, with incorrect Gothic, lined with pannels and pilasters of variegated marble, in the Italian style. Rubens's large picture of St. Bavon, one of his more celebrated works, eclipses the others which decorate the several altar-pieces. The sculpture, which abounds, has as much excellence of finishing, as inferiority of design.

In the town of Ghent, the houses appear to be large and singularly placed, with one end turned to the street, and gardens between each;---a circumstance which favours comfort and seclusion, rather than magnificence.

Left Ghent at 10, A. M.

The surrounding flat country is as luxuriant and fertile, as nature and cultivation can make it; the roads wide and level, but invariably straight. An hour at Aloost allowed us to see Rubens's picture of St. Roch interceding with Christ for the diseased of the plague, from which there is a print by P. Pontius. It is much less brilliant in point of colouring, than is usual with that great master.

The views become interesting by being broken into small vallies. At half-a-mile to the left stands the Benedictine convent of Afflingham, the first we observed on the Continent. A large, modern church and whitened buildings surrounding it, communicated an idea very different from the ruined abbey and its ivy-mantled walls---the picturesque and romantic were foreign to this scene. By the clumsy and grotesque shape of all the carriages which we met, we were greatly amused; a stage-coach in Flanders is an indescribable monster. Until the eye is in a certain degree familiarized, the different forms of common utensils, and the dress of the inhabitants, awaken perpetual curiosity; and where more material objects, from want of opportunity, cannot be inspected, they agreeably supply the deficiency.

Arrived at Brussels at 4, P. M.

At the Hotel Belle-vue, an inn near the park, of such extent and magnificence, as to appear like a deserted palace. The rooms hung with crimson damask, and a bed in each. The greater part of all large towns are alike, but the square, of which the Archduke's palace forms an entire side, with the grand avenue to the park, is, at least, not inferior to any thing in London. The walks, parterre, and coffee-house, are very pleasant. When Brussels was besieged by Marshall Villeroy, 2500 houses were destroyed in 48 hours, but there are now no marks of so great a calamity. Dumourier had quitted the city to the Austrians about twelve months. I observed no other proofs of his hostile visit, excepting that the Imperial ensigns were universally defaced. In the Old Town, which rises against a hill, the streets are irregular; but the very neat architecture of the streets and parades already mentioned, has a regular and splendid effect.

March 28.

Attended mass at the Cathedral, the western façade of which is flanked by two towers of rich Gothic, which may be com-

pared to those of York on a smaller scale. The windows, pinnacles, &c. much resemble those of St. Mary, Redcliffe, Bristol, or any other fine specimen of the architecture of the fifteenth century, in England. The first internal view is truly striking. Of the pictures, a few are good, but obscured by the silver altars and the painted glass, which are dazzling, and distract the attention. Modern repairs and decorations have been conducted with as little taste and propriety as by an English church-warden. I was more interested by the Gothic canopies and statues, contemporary with the original structure, and some armorial portraits in stained glass. The greater part of that which is so much admired in England, was made in the Low Countries, or by Flemish artists, who were encouraged to settle there. The organ accompanied the choir, masses were celebrating at several altars, and a Capuchin friar was preaching in the nave to a very devout audience, with great energy, all at the same time. The town-house is a very remarkable Gothic structure, with a central tower 364 feet high, which has a rich effect. The difficulty or the expence of its construction, occupied forty-two years, having been completed in 1442. In the distant outline of the city, it is more commanding than from the towers of the Cathedral.

The French army entered Brussels, Nov. 14, 1792, soon after the battle of Gemappe, and quitted it March 23, 1793, after an engagement near Louvaine. They regained complete possession in 1794.

Left Brussels at 11, A. M.

	Posts.	English Miles.
Louvaine - -	3	—
Tirlement - -	2	—
St. Tron - -	2	41

The rising grounds about Brussels are picturesque. On the left, at a considerable distance, the new palace of the Duke D'Aremburg has a bold elevation, and terminates a fine avenue. It displays a grand front with a circular projection in the centre, finished by a lofty cupola. The landscape becomes very rich in châteaus and village-spires. Throughout Flanders, the roads are made with the greatest care, with a double plantation on either side, and the low hills levelled by ravines cut through them at a vast expence. The first view of Louvaine through one of these is very pleasing.

At Louvaine, we could only wait one hour. It is a very ill-built city, compared with Brussels, and not much embellished by

the University, which is said to consist of forty-three colleges. An Irish student shewed me the college established by Pope Pius VI. which has one large quadrangle, not equal to many at Oxford and Cambridge. The number of residents exceeds 1100. The whole ecclesiastical patronage of the Netherlands originally granted to the University by the Popes, has been resumed by Joseph II. as one of his acts of reformation. I can imagine Louvaine to be much like Oxford two centuries ago. The gentleman told me, that the stipend of the foundationers, after taking a degree, did not exceed 100 florins (10l.) per ann.; but their maintenance is supplied. Their dress is a loose coat, with small buttons and full skirts; a long vest, of silk, sewed to the shoulders, blue band, and even-sided cocked hat, with short hair. The fortifications, said to have an extent of four or five miles, in almost a complete circle, are ruinous and imperfect. Joseph II. found them universally neglected, and by an ill-judged economy, suffered them to fall into total decay, by applying the funds for maintaining them to other purposes. But for this circumstance, the French could not have gained such advantages in the beginning of the war, in the Netherlands, which were half conquered in the minds of the people.

In the centre of the town of Louvaine, stands the Court-House, or *Maison de Ville*, which is a most curious specimen of the florid Gothic of the last school in England, where it must have been borrowed from Flanders. It is much larger than Henry VII.'s Chapel, and, if possible, more elaborately wrought. The roof is not concealed by a parapet, but extremely high, and studded with small turrets, or lanterns, corresponding with the style of the whole. I had not time to see the inside, or indeed several works of art, which are well worthy inspection.

Gothic architecture in Flanders, when applied to the towers of these Court-Houses, as at Brussels, is peculiar and beautiful. A single shaft, circular, and resembling a large pinnacle, is carried up with nearly equal dimensions, to a great height, and filletted at certain distances, with projecting galleries, the parapets of which are perforated and embattled, and produce an extreme richness. This striking accompaniment is deficient at Louvaine.

The antiquarian traveller, who has seen the views of Henry the Seventh's palaces at Richmond and Nonsuch, will have a clear idea of the ornaments used in the architecture of an earlier period in the Low Countries.

The Cathedral resembles several in England, as its plan is simple, and the building uniform. Two massive and lofty towers, without parapets, flank the western front. Their singular appearance is occasioned by their having formerly served as the bases of three spires, which were blown down in 1604.

That in the center exceeded 500 feet, and the two others were, each of them, more than half that height.

The country between Louvaine and St. Tron, beyond Terlement, resembles that part of Gloucestershire, in which the manufacture of cloth is established, with neat white cottages and small inclosures.

Reached St. Tron, at 10, at night,

A vile town, where we slept, with poor accommodations, as the inn was pre-occupied by a Hanoverian regiment. So near as the road led to the French lines, this was the first appearance of war. Some trifling devastations, indeed, were observable where they had passed. Armorial ensigns were defaced, crosses overthrown and broken, and some trees in the road-avenues cut down and burned.

March 29,---6, A. M. CIRCLE OF WESTPHALIA.

	Posts.	English Miles.
Tongres - -	1½	—
Liége - -	1¼	—
Foron - -	2	—
Aix-la-Chapelle -	1¾	54

Near Tongres the roads lead through extensive and well-cultivated plains, but uninclosed. The skirting line, otherwise regular, is pleasantly broken by village spires, chateaus, and convents. As a singularity in the architecture, at least to the eye of an Englishman, so accustomed to battlements and pinnacles, all the towers, either of castles or churches, are finished by sharp conical roofs, or obtuse spires, covered with thin slate of different colours. It was necessary, in order to pass the Meuse, to go from Tongres to Maestricht or Liége, in our road to Aix. Near the last-mentioned, the ground becomes irregular, but not abrupt, and the slopes are clothed with low brushwood. The descent to the town, for more than a mile, is steep. On the right, is a large convent, and the bishop's palace. The suburbs, where we rested but a short time, are narrow and ill-built. The beggars were impudent and insatiable; and the women we saw, positively ugly. They wear a small, close head-piece of silk, without lace, concealing all the hair and exposing the ears. Beauty itself would have much to contend with in such a fashion. Ascending the opposite hill, the view of Liége is interesting, as the whole city, both on the acclivities and in the vale, is now seen, yet uncharacterised by any great or splendid building, excepting

the cathedral: I speak of them only in a birds-eye view; for of the very numerous churches and convents, some are described as beautiful. Several bridges over the Meuse afforded pretty catches of that low, sedgy river, with its windings under precipitate acclivities, which close in the romantic valley of Spa, so much frequented on account of its gay society and salutary waters.

Three regiments af Hanoverians detained us, on their march to the frontiers. The men were certainly well clothed and appointed, but they looked sulky, as mercenaries uninterested in their employment. In the streets of Brussels and Liége were crowds of emigrants, with many shabby coats and red ribbands of St. Louis. They would have excited commiseration, had not their air, in general, been insolent and unfeeling; none of that decent acquiescence was to be discovered, which dignifies hard fortune.

Advancing a few miles nearer to Foron, the prospect gradually improves, the woodlands and winding vallies at the base of very steep banks reminded me of many parts of Gloucestershire. The course of the Meuse, like the Severn, is seen for a considerable distance, many of the objects are strikingly similar to England, especially in the neighbourhood of the Spa. The good roads are now passed; but, considering the meagre cattle and the rope-harness, we made a fair progress, about five miles an hour. No animal in Europe of its size has more strength than a Flemish horse, and none so ungovernable as their postilions, but dexterous enough.

Arrived at Aix la Chapelle or Achen, at 9 P. M.

WESTPHALIA.

		Posts.	English Miles.
March 30.	Juliers - -	1½	—
	Berchem -	1	—
	Cologne -	1½	—
	Bonn - -	1½	52

We rested at a very large inn, and supped in a spacious room, in which the four plenipotentiaries met to conclude the treaty of Aix, in 1748. It had the peculiarity of having four doors exactly opposite, so contrived that by their entering the room upon a signal given, all at the same time, no interference could be made with the precedence claimed by either. Our ambassador was the late Earl of Sandwich. The German towns are crouded with nuisances, as our Old English cities formerly were, before the modern spirit of accomodating the public prevailed to the present extent. They lose infinitely by comparison with those of

Flanders. Aix is very large, populous, and incommodious. The architectural form of the cathedral baffles all description. It is indeed totally unlike any other, as it has no length of nave or transept. The choir is a vast octagon of disproportionate height, but of the most elaborate finishing and crouded with every particle of rich Gothic. It was made more striking by the celebration of high mass. At that time, the mausoleum of the Emperor Charles V. was entire, and the marble columns, its chief boast, had not been included in the spoil, afterwards transported to Paris. The situation of Aix, no less than the hot baths, of nearly equal celebrity on the continent, reminded us greatly of Bath, surrounded by lofty hills.

Between Aix and Juliers, the straight road is conducted through a wide tract of woodland and forest scenery. Farther on, the same spreading corn-fields recur and the bounding distances are more bold and irregular. Juliers affords a specimen of a modern fortification upon Vauban's system. From a considerable eminence, Cologne (Colonia Agrippina or Ubiorum) is first seen at five miles distance, situated in the centre of an extensive and verdant plain.

This north-eastern view of Cologne extends for a great length, and is marked by 200 lofty spires or towers, with the cathedral as the great feature. High lands surround it, and on the west side are serrated mountains above the Rhine. Between this point of view, and that of the University of Oxford from Botley Hill, there is a resemblance so strong as to bring either scene immediately to the recollection of those, who have seen both. Upon our passage through Cologne, I observed little to retrieve it from the general character of German towns. It has no suburbs, but a lower town fortified, called Dayh, nearer the Rhine. The cathedral is of curious Moorish architecture. Our Charles II. passed the two last years of his exile at Cologne, preferring it to any other residence at that time in his power.

The French army entered Cologne, October 6, 1794; after the defeat of General Clairfayt.

As we looked back on this large and once celebrated city, it exhibited a fortification of more than sixty bastions and towers, such as were frequent in the provincial towns in England, three centuries ago, with embattled gates. Upon these numerous towers are placed sharp conical roofs, instead of battlements, by which they are degraded to the appearance of windmills. A degree of elevation relieves the landscape from this point, which notwithstanding would make a very stiff picture.

At Weysing (five miles distant) I caught the first sight of the Rhine, which is here very bold and smooth, with winding and flat shores, willowed to the brink. This small village, on a rising

ground commands it on either side. The evening now was closing, and when perfectly dark, we entered the gates of Bonn. There was something particularly romantic in the ceremony of opening the gates, with the grating of the hinges and the drawbridge, and the winding of the bugle-horn, which the postilions blew, as if in triumph, as they passed under arches. Circumstances of ancient chivalry immediately presented themselves to my mind.

		Posts.	English Miles.
March 31.	At Bonn (*Aix Ubiorum*)		—
	Remangen - - - - -	1	—
	Andrenacht - - - - -	1½	26

We were received at "La Cour d'Angleterre," which is a very splendid hotel. The rooms, which are spacious and lofty, are all furnished with beds. The apparent advantage which the inns on the Continent have over those in England in point of extent and rich furniture is totally lost in that of comfort. It is true, that the St. Sebastien at Ghent, the Cour Imperiale at Aix, and this at Bonn, are palaces, but the attendants are negligent in the extreme. When sitting down to sumptuous courses, we were waited on by one clumsy girl---a contrast more ludicrous than convenient. The host never makes his appearance. The head-dress of the lower rank of women in this part of Germany, exceeds every idea of ugliness. Their heads appear to be closely shorn, and their ears are not concealed. The men are habited much as in England.

As the streets of Bonn perpetually intersect each other and are very narrow and awkwardly built, it must rest its chief claim on its beautiful situation. The Elector's palace attracts all strangers. His proper residence is at Cologne, but constant disputes with the burghers induced one of his predecessors to remove his court to this place. It is certain that the Austrian family are universally unpopular; their exactions are oppressive and submitted to with a very ill grace. Had the French treated the religious opinions of the people with respect, no power could have dispossessed them of the Austrian territory; for otherwise the inhabitants were not displeased with their conduct.

The repairs necessary for the carriages gave us leisure to visit the Elector's palace and gardens. It was built by Joseph Clement, in the beginning of this century, and spreads to a great extent; it can boast no architectural beauty independently of mere magnitude, and one of the wings is still incomplete. A most

striking amphitheatre expands in front, formed by the mountains first seen above Cologne, every point of which is embellished by natural or artificial features.

At five, P. M. left Bonn.

The road leads nearly through the centre of an enchanting valley, with the Rhine on the left. At about two miles distance, the hills on either side are broken into many eminences of parallel height and conical form, shrouded to their summits with low wood and vineyards. On the right, above a summer palace of the Elector, is the large convent of Leibenburgen, a white building of a very capricious form. Advancing a mile or more, at an elegant Gothic cross (not unlike one of those erected by Edward I. in honour of his queen) a rich and luxuriant view is presented, the great feature of which with its accompaniments, though far superior, immediately reminded me of Goodrich Castle, on the river Wye. The summit of an insulated mount is intirely occupied by the ruins of the castle of Gutesburg, and its acclivities are covered with the matted foliage of low trees. Many yards above the others, the Pharos, or round watch tower, is seen rising in the exact centre, and is clustered with the other delapidated buildings, the apertures of which affording a thorough light, gave a most romantic effect to the whole. It is indeed a superb fastness, more from the complete elevation of every part, than its great extent. Passing through the village which it overhangs, it assumes more grandeur, and seems to have been impregnably strong, when it sustained the memorable seige by Gerard de Tousches. Beyond the village are some large houses lately built by the Elector for the company frequenting the mineral waters, which Mrs. Radcliffe, (p. 136) describes as a most pleasing resort. The road now stretches for many miles along the shores of the Rhine, under sharp precipices of brown rock, or shelving head-lands planted with vineyards. On the opposite side, are several populous villages, distinguished by their low spires of slate, and situated at the base of the many serrated hills, which are remarkable for naked crags or dilapidated towers, of the most romantic shape. The twilight, which at first threw a mild tint over them, now hid them in obscurity, and imagination only could picture those beauties, which reality had so much more happily supplied. At two in the morning, arriving at Andrenacht, we retired to rest.

ELECTORAL CIRCLE.

		Posts.	English Miles.
April 1.	Coblentz	1	—
	Montebaur	1½	—
	Limburg	1½	39

This town, the frequent scene of military transactions, was once surrounded by fortifications and a large castle, now reduced to ruins, several towers of which with Moorish brackets and battlements are still perfect, and resemble those of Conway, in North Wales. The whole view, from the point we were quitting was extremely pleasing. So bold are the shores of the Rhine, and so lively its maritime accompaniments, with bare rocks and mountains upon so majestic a scale, that the Wye, picturesque as it is, will fail in comparison.—The Rhine is rarely less than 200 yards across, and villages with their ports are frequent on its banks. I had time to examine the church at Andrenacht. It has four towers of exact resemblance to each other; those of the western front being the more lofty in a small degree. The nave is long and dark. In the upper tier of the towers are open arcades, or galleries of circular arches, and obtuse slated spires. Ecclesiastic edifices in this part of Germany are strictly similar, and partake of the Moorish and Gothic styles, with respect to open galleries on the inside, circular terminations of the choirs, small unclustered pillars and flourished capitals. The Moorish style was introduced by the Spaniards during their dominion in these provinces. Of military buildings I observed that the towers were generally circular, with an escalloped bracket projecting but slightly, and instead of battlements, a plain parapet and conical roof which hurts the eye, and has a poor effect.—By their ruins only were we reminded of those, which add in so great a degree to the picturesque beauty of English landscape.

Leaving the Rhine, the country grows more champaigne and open, with unbounded corn fields, sometimes varied by villages and convents, the spires of which are all alike, but they have universally great advantages of situation. Upon our left, the modern house of Count Newyck attracted our attention, as we seldom saw that description of building, called gentlemen's seats, since we had begun our journey.

At Coblentz (*Confluentes*), the junction of the Rhine and Moselle, 10 o'clock, A. M.

The approach is truly interesting, as we crossed the bridge over the Moselle. Nothing can exceed in grandeur the view of the rock and castle of Ehrenbreitstein, the ancient residence of the Elector of Treves. The city has no splendor, at least, in the streets, which are irregular and narrow. A great curiosity, is what is called the flying bridge. Two large boats are fastened together, and a platform placed over them with a cable fixed to the mast, and connected with several small boats placed higher upon the Rhine. The rudder turns it, and it is then moved by the current. From the quay, the perpendicular rock with the extensive fortress increases in effect, truly stupendous. At the

base, is a spacious modern edifice, the second palace of the Elector in point of antiquity, but being damp and incommodious, the present Prince has built another, on the opposite side. It is of the doric order and makes a handsome appearance. There is a motto placed in the front, which is happily chosen, as the inhabitant is hospitable and liberal.

"Clemens Winceslaus Vicinis suis."

Ascending the hill as rapidly as possible, we gained a birds-eye view of the city, with the church built in the Moorish style, and Ehrenbreitstein now became level with the collateral heights. The outworks and bastions are on a vast scale, and the towers, of a modern form, are ingrafted in the solid rock, several hundred feet on the side above the river. In the annals of the late war, the siege of this castle will be distinguished as a most surprising event, whether we prefer the valour and perseverance of the besiegers, or the prudence and patience of the besieged, left destitute of succour. Ehrenbreitstein had formerly been considered as the impregnable safeguard of the imperial territory.

The deep dells, with sides of bare rock, of the schistous kind, the hanging vineyards and woodlands, or heath, were principal objects till we came to wide, unpicturesque plough-lands, and the town of Montebaur, where is an insulated rock, crested with a castle, modern and perfect. About a mile from Limburg, we saw the great church, which is founded on the cliffe above the river Lahn. The western front is a copy of those before described, but it has likewise a taller spire between the nave and choir, which is open on the inside as a louvre, and two small ones on the north transept: so that they make a grove of sharp angles, in the elevation. In these travelling notes, minute circumstances become important. The German cookery is in general good, excepting that in most of their dishes they are fond of a strong flavour, either of sweet or sour. But what they consider as sleeping luxuriously, I could not reconcile to my own feelings. I was placed between two feather-beds, the upper one of eyder-down, with a sheet sewed to it, turned up at the bottom; for a German, in sleeping, keeps his head and feet equally cool and exposed.

April 2. HESSE CASSEL.

	Posts.	English Miles.
Wirges - -	1½	—
Kœnigstein -	1½	—
Frankfort - -	1	38

The ground about Limburg rises very high, as in our progress, afforded very distant views, and the landscape is broken into promontories, which are frequently covered by a convent or a castle. In a small valley we passed Seltz, so well known for its mineral waters, which contribute equally to health and luxury, when mixed with Rhenish wine. There are few buildings near the spring, excepting a pump-room and a large ware-house, with many heaps of stone-jars for sale. The price of one of these was seven krentzers (2½d.) at the spring. Leaving this small fortified village, we gained a wooded eminence of many miles in extent, and abounding in the grandest forest scenery. On either side were dells abrupt and deep, with rivulets opening to the most verdant meadows. The first appearance of spring was now perceptible, the foliage was far advanced, though incomplete, and under a bright sun the catching lights were beautiful. Many of the landscapes of Wilson and Gainsborough resemble this scenery. The scale of objects is certainly larger than in England, and the component parts have more magnitude in every feature without a diminution of beauty. In the effect we find grandeur, rather than prettyness.

At Kœnigstein about mid-day.

This village and fortress were taken last year (1795) by the French, whom the Prussians forced to evacuate, and they then burned the village, under pretence of having favoured their enemies. This universal desolation gave us a clear idea of the horrors of war in the countries where it is carried on. The solitary post-house was the only inhabited dwelling in the village, and which could afford us no refreshment. The road was execrably bad through a grove of oak, which their excessive size rendered almost impervious. From the hill we had a first view of Frankfort (Helenopolis) but exhibiting no bold appearance or magnificent feature, whilst the amphitheatre of wooded mountains behind us, rose very majestically.

We entered the gates of Frankfort at the Main, at 7, P. M. after having exhausted twelve hours in thirty-eight miles. In the German "Stunde" are two German miles and one-tenth part, so that a post may be averaged at eight miles and a half English. A very troublesome interruption in travelling through the German states, is the frequent change of the current coin. At the barriers, which are like our turnpikes, the demand is very disproportionate; and at every "station," or stage, our carriages were surrounded by people, claiming "smeargeldt," or money, for greasing the wheels, which they vociferously demanded, whether the operation was applied or not.

April 3. PALATINATE.

	Posts.	English Miles.
Hanau - -	1	—
Dettingen - -	1	—
Aschaffenburg - -	$0\frac{3}{4}$	$27\frac{1}{2}$

We were lodged at the "Rothen Haus," (*Maison Rouge*) said to be the largest inn in Europe. It consists of an extensive square, and another beyond it, of stables, with a garden. The apartments are really handsome, and the accommodations superior to any we had hitherto experienced. It fronts the widest street, which is magnificently built, and forms a strong contrast to the others, most of which are close and thronged with people, whose commercial bustle is incessant. Frankfort is one of the richest cities in Germany. In the street above-mentioned we went to see the house of a merchant then building, which in stile and dimensions equalled that of any nobleman in London. Others are splendid and costly, but in a heavy taste. They paint the stucco walls of their houses in this part of Germany, on the outside, so as to represent pilasters and other architectural ornaments of red or grey marble. As each floor forms a distinct habitation, the whole to the street, appears to be one immense house.

Left Frankfort at 4, P. M.

The surrounding country is a vast unpicturesque flat, in which orchards are numerous, and the Maine is wide and circuitous, with tame shores. The boats are navigated by means of horses, as upon artificial canals. We then traversed the plains of Dettingen, famous for the victory gained on the 16th June, 1743, by George II. in person, of which he was always pleased to converse; and what will render it more memorable, for which Handel composed his *Te Deum*.

At Aschaffenburg, 12 at night, by moonlight.

FRANCONIA.

		Posts.	English Miles.
April 4.	Bessenbach - -	$0\frac{3}{4}$	—
	Rohbrün - - -	1	—
	Esselbach - -	1	—
	Langfert - - -	$0\frac{1}{2}$	—
	Würtzburg - -	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$57\frac{1}{2}$

This small town has an easy ascent above the Maine. The palace of the Elector of Mentz is a sumptuous edifice of light

red stone rising from a terrace with four high towers at the angles, as many complete fronts of 300 feet in length, inclosing a quadrangle, with cloisters. There are apartments sufficient for his numerous officers of state, and some fine suits of rooms which the early hour prevented our seeing. One tower only of the ancient fortress is preserved, the rest has not been finished more than a century. In 1743, the English army held their head quarters in this town, before the battle of Dettingen was fought.

At 6, A. M. we left Aschaffenburg, and as we came nearer to the source of the Maine, it was more diversified and interesting; the shores luxuriant, at the brink, and rising very boldly above many a winding valley of delicate verdure. After a gradual ascent we found ourselves in the forest of Spesservald, inclosed within an oak fence of 12 leagues in extent. Shades so impenetrable afford secure covert for the stag, wild boar, and roebuck in great abundance, which are thus reserved for the Elector's hunting. Avenues sometimes narrow, but always gloomy, are cut through in various directions for the roads. The romantic descriptions of the chace and banditti, in which the German poets excel, are realised, at least, in appropriate scenery. A great number of these primeval oaks are in a state of decay.

A mile before Langfert, upon an acclivity above the Maine, is the grand convent of Trifenstein. So modern and white are the buildings, that it seemed to be a number of large houses clustered together rather than an ecclesiastical structure. We judge of abbeys in England, only from their remains, and connect them always with ideas of antiquity and Gothic architecture.

The town of Longfert is surrounded by craggy hills planted with vines, which produce a kind of wine of the Rhenish flavour. We passed the ferry over the Maine, about sixty yards across, and from a considerable eminence, we were gratified by many charming views of the river, which towards the upper parts, becomes exceedingly picturesque.

At 8, P. M. we found ourselves at the gates of Würtzburg.

CIRCLE OF FRANCONIA.

		Posts.	English Miles.
April 5.	Kizengen - -	1½	—
	Passenheim -	1	—
	Langenfeldt -	1	35

We surveyed the city, which has many handsome appendages; as the public buildings are numerous and splendid, and the houses in general commodious. The Bishop's Palace is a very spacious edifice; having a principal front of great elevation and extent, with a profusion of statues and pillars, heavy, but imposing in effect; yet the smaller ornaments of architecture are abundant and tasteless. It was designed by Roberr de Cotte, a French architect of great celebrity. In the garden-front there is a greater simplicity. Before Fischers, the Germans could boast no architect of talent, and several other electoral palaces were also built from French designs.—I had not before seen so complete a specimen of the art of gardening in Germany. Groupes of large images totally below any idea of statuary, parterres, bowers of lime-trees with correspondent alleys, compose the fantastic pleasure-grounds, which are peopled to imitate the Elysian Fields; but to the utter defiance of classical propriety, with groupes, busts, and single figures, beyond arrangement or number. The terrace upon the ramparts commands a fine view, with the citadel of Marienburg crowning a promontory, the convent of Capuchins, and the amphitheathre of vine-clad hills with the Maine spreading boldly at their base. Of the public buildings, the chief are the college of Nobles, that of the Jesuits, and the hospital. The tower of the great church is of light Gothic, ending in an open cupola upon Corinthian arcades and pillars. The internal decorations are clumsy; and multiplied, in small parts, to confusion and absolute deformity: there is scarcely a single pillar which is unappropriated to a shrine. The high-altar and its furniture are blazoned with massive silver, and in the nave is a long series of the sepulchral effigies of bishops.

Other edifices are heavy imitations of the French rather than the Palladian style. There are colleges of the Nobility of either sex, and the indispensable condition of being admitted, is the producing a coat of arms of sixteen quarters; which implies (otherwise than with the English heralds) that as many legitimate descents should be proved, eight of each parent, and all of noble families. This proof is seldom difficult; as the patronage is confined to a few houses, and offers a most valuable provision to the younger branches. The present (1794) superior of the Female Canons is a venerable old lady of ninety-five. A small chapter of St. Burgate (peculiar to Germany) wear habits of scarlet cloth. Over the Maine is a bridge of several arches, with Colossal statues placed on each pier, like the Ponte St. Angelo at Rome, which it is intended to imitate.

At the distance of a mile from Würtzburg we mounted a steep hill, whence a boundless prospect was open to us, upon a grand scale in every part: we then passed through highly-cultivated

fields, level and dull; and the village-spires became more scarce and disagreeable, being of red tile. Passing through the village of Reppendorff, near Kizengen, we met the Emperor upon his route to the army in the Netherlands. His coach was drawn by the common post-horses; two valets sat on the coach-box; and his brothers, the Archdukes Charles and Joseph, accompanied him. Another carriage only, in which was Prince Colloredo, followed, but without couriers or guards. He appeared to be fatigued and pensive, and much engaged in reflections on this eventful period. We had before seen detached parties of his suite. Several waggons, some of which were drawn by fourteen horses, were conveying ammunition to the Imperial army from Vienna, through roads almost impassable, with the most vexatious delays, and at an enormous expence.—At Kizengen we staid but a short time: nothing can be more odious than the roofs of red tiles which occupy the whole view. We slept at Langenfeldt, which is a poor country-town.—The dress of the peasants in the different provinces through which we passed, even our rapid journey allowed us to observe with considerable amusement. Near Cologne, the women wear a kerchief of linen, with a low falling collar and slashed sleeves, as seen in the figures of peasants by artists of the Flemish school. As it was a holiday or fair at Langenfeldt, many girls were assembled. They wore their hair collected in a bunch behind, broad hats with shallow crowns, linen-jackets, and red petticoats, reaching only to several inches above the knees, blue stockings as far below them with red clocks, and very strong wooden shoes.

April 6. CIRCLE OF FRANCONIA.

	Posts.	English Miles.
Emkirchen	1	- - —
Furnbach	1	- - —
Nüremburg	1	- - 30.

We left Langenfeldt at an early hour, and passed through a cold country,—the highlands of Germany, remarkable only for neat agriculture and hop-grounds. That useful plant is cultivated here as much as in England; and is used in making a strong white beer, which is probably the barley-wine invented by the ancient Germans, and which is mentioned by the Roman historians, and even praised by the Emperor Julian in one of his Greek epigrams.

We reached the city of Nuremburg at 4 *p. m.*; and were lodged at the "posthaus," an old inn with galleries round a court, of many years standing. The streets are in general very narrow,

and the houses lofty; the fronts of the latter being painted with gigantic figures supporting the roof, or sometimes with landscapes of extremely rude execution. There are two capacious churches. The spires of the larger are in a good style of Gothic, and are light and airy. The arcade of the great door is embellished with numerous bas-reliefs of scriptural subjects, of delicate sculpture, and as highly finished as if of bronze. Within are heavy modern galleries, two organs larger than those of any of our cathedrals, and a single crucifix many feet high standing before the altar; which is all that the Lutheran rubrick allows of.

Nuremburg is the Birmingham of Germany; but certainly inferior in the variety and ingenuity displayed in its toys. The best wire for musical instruments, and the most perfect inventions in clock-work, will be found at Nüremburg. There too the art of printing was established soon after its discovery; and the foundries for types were celebrated as early as the fifteenth century.

April 7. CIRCLE OF BAVARIA.

	Posts.	English Miles
Feücht	1	—
Postbaur	1	—
Tenningen	1	—
Pursburg	1	—
Labör	1	—
Ratisbon	1	60.

Before sun-rise we pursued our route from Nuremburg. The road at first leads through avenues in a forest of fir-trees, and a deep sandy soil; but breaks beyond Potsbaur into charming diversity of ground and forest scenery. One advantage which these pine-groves have over those in England, considered picturesquely, is, that they are seen in every stage of growth and foliage; with us, the trees are all usually planted at one time, and the exposure of the trunks always produce an ugly effect.

> "Nigrâ nemus abiete cingunt."
> VIRG. Æn. viii. 596.

As we advanced, the view was bounded by a ridge, breaking abruptly at each of its terminations: upon one of which were the ruins of a castle; on the other a neatly-built monastery, with its white taper spire, and the scene variegated with rocks and fir-groves.

As we continued our journey beyond Potsbaur, we were under the necessity of proceeding as far as Ratisbon, where we did not arrive till four in the morning.

April 8. CIRCLE OF BAVARIA.

	Posts.	English Miles.
Pfäder - -	1½ -	—
Straubing - -	1½ -	30.

At Ratisbon, or Regensburg, (*Regina Augusta Tiberia.*) the same style of lofty buildings, with narrow incommodious streets, prevails, as in other cities which we had before seen, which are not enlivened by commerce, and have an appearance of great dullness. The Diet-hall of the Empire has antiquity only to recommend it; being greatly inferior, both in size and beauty, to many halls in England, particularly that of Westminster, and Christ-church Oxford. The cathedral is well worthy of examination; all its parts being of regular architecture, and probably of cotemporary erection. The western façade, and the towers, are enriched with pannels and arches of the florid Gothic, resembling those at Brussels; and the great portal is not less profusely and elaborately sculptured than that at Nüremburg. There is a strict correspondence of parts in the interior view, which exhibits the true proportions and the effect of the whole more perfectly than I had before seen on the Continent. Every window is embellished with stained glass; which is exhibited in that at the east end with peculiar richness, and there forms a section of an octagon. In England the stained glass has so rarely escaped mutilation, that we are in a great measure strangers to its true effect; as well as to that of statues, which are with us almost universally decapitated, or removed from their stations. Our Gothic structures, ornamented as they are, lose much by the appearance of vacant pedestals and niches, which our reformers and puritans despoiled of their accompaniments. This kind of ecclesiastical statuary is now seen in the highest perfection at Ratisbon. From the long old bridge I first had a sight of the Danube, that prince of rivers, with scenery interesting on every account, and extremely beautiful in itself. The ideas which originate in the importance of locality, and the contemplation of scenes which are famous in history, will here present themselves to every intelligent mind.

From this point of view, the fore-ground is busy, and abounds in objects: such as corn-mills built in boats, with a water-wheel driven by the current between two of them; immense floats of

timber, and small craft for conveying provisions to Vienna. The construction of these mills is useful and ingenious. I counted fourteen of them placed closely together, and appearing as if under one roof. There is much beauty in the broad surface of the Danube so completely occupied; and the view is very interesting, as the river meanders through a wide valley, and is flanked by bare and lofty promontories, of a description similar to those upon the Rhine. The town, on the right hand, wants elevation; and its best feature, the cathedral towers, having been left unfinished, (of which circumstance there are many proofs in Germany,) that deficiency is supplied by sharp roofs of red tiles. It has been said, that these superb buildings have been purposely left incomplete, that benefactions might be solicited on this pretence, the object to excite them being thus always in view; but it may be equally probable, that the original plans were of greater extent than the labour and piety of many centuries could supply. Certain it is, that while in English cathedrals we have scarcely an unfinished part though many have been destroyed, the fronts of the great churches in Germany, almost without exception, are deformed by the want of one, and sometimes of both, of the intended towers.

Quitting Ratisbon at 7 *p. m.* we proceeded (three posts) to Straubing, where we slept. The greater part of the road led through plains which offered no picturesque object to the eye, as the Danube was out of sight. The streets of Straubing are spacious, and the houses are neatly whitened with lime.

April 9. CIRCLE OF BAVARIA.

	Posts.	English Miles.
Platling -	2	—
Vilzhoven -	2	—
Scharding -	2	60

At Platling we crossed the Iser, over a decayed bridge of loose planks, under the guardianship of Nepomucene; whose painted effigy, with a hoop of irons resembling stars, and gilded, generally occupies that station. This St. John was a martyr and bishop of Prague, who was drowned because he would not divulge a secret committed to him as confessor; and these stars appeared, and discovered the spot at which his body had sunk to the bottom of the river.

Soon afterward, to the left, was open to us the great ridge of mountains in the Upper Palatinate (*Hercynii Montes*); which, being of vast extent, form a very magnificent boundary to a truly

interesting picture. The Danube flows smoothly under an accumulation of swelling banks, tufted with pine and matted foliage; which in one spot is relieved by a dilapidated castle, of most picturesque composition: indeed, a more completely engaging landscape can rarely exist. We then passed the modern castellated mansion of Altenburg; proudly overlooking, from a considerable eminence, the surrounding seignory, and in a valley the large convent of Fürstenstein. Every thing around us had the air of feudal grandeur and of the domain of a German baron, as represented in plays and novels. The Alps in the Tyrol were now first seen, breaking under the extremity of the horizon. About a mile from Scharding, the closing front-view of these immense mountains extends at least a hundred miles, being at the distance of about eighty. Whoever has not seen them even at this distance, would gain but an imperfect idea from the most happy description. The eternal snows on the summits were blended with the incumbent clouds, and only distinguishable from these by their greater transparency. A variety of masses so august, and so fantastically formed, exceeds all that imagination can place in scenes of her own creation; these mountains are in reality, "stretching from earth to heaven."

April 10. AUSTRIA.

	Posts.	English Miles.
Beyersbach	2	—
Efferding	1½	—
Lintz	1½	—
Enns	1½	65

Soon after sunrise we departed from Scharding, where we found nothing remarkable. Crossing the wide and shoaly river Inn near its junction with the Danube, the country was uniform, but agreeable and unmasked, till we gained another view of the Alps; which were now shifted to the right, and the eye left with regret such sublime objects. They were embosomed in clouds more than half-way down, towering with their heads above them. The whole reflected the rays of the morning-sun.

In this part of Austria, the construction of the cottages is admirable for their contrivance and utility, and no less for picturesque form. They are built intirely of planks; with low flat roofs projecting considerably over the front, which has generally three or four tiers of open galleries, communicating with the chambers by means of galleries on the outside. Their simplicity and scrupulous neatness accord most beautifully with the

landscape; the wildness of which is contrasted by trim gardens and inclosures, which evince the industry and correct habits of the German peasantry.

Before we came to Efferding, the Alps had imperceptibly retired from our sight; but some compensation was made by cheerful fields and woodlands, which lost much beauty by the tiresome recurrence of the fir-tree, producing no variety except in its size.

At Weldaren-closter, which is a very spacious monastery, we again found ourselves on the banks of the Danube; which now wears the appearance of a bay with uncovered shoals, and owes all its beauty to its fullness. As the shores contracted, the *reaches* of the river were bolder and more even. The road runs close to the brink; which, for the safety of travellers, is secured by rails for two miles. Every step we advanced, displayed a more interesting point of view. The side-screen, composed of perpendicular rock, naked and expanded; the sombre tints of the pine and oak, blended and harmonized with the tender hues of weeping birch-tree and hornbeam, now bursting into foliage; completed a mass of exquisite combination and colouring.

> " Woods over woods, in gay theatric pride,
> " Well mass'd, yet varied, deck the mountain's side."

says Goldsmith of the Appenines; but I question if his description be not more appropriate to this scene, than to any I afterwards saw in the north of Italy, in my way from Rome to Verona.

Huge fragments of rock had fallen to the base, and added much to the effect. The surface of these headlands breaks into sharp spiral points, discovered through the otherwise impervious groves on their acclivities. A succession of swelling knowls with small glens, branching off, and sweetly wooded, compose the opposite shores. Many of the cottages have picturesque sites; which, with their partial cultivation, offer a perfect school of landscape, in most interesting variety. This grand vista, always changing its objects both in the sides and extremities, affords the eye no rest, and excites admiration both of its variety and beauty. At an extreme height is the Carthusian convent of Bethleemburg, with its " heaven-directed spire," to which the devout of both sexes make frequent pilgrimages. I have dwelt with more minuteness on these scenes, as the only point of view in which I saw the Danube as a very picturesque river, or to be considered as rivaling the Rhine in that respect.

Lintz is pleasantly situated at the termination of this singular valley; and for the distance of a mile before the gates, a street of

neat cottages extends along its banks. After having passed the great military magazine and the barrier, we entered a very handsome and regularly-built square. A street equally well built branches from it, and the environs abound in neat villas *amœnaque rura*. It is the resort of many of the superior rank, who are invited thither by its pleasantness and convenience. Were I destined to pass the rest of my days in Germany, and had my choice of place, I would decidedly fix upon Lintz.

I reached Enns at 8 *p. m.*

April 11. AUSTRIA.

	Posts.	English Miles.
Sternburg -	1	- —
Amstetten -	1½	- —
Remelbach -	1	- —
Moelk -	1½	- —
St. Pölten -	1½	- 65

Between Sternburg and Amstetten, we followed a succession of woody and cultivated slopes for many miles. As the beauties of nature were less engaging, we were much pleased by the appearance of the female peasants. Their short red jackets bound with gold-lace, and a cup intirely composed of that material (or sometimes of coloured velvet) projecting behind with a broad hem shading the face, which were particularly frequent in the neighbourhood of Lintz (where they are manufactured), gave them a very lively and theatrical air.

From the terminating promontory, a rich vale on either side is spread at its feet. That on the right hand is the superior in its composition; the ground gradually rising to extreme points, and clothed with broad surfaces of dark and umbrageous groves; and behind them in a continued parallel line, the Styrian Alps, streaked with snow, and so near as to be visible in every part:—the whole composing a vast assemblage of mountainous scenery.

On our approach to Moelk, we looked down on the Danube; wide, with uncovered sand-banks, and now appearing (like those numerous rivers which are tributary to it) rather as the mere bed of a torrent. A promontory of solid brown rock shoots as far as the banks, and commands the town, which is meanly built.

The whole platform, to the very brink, is occupied by the monastery of Benedictines, the largest and most sumptuous that had occurred in the course of our route; spreading an air of grandeur over the picture, from its magnitude, elevation, and structure. The architect was John Bernard Fischers, the German Palladio,

who contributed so greatly to the embellishment of the city of Vienna, under the patronage of the Emperor Joseph I. It consists of two courts, each with a front containing eighty windows; and these inclose the church, which has two spiral towers, a façade, and central cupola, resembling St. Paul's at London on a small scale. Fischers probably borrowed his first idea from Wren's plans then published, and accommodated them to this situation. At the entrance from the high grounds above the town, are bastions and fortifications; this being the only part undefended by nature. Ecclesiastics can hardly need such a security, except from the circumstance of its being likewise a palace, and the Emperor's occasional residence in his journeys.

I observed, as far as we had yet proceeded, the very great mutual resemblance, both in situation and form, of all conventual buildings. They are, with few exceptions, large whitened masses, with shapeless towers; adding nothing to the beauty of the landscape, though usually rising from an insulated mount or woody promontory. The ruins of those seen in England, or even the perfect convents (the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge), are infinitely more striking than these in Germany; which show no progressive epochs of architecture, but seem to be the produce of a few modern years. Perhaps, as an emblem of their present flourishing state, it may be the pride of the monks to keep all their buildings constantly renovated, and to conceal every feature of antiquity under thick coats of lime; or their total deficiency of taste may be the real reason.

Mr. Gilpin remarks, with his usual taste and judgment, that "in countries where popery prevails, the abbey is still intire and inhabited, and of course less adapted to landscape." *Northern Tour*, v. i. p. 13.

At seven we arrived at St. Pölten, to which place, in 1741, the French and Bavarian armies had advanced, thus threatening Maria Theresa in her own capital.

April 12. AUSTRIA.

	Posts.	English Miles.
Perschling -	1 -	—
Sigardskirchen -	1 -	—
Bürkersdorf -	1 -	—
Vienna - -	1 -	40.

To Sigardskirchen we crossed an open plain, which gave distant views of several of the mansion-houses of the gentry. Hi-

therto the country had wanted this embellishment, which in England contributes so much to the rich effect of many landscapes. Passing through a grove, a shepherd-boy was playing on a pipe of simple form, made of the bark of a birch-tree, and resembling a clarinet in size, but longer: it produced wild but sweet notes. He was a very characteristic addition to the picture. Further on is the village of Abstetten, then recently reduced to ashes by lightning; but all the roofs were repaired by the feudal lord, prince Lichtenstein, whose ancient and massive château overlooks the village and his wide domain. One good consequence of feudal tenure is, that the chief is bound to make all such repairs as individuals are not able to do. This calamity happened but five weeks before, and a complete restoration has taken place.

The environs of Vienna exhibit many of the improvements usual about a splendid metropolis; but there is an universal deficiency of shade; and the whole view is overpowered by a broad glare, from wide corn-fields and whitened houses, unrelieved by foliage of any kind. From this observation the imperial palace of Schönbrunn cannot be excepted. In our hasty survey of it, there appeared to be much grandeur and extent, and highly-ornamented gardens surrounding it. The suburbs of Vienna are detached from the city, which they exceed in every respect; and the intermediate space is covered with many noble houses, disposed in parades, and built of a bright freestone. Crossing the Boulevards we entered the city, and took possession of our apartments at an inn upon the largest scale.

Total of the journey from Ostend to Vienna.

Posts.	English Miles.	Furlongs.
89¼.	795,	- 4.

At Vienna from April 12 to the 20th, 1794.

This being the holy week, my attention was attracted to a procession of penitents round the area of the great church of St. Stephen. They were all men, habited in gowns of coarse brown canvas; with hoods and masks of the same, having only small holes cut for the eyes and mouth. Some bore heavy crosses of wood, while others inflicted on their own naked shoulders the severest flagellation. Those who were least zealous, walked bare-foot only. I considered these devotees as Franciscans of the stricter order; but was assured, that among them might be found many of the first rank in society, who sub-

mit to such a penance, as the only means of procuring absolution.

The cathedral of St. Stephen is a very magnificent edifice. It is one of the most superb specimens of the Gothic school of architecture on the continent, during the fourteenth century. The ground plan is very extensive, and has not been completed: for one of the great towers having been left unfinished, has been patched up, by the bad taste of a later age, with a heavy turret; the other is of a very singular form, and 465 feet in height. From the base to the point, it appears to be gradually spiral; and clustered with tiers of canopies, finials, and pedestals, to the very summit, in the greatest profusion. The base forms a grand portal. Nevertheless, the elevation has no effect of beauty; as the roofs are so disproportionably lofty, and rendered tawdry by being covered with coloured tiles, placed in capricious forms like a tesselated pavement. The attached chapels are numerous. On the side nearest the church, the tower is regular, with a division where the steeple rises; for the buttresses, being incorporated with the other building, produce an effect of infinite ornament, composed of small particles. The nave and choir share this extraordinary embellishment externally; but within are rendered dark and gloomy, by superfluity and by want of taste. Against the pillars of the nave are shrines of the most elaborate workmanship, with effigies as large as life; and they are most unsuitably crowded with altars of gilding and gaudy colours. The walls are literally lined with paintings; but I should not select more than two of them as meriting observation: these are the Crucifixion and the Sepulture of Christ. The whole interior but ill accords with the sobriety of the English eye, which is not easily reconciled to a total deficiency of simplicity and neatness. Selection of ornament has not, in any one instance of ecclesiastical architecture that I have seen in Germany, been thought worthy of the slightest attention: to accumulate, rather than to arrange, has been the object of those who have had the charge of structures dedicated to divine service.

Were it allowable to free this building of all its exuberances, and reduce it to the simplicity of a mere stone colour, St. Stephen's might vie with the superior English cathedrals; at least, it would become one of the most elegant examples of Gothic architecture on the continent.

I was present during the solemn mass on Easter Eve. The service of the "*Tenebræ*" was extremely pleasing, and the choir full and harmonious. In a gallery above the altar, inclosed with lattices, the empress attended. Cardinal Migazzi, who had just completed his eightieth year, officiated, dressed in his robes of

scarlet; a venerable old man, of a very dignified appearance. He was confessor to the late Empress Maria Theresa, whose bigotry influenced every action of her life; is supposed to have advised the ineffectual visit of Pius VI.; and was the strenuous opponent of the Emperor Joseph, in his resolution of suppressing the monasteries in Flanders. As the rival of Prince Kaunitz, his political history is well known. The cathedral of St. Stephen has been mentioned as the most perfect instance of German Gothic. Considered with that of Strasburg, the comparison between the towers is the more obvious; and it would be difficult to decide their claims. The Gothic style in France is specifically different, in as great a degree as that peculiar to England; St. Stephen's, therefore, cannot be more accurately compared with the cathedral of Rheims or of Rouen, than with those of York or of Lincoln.

The old city of Vienna is not equal in extent to most other European capitals. It is inclosed by ramparts; which are much elevated above the plain on which Vienna is situated, with a declivity only toward the Danube. The greater part of them is planted, and they may be walked round with ease in an hour. Some views of grandeur they certainly exhibit; but in general the city forms a mass of very lofty white buildings, relieved only by the cathedral. Looking towards the suburbs, however, there is a variety of superb objects. The city abounds in narrow streets, without a pavement for foot-passengers: hence walking is inconvenient and dangerous, for the equipages of persons of quality are purposely driven as close to the houses as possible, and the affrighted stranger is often forced to take refuge in the shops. This was formerly the case likewise at Paris. I remarked the cleanness of the streets; and saw several companies of convicts in chains, employed as scavengers. As the police at Vienna is not less impartial than active, I was assured that there were several persons of noble families under that condemnation, for different crimes, for a certain term of years.

In this city are two houses said to be the largest in Europe; the rent of one of which is 3000*l.* *per annum*, and the other is computed to contain six hundred inhabitants: but in fact they consist of many public staircases, are divided into irregular courts, and appear rather a cluster of houses than a single house.

The Imperial Palace is built on several acres of ground, without plan or regularity, having been executed at various times. Externally it has not the slightest pretension to architectural beauty; but, like our St. James's, the state apartments are well

adapted to the purposes of ceremony. Many of the others are indeed very capriciously contrived. A suite of low rooms is appropriated as the imperial museum, of which (at least, that existing in her time) Lady M. Wortley Montague does not speak with much respect. (Letter XIV.) But the latter emperors, possessing more leisure, and better inclination, for science, have encouraged learned men, whose researches have amply repaid their munificence.—The cabinets of mineralogy and shells were shown to us by the Abbé Stiltz, with great politeness and attention. Four spacious rooms are surrounded by cases: and the specimens are very favourably disposed by their being placed on brackets of white porcelain richly gilt, and thus perfectly seen. The most curious and rare fossils are said to be an opal of sixteen ounces, valued at 2000*l.*; an elastic stone, eighteen inches by fourteen, of the ore called "*aurum graphicum*," containing in a hundred thirty-six parts of pure gold; and a piece of crystal from Madagascar, a yard in length, and eighteen in circumference. Besides the first collection now existing of crystals, agates, ores, and gems, may be remarked an equal number of artificial curiosities: the chief of which are a bouquet of flowers composed of every kind of jewel, presented by Maria Theresa to Joseph II. on his marriage; and a slab of lapis, inlaid with a border composed of flowers and shells, in Florentine *scagliola* or mosaic, which rival colouring in correctness and brilliancy. Of these rarities very correct catalogues have been published.

Baron Van Swieten, the son of the celebrated physician and medical commentator, shewed us the Imperial Library. The style of the room is perhaps too ornamental and superb for its purpose. In the centre is a painted dome, supported by *scagliola* columns, with an ample area; and the whole effect is that of an Italian church. Bernard Fischers, the German Palladio, was the architect; whose skill is principally admirable in breaking the extreme length, by another colonnade in the middle of the room, which extends from the centre. In point of architectural merit, it may be ranked with the Radcliffe Library at Oxford; and even its faults are all of the same kind.

The collection of books is universal and sumptuous. Smaller rooms are appropriated to manuscripts, and the curiosities of literature. There is a manuscript Dioscorides, with coloured drawings of plans, written in the fifth century, and brought from Constantinople by the celebrated Busbequius, who was the ambassador of Charles V. to the Porte; and who sent likewise a Pliny's Natural History, and the itinerary of a Roman general,

of contemporary date. Of these he gives the following account:

"Sunt, credo, libri haud multo infra 240, quos Cæsariæ bibliothecæ destinavi. Sunt aliquot non contemmendi. Unum reliqui Constantinopoli decrepitæ vetustatis, totum descriptum literâ majusculâ, Dioscoridem cum depictis plantarum figuris; in quo sunt paucula, ni fallor, Cratevæ, et Libellus de Avibus. Ego emptum cupivissem, sed me deterruit pretium. Nam 100 ducatis indicabatur; summa Cæsaris, non mei, marsupii. Ego instare non desinam, donec Cæsarem impulero ut tam præclarum auctorem ex illâ servitute redimat. Est vetustatis injuriâ pessime habitus; ita intrinsecus a vermibus corrosus, ut in viâ repertum vix aliquis curet tollere." *Busbequius, Epistol. IV.* p. 391.

The origin and progress of the typographic art, in a complete series, occupy many shelves. Among others, I remarked a Psalter by Faust, the inventor of printing, upon vellum, scarcely to be distinguished from manuscript; all Caxton's works; a French translation of Boccace; and the romance of Lancelot du Lac, in three volumes folio, with exquisitely beautiful illuminations. Many folio missals are worthy notice upon this latter account. This series of the specimens of printing is continued from the invention of the art to the close of the sixteenth century. A collection of engraved portraits of eminent persons, in many volumes, readily caught my eye; thirteen of the subjects are English. I had not an opportunity of examining their pretensions, in point of comparison, with those of Sir W. Musgrave and the Marquis of Bute.

The coins and medals, which are rare and excellent, I did not see. The facility of admission to this library, and its superior accommodations, must render Vienna an eligible residence for men of literary pursuits; as it is open to all, without introduction or fee. This most liberal plan is likewise adopted at Rome and Paris; and is well worthy of imitation in the great libraries in England, the difficulty of access to which has deprived them of much of their utility.

Having heard so many anecdotes of Prince Kaunitz, who had now been Imperial minister of state for forty years, I availed myself of an opportunity of seeing him in his riding-school, taking his daily exercise. Although nearly fourscore years old, he sat his horse perpendicularly, and as if he could not stoop. I never saw a countenance or figure marked by so much pride: Wolsey himself could not have had more. Kaunitz is certainly superior to that minister in talents and in power. Wolsey retained an influence over a prince, at that time, indolent and luxurious;

but this statesman has absolutely governed three sovereigns, very opposite in character, but all active, and retains the helm even under a fourth. Scarcely a traveller has visited Vienna without some anecdote of Prince Kaunitz, confirming the unbounded superciliousness which he displays in the common occurrences of life.

When the Empress Maria Theresa gave him an audience in a room with the windows closed, he never failed to open them before he entered on business. He received the queen of Naples in bed, and told her that she staid too long. When the princes of the Empire dined with him, he pretended that he did not remember their titles, and purposely miscalled them. When the dessert came on the table, the apparatus for cleaning his teeth appeared likewise; and he performed the offices of the toilet without noticing his guests, even if they were of the highest rank.

I too must tell a story of him, which has not yet been in print:—As he had opposed to the utmost the pontifical visit of Pius VI. to the Emperor Joseph II., he determieed that the court of Vienna should not receive the former as pope, and that in conversation he should only be styled, like any other clergyman, *signor Abbate*. Pius (then not humbled by misfortune) was infinitely mortified, and resolved on some retaliation. Having been informed that Kaunitz never advanced further than the first step of his great stair-case when a visitor of rank took leave, that he had a collection of bad paintings which he valued highly, and that he could not hear of death with composure, he availed himself of all these circumstances at once. On the morning fixed for his departure towards Rome, he sent to Prince Kaunitz, requesting leave to see his collection, which was most readily granted. After the most fulsome compliments on his taste in *vertù*, the pope artfully protracted the conversation, till the haughty prince found himself encircled by courtiers at the bottom of the stairs; when the pope turned short, and said, in a loud and sarcastic tone, "But your highness should recollect, that these fine things are of little consequence to us old men, who have each of us a foot in the grave." No embarrassment could exceed that of Kaunitz on this occasion; which was not a little increased by the certainty of this affair being spread through every society in Vienna.

Prince Kaunitz died towards the end of 1794; and it is believed that his death was hastened by regret at his son's being found connected with others of the nobility who were impeached on account of their Jacobin principles, and as favourers of the French cause.

The armoury was pointed out to us as worth seeing. It con-

tains many thousand stand of arms, but is much inferior to that in the Tower of London. I could not contemplate these instruments of destruction with the least pleasure: but my attention was engrossed by a figure bearing the complete armour of Charles V., and that worn at a tournament; and this exercise was represented by many others of the combatants' horses and attendants, which, for the time, filled my mind with Romantic imagery, and gave reality to the pages of chivalry and romance.

The Turks were the natural enemies of Vienna. It was besieged by Solyman I. in 1529, and by Mohammed IV. in 1683; but as they are no longer formidable, it has been in contemplation to dismantle the fortifications. The suburbs are much more extensive than the city: particularly the New Town (called, in honour of the late Emperor, Leopoldstadt); in which the parades and squares, being built of bright freestone, and with great uniformity, very nearly resemble those of Bath. The grand promenade called the Prater, is on a similar plan to St. James's Park, and the gardens of the Thuilleries. It was given to the public by Joseph II.; and is a delightful appendage to a large city, the total population of which is estimated at 250,000.

We had no opportunity of seeing Prince Lichtenstein's pictures, which form one of the most famous private collections in Germany.

Of the public architecture of Vienna, almost every specimen is due to John Bernard Fischers; who died in 1724, and had enjoyed the imperial patronage with uninterrupted success. Besides the library above-mentioned, I visited the following of his most celebrated works, upon each of which I shall give the observations which occurred on the spot.

I first went to the palace of Schönbrunn, about three miles from Vienna, which he designed as a hunting-seat for the imperial court in 1696. There are three stories, with thirty-five windows in each, in the centre of extensive wings; and a portico of the Ionic order, before which are placed two grand water-jets, fifty-four feet in diameter. The invention of the whole wants simplicity: the external decorations being void of taste; and the distribution within ill applied, and not containing rooms equal either in point of commodiousness or number to what the outside promises. In 1699, on the nuptials of the Emperor Joseph I., the foreign merchants resident in Vienna made a triumphal arch, which is a master-piece of extravagance. Without detail, it may be said to be a more capricious and unscientific performance than any scholar of Barromni would have owned.

Having been introduced by our fellow-traveller, Dr. J. Sibthorp, to the Jacquins (father and son), so justly celebrated over Europe for their botanical science, we had an opportunity of accurately investigating the Imperial collection of rural plants and exotics, and were favoured with much of their very interesting and instructive conversation; from which I recollect the following particulars:

The botanical garden at Schönbrunn owes its institution to the emperor Francis I.; and was first made in 1753, under the direction of the famous Van Swieten. That sovereign sent the elder Jacquin to America in 1754, on a botanical expedition, which he did not complete till 1759; during which period he sent home no less than seven large collections of the most rare plants; the greater part of which fortunately arrived at Vienna. When Francis died, in 1765, the empress Maria Theresa ordered that the garden should be continued with equal care and expence. Her son, Joseph II., authorised Jacquin and Von Born, to propose literary men well qualified for a voyage to extend the classes; and this little society left Vienna before the end of 1785. The exotics were occasionally increased during this reign; but by no botanist more than by the younger Jacquin; who has travelled, in pursuit of the science he so successfully professes, over the greater part of Europe. The hot-houses were enlarged by Joseph II. The emperor Leopold, who is justly praised for his love and patronage of the arts, dispatched another mission of botanic research, the purpose of which was frustrated by various unforeseen events. After his death, the present monarch erected a new hot-house, destined to receive plants from the Cape of Good Hope only, which is 235 feet in length; and a distinct garden has been laid out, in which all plants which are natives of the Austrian dominions are cultivated with skill and care. Under such powerful and continued patronage, the gardens of Schönbrunn have acquired the fame which they are allowed to possess, of being the first in Europe.

In the suburb of Leopoldstadt I pursued my examination of the works of Fischer. There is a column upon the idea, rather than in imitation, of those of Trajan and Antoine at Rome, which was one of his later works. The elevation is bold; but the sculptures, which are meant to immortalize Charles VI., are below criticism in point of execution. The church of St. Charles Borromeo was built in 1706 by that emperor, in consequence of a vow; a kind of motive to which ecclesiastical architecture is very much indebted. Fischer gave the design. The ground plan is a Greek cross of equal length, with a central cupola; and the portico is a Corinthian exastyle, with a very weighty architrave. Pil-

lars, pilastres, and statues, are superabundant; and destroy all magnificence; which is never to be produced independant of simplicity. The cupola, with its accompaniments, is a complication of false concord in architecture.

But the Royal Mews, which he completed, have simplicity, variety, and magnificence. They contain a stable for six hundred horses, with an amphitheatre and riding-school.

He constructed likewise a palace called Belvidere, for prince Eugene. Its style has little beauty; and the general effect is spoiled by the ill appearance of the windows. The suite of apartments now contain the grand imperial collection of pictures, which is magnificent rather than select. The collection made at Vienna by Charles IV.; that of Prague, taken there in 1657; that of Stahlbourg, in 1728; and all these, joined with Prince Eugene's, comprise nearly thirteen hundred pictures. Passing over many of mediocrity, I counted no less than five by M. Agnolo; forty-nine by Titian; forty-five by Rubens; twenty-six by Vandyck; and nineteen by Teniers; which are unrivalled, and certainly the finest in the world. As this sumptuous exhibition is daily open to the public at stated hours, I visited the Belvidere as often as I had an opportunity, and as often returned delighted with the facility with which such a gratification could be procured.

All the buildings I have mentioned were not finished by B. Fischers, but also his son Emanuel Fischers according to his plans. The latter indeed was more eminently serviceable to society than his father, by his hydraulic inventions for the mines of Kremnitz, andSchemnitz, in Hungary.

The national architecture of Germany undoubtedly owes much to Fischers; before whose day the attempts at classical building were rude in the extreme. It was as little known in Germany, as in England before Inigo Jones: yet, in comparing these artists, we must remember that Jones introduced and left us models, which were drawn from the purest Italian sources, and continue inimitable by his successors; while Fischers copied from Borrimini; and it will be well for the modern architects of Austria, if they avoid his faults, and study only his excellences.

During our short stay at Vienna, I was more engaged by things than men. The society here is said to be particularly good; the claims and degrees of nobility are most ceremoniously observed, and we were assured that Vienna was become what Paris was before the revolution.

Most of the houses which I saw, consist (for one family) of the first floor, with rooms opening to each other, and both lofty and spacious. In general, the furniture was gaudy, with much gilding

and silk hangings. The Austrians are very partial to whole-length portraits of their emperors, which I observed frequently. Every room is furnished, in one corner of it, with a *stove* reaching to the ceiling, and ornamented with porcelain tiles: an Englishman, however, naturally looks for a *fire-place*, and is apt to consider a room comfortless without it. This custom of stoves originates in economy, from the scarcity of fuel; and I had to contend with Mr. Jacquin, who had been in England, and who argued for its superior neatness, and more agreeable heat, though from an invisible fire.

Throughout Germany, the women of better fashion seemed to imitate the French or English, both in dress and in the mode of wearing the hair; except that they appeared in the streets without hats.

On the 20th of April, we bade adieu to Vienna at day-break. We had now to encounter a journey, the delays, the fatigue, and the danger of which, we did not anticipate.

From Vienna to Constantinople.

The route generally taken is that from Vienna to Belgrade, and thence to Constantinople; as being at least two hundred miles nearer than that which the state of the Turkish provinces and other circumstances obliged us to prefer. I have seen a statement of the route taken by the French ambassador in 1720, and subjoin it as an elucidation.

	Leagues.
Fischament - -	4
Teutsch Altenburg	3
Joerhendorf - -	3
Wiselburg - -	3
Hogsträs - -	3
Raab - -	2
Gonyo - -	2
Comom - -	4
Nesmühl - -	2
Neudorf - -	2
Dorock - - -	2
Vareswar - -	3
Buda, Offen - -	3
Hensbeck - -	3
Ertchin - - -	2
Adòn - - -	2
Pantely - - -	2
Födwar - - -	3
Pax - - -	4
	52

Brought over	52	
Tolna	4	
Sexard	2	
Patasac	3	
Sotscho	2	
Mohäos	2	
Baranyvàr	4	
Estièck	4	on the river Drave.
Vuckovàr	4	
Novasella	2	
Patsch	2	
Karagatsch	3	
Gloschan	3	
Peterwaradein	4	
Petsch	4	
Pancsora	4	
Belgrade	4	
	103	

From Belgrade to Constantinople.

	Leagues.	
Zweybruggen	2	
Krozka	2	
Golàr	3	
Hassan Pasha Balàtsha	4	
Patazina	4	
Jagodna	3	
Razena	3	
Alexinza	3	
Nissa	3	
Mustafa Pasha Balàtsha	4	
Scharkei	3	
Pastbrod	4	
Chalkali	4	
Sophia	3	
El-ecclisa	4	
Kapi-dervend	5	Cross mount Hæmus.
Tartarwarsig	4	
Philippopoli	6	
Gergali	4	
Mustafa Pasha Kupri	4	
Hadrianople	3	
	75	

Brought over - -	75
Hafpza - - -	3
Eskibaba - - -	4
Burgàz - - -	3
Tchiorlu - - -	3
Bardos - - -	4
Lelivrèa - - -	3
Buyuck Checkmedjeh	3
Kuchuck Checkmedjeh	3
Constantinople - -	2
	103

103
103

206

If this calculation be made in *French leagues* it is not equal to two-thirds of the real distance: if in *German,* it will be as much more. This route cannot be accurately reckoned at less than 850 English miles.

AUSTRIA.

	Posts.	English Miles.
2 Teutsch Altenburg -	2	- —
Nainburg Fischament -	2	- —
Kitsee,—opposite Presburg	1	- —

HUNGARY.

Raggendorff (Jochrendorff)	1	- —
Wiselburg - - -	1	- —
Hogstras - - -	1½	- —
Raab - - - -	1	- 65

From the ramparts of Vienna, to Teutsch in Altenburg, the road is broad and level. In passing a Turkish intrenchment thrown up during the siege of Vienna, we observed the church, in which the styles of very distant eras are to be discerned;—the earliest imitation of the Roman, and the neat Gothic of the fifteenth century, with buttresses ornamented by canopies and fenials. This circumstance encouraged a conjecture that it had been once a Roman temple, the ruins of which had been converted into a church. The prospect from this elevated spot, in the distance toward

Vienna, is such as Loraine and Poussin frequently painted; the great features of it form a side-screen of wooded mountains, stretching to a sharp promontory, which is crested by a castle of Nainburg, now a ruin of great dignity and extent.

It is connected with the town by the wall that encircles it, and completes the fortification. The more favourable points of view are,—the very distant one; and that just beyond the town, where the central tower rises pyramidally, and the great length of wall is foreshortened. At the base is a handsome modern house; and the mount, which is finely invested with wood, has been laid out in walks, and ornamented with several small buildings in a good taste. Passing on, we came to a castellated house belonging to prince Esterhazy, who had lately lent it to count Polignac and a party of French emigrant nobility. To our right extended for a small space some pretty woodlands, with a wavy surface of foliage of a picturesque effect.

We entered Hungary at Kitsee, which besides merited our attention as being a village entirely inhabited by Jews. It is much to the credit of prince Esterhazy that he has entrusted them with the agriculture of his vast estates in this district. As it was the feast of the Passover, we saw many of their women very finely dressed, with a profusion of gold-lace. Whether it be from the natural indolence or inability of the Hungarians, or that the country is depopulated for the supply of the army, the Jews, in fact, are the only farmers. Between Ruggendorff and Wiselburg, upon the left, is a bold ridge of mountains; with a large town at the extremity, and a considerable castle in ruins, covering a broad point of rock, and engrafted in it. The face of the country now spreads into plains, covered with herds of cattle, and rarely a few cottages together. These last consist of one story, and are very long; they are built of mud-walls and thatch, but are neatly whitened, and have one end always towards the road.—There is a patriarchal simplicity in the dress and appearance of the people. The countrymen are universally clad in a surtout of untanned sheep-skin, with the wool on the outside; a goat-skin hanging behind, like a hood, from the shoulders; linen trowsers, large boots, and a broad round hat. The women and girls have, in general, coarse dark features; they wear a tight cloth jacket, a very short petticoat, and disdain the use of shoes and stockings. Few of them, however poor, are seen without a small cross of gold, or a piece of coin, suspended in their bosoms, which they consider as sacred and unalienable.

At 8 p.m. we arrived at Raab; a town standing on a considerable space of ground, as the streets are wide, and the houses detached. The churches are neat; and of modern architecture, having been erected during the reign of Maria Theresa. They rise with more

than ordinary elevation above the low roofs; and, from the flatness around, are visible at a great distance.

April 21st, left Raab at 6 a. m.

HUNGARY.

	Posts.		Eng. Miles,
Gonyo - - -	1	-	—
Acs - - -	1	-	—
Comorne (Komora) -	1	-	—
Nezzmelij - -	1	-	—
Neudorf - - -	1	-	—
Dorogh - - -	1	-	—
Varsovar - - -	1	-	—
Buda, or Offen and Pesth	1½	-	80.

We proceeded on the banks of the Danube: which river, dividing its waters, forms many islands covered with willows; some of the more spacious of which are inhabited and contain many acres: yet the arms are each like a considerable river; and, when collected at Comorne, spread into one wide reach, or broad sheet of lake. The Danube, indeed, is not only beautiful, but there is no river in Europe which affords more advantages to the countries through which it takes its course. In the middle of the streams are placed many corn-mills of a curious construction, differing in some measure from those I saw on it near Ratisbon; which latter are built upon the boats (with a very large wheel between them) anchored, but floating upon any sudden swell of the river.—At Comorne there is a confluence of the rivers Waag and Danube. In 1783, this town was nearly destroyed by an earthquake, and it is not yet restored from that dreadful calamity.

Leaving the banks of the Danube much to the left, we found ourselves on the wide plains of Hungary, which though celebrated for fertility in other seasons, now only presented thin herbage,—or undulated sand, spreading, like the ocean, without boundary, or objects for the eye to repose on.

At Nezzmelij we were gratified by a favourable specimen of an Hungarian cottage. We held a short conversation with the post-master, in Latin; who proved more satisfactorily than we had surmised, his acquaintance with that language. Speaking of his wine, which was indeed very strong, he observed, "Melius est cum aquâ; quia purum ascendit sursum, et deturbat."

Some miles farther, at Varsovar, we overtook a procession, composed of the inhabitants of the village, of both sexes and all ages, in number about two hundred. Three boys bearing a crucifix and the banner with the portrait of the patron saint, led the procession; which was divided into ranks, the children walking

first, and then the men and women on each side. They all joined in a hymn or service, which the parish-clerk walked in the centre to regulate. The priest met them at the church; where the whole intention was to pray for rain after a drought of six weeks. There was something very solemn and pleasing in this ceremony; and the extreme simplicity of manners apparent in these villagerss, almost reconciled us to the fantastic execution of their design. All universal neatness was observable in their dress. The men wore jackets of brown cloth, full-trimmed with blue silk tassels; long breeches or pantaloons; and very broad shallow hats, such as are seen in the pictures of Vandyck or Palamedes. The Women had short petticoats; half-boots of red leather; and their hair, unusually plaited, hanging down the back, and tied with a bunch of ribbands at the end. The scene was characteristic of the people, who evinced an unaffected deportment rarely seen in countries where refinement of manners has made a more decided progress.—As we drew nearer to Buda, images of pastoral life with appropriate scenery recurred with pleasing effect. Among the herds of oxen, goats, and sheep, we observed the buffalo, for the first time. This animal which we found as we advanced on our journey, much more in use than any other, for agricultural purposes as well as for draught, has a very ferocious aspect, and an equally uncouth form. Its eyes glare; and sharp angular parts, which are so ugly in the cow, are more conspicuous in the buffalo. Yet it is a patient and tractable creature, with all its terrific appearance. The frequent groupes of cattle lowing and lingering in their way to the village-fields, with the grotesque-looking peasants driving them; the glow of the evening sky; and the still and mild air; were objects which disposed the mind to serenity not often felt;—a serenity which poets fancy, and philosophers aspire to without success.

We were soon afterward in sight of Buda; covering very widely the bases of surrounding hills half-way to their summits, and distinguished by many large buildings, and the delapidated towers of its ancient walls.

Before the evening closed, we crossed the Danube upon the platform of planks laid on boats; which extend more than three hundred yards, about the length of Westminster-bridge. We took up our residence at a large inn at Pesth; a city of nearly equal size with the former, on the opposite bank of the river. These cities were denominated by the Romans Acinium and Contra-Acinium. Buda was anciently the residence of the Hungarian kings, and their metropolis; till Sigismund became emperor of Germany, in 1410. When the Turks were firmly established at Constantinople, they became more ambitious of extending their dominion in Europe. Their tumultuous armies soon forced the frontiers of

Hungary, and laid siege to the capital itself; which was first taken in 1525, by Solyman I.; when the king (Lewis II.) was drowned fighting valiantly for his country. But the power of the Ottoman sovereigns was not fully established before 1541; when they constituted a pashalik or province consisting of all Upper Hungary, the country between the Theisse and Danube, Lower Hungary, from Strigone to Klisskaniza, the eastern part of Sclavonia, and the greater part of Servia. This ill-fated city was the scene of contention between the Imperialists and Turks for many successive years. The military annals of no country can furnish a more memorable siege than that in 1684, when Buda was taken by assault from the usurpers. This siege lasted from the 14th of July to the 1st of November in that year; when the Imperialists raised the siege, after having lost twenty thousand men: but, by incredible efforts of valour, the Turks regained their garrison at Pesth, on the opposite side of the river.

The second siege, of equal celebrity, was under prince Eugene: and continued from July 3, to September 2, 1686; when Buda was finally taken, and was confirmed to the emperor Leopold I. by the treaty of Carlowitz, in 1699. Of thirteen thousand Turks, two thousand only remained to be taken prisoners; and Haly Pasha, the governor, and several of their chiefs, died desperately in the breach, having refused quarter from the Germans.

The places conquered or colonized by the Turks, universally bore the marks of their peculiar customs, particularly of their architecture. The cupolas of their mosques, with slender perforated columns called minarets, soon distinguished the outlines of the view, in the distant prospects. Many of these were doubtless destroyed at the last siege, by the German artillery: others, which still remain, have been appropriated to Christian worship; and were given to the Greek merchants, who have a large settlement at Pesth, where they conduct the Levant trade to Germany and the Northern nations.

The warm-baths at Buda have been long famous. They are strongly impregnated with sulphur and mineral, and esteemed specific in many cases; but I could not learn their exact analysis. By the Turks they were considered as the most valuable luxuries which they found there, and several remains of baths built in their manner are still to be traced. They were usually large circular rooms; with cupolas very thickly perforated, and studded over with small hemispherical glasses: and of such dimensions as to admit a crowd of bathers at the same time; particularly of women, who never frequented them singly.

Since the perfect re-establishment of the Austrian government Buda has acquired much of the appearance of the old part of

Vienna, notwithstanding many features of Turkish architecture. At Pesth, which is principally occupied by merchants of several nations, there is more of the modern style, and of resemblance to other great towns. Our stay was extremely contracted; as we resumed our journey the next morning, leaving the course of the Danube on our night hand.

We found, however, time to taste imperial Tokay, for which Buda is famous:—but it was at a tavern; and the best, like Hock in Germany, is found only in the cellars of the nobles and priests.

April 22. HUNGARY.

	Posts.	Eng. Miles.
Soroksar - -	1 -	—
Ocsa - - -	1 -	—
Inacks - - -	1 -	—
Oërkeny - -	1 -	—
Foldeac - -	1 -	—
Ketskemeth - -	1 -	60.

Soon after our departure from Buda, the same level ground continued, with few objects to beguile our way. Some spots of corn, indeed: but no other vegetation; no trees but in the extreme distance, bounding the horizon like land seen at sea.

> Triste solum; sterilis, sine fruge, sine arbore, tellus.
> OVID. MET. viii. 790.

We seemed, as we advanced, to be always in the centre of a circle, of which we were unable to conjecture the diameter. From such vacant and tiresome views, we hoped, in vain, that many posts would relieve us; but the roads were uninterrupted, and excellent. We were now in the heart of Hungary; between the Danube and the Theisse, the Pannonia of the Romans.

A single natural curiosity afforded some amusement. It was the jumping mouse (called by Linnæus and Hasselquist *mus aculusj*), which is seen in great numbers in these deserts. This animal does not exceed the size of a large common mouse: it supports itself only on its hind legs, which are much longer than the others; and is therefore forced to hop or jump in its progressive motion. When it rests, it closes its fore-feet to its belly, and sits upon its knees. Though not much alarmed by our approach, yet, from the fleetness of their motion, they would be very difficult to take alive. In most respects they are the miniature of the kangaroo, an animal but lately brought into Europe.—Our ingenious fellow traveller Dr. S. was much occupied in catching a great variety of insects peculiar to this country, and fastening them with pins to his hat;

which, at the end of our day's journey, was thus decorated with the most brilliant colours.

We arrived at Ketskemeth early in the evening, and were accommodated in a spacious inn. This large village consists of whitened houses with roofs of reeds. In our principal room, the younger inhabitants were celebrating their Easter; and dancing to wild music; but the most lively and best adapted I ever heard. A dulcimer played by a lad of fifteen years, two guitars, and a violoncello, made up the concert: the strain of which was extremely simple; and little varied except in measure as the figure of the dance required. Three couple only danced at once. The men wore jackets full trimmed with guimp and lamb's wool, and a profusion of small brass buttons; with long breeches, boots, and spurs, which they clinked in time to the dance. The girls wore stockings embroidered with worsted of different colours, and had their long hair braided with ribbands. They commenced very slowly: but as the music changed, they grew more animated; and the dance concluded by each man's placing his hands on the waist of his partner, who likewise held him by his shoulders, and in this position they reeled with such velocity that they fell giddy to the ground. This dance, peculiar to the Hungarians, is called "the wolsch;" and within these few last years has been much in fashion in Germany as well as in England, where it is called the waltz. These rustics were under very little restraint in their enjoyment; and as more might be collected respecting the manners of the people from this scene, than from any that had hitherto occurred, I was glad to have been present at a village festival in Hungary.

April 23. HUNGARY.

	Posts.	Eng. Miles.
Paka - - -	1	—
Felegy-haza - -	1	—
Petery - - -	1	—
Kistelek - - -	1	—
Szat-macz - -	1	—
Szegedin -	1	60

The hilarity of these merry villagers, who were drinking the strong wine of the country all night, made us the more willingly pursue our route even before sun-rise. As we quitted Ketskemeth, and the few corn-fields and pastures contiguous to it, we found ourselves on the wide sandy plain.—The post-house at Petery exhibited a true picture of the extreme penury of the Hungarian peasant. It is a subterranean cottage, or rather hovel. The keeper of the post had no shirt, but an untanned surtout of sheep-skin: his countenance was thick-covered with dirt; and his

hair was profusely anointed with hog's-lard, which unsightly custom is as general as it is offensive. But this unfortunate people are liable to one of the most dreadful diseases with which the human race can possibly be afflicted: and the ointment is used either as a preventative or remedy for the *plica polonica*. In that complaint every single hair is swelled to the size of a quill; and the pain, inflammation, and fœtid odour, are equally excessive. The poor man's wife had a kirtle and shift only, without shoes or stockings; and his children were bare of clothing. The natives of Hudson's Bay can scarcely be more squalid and savage in their appearance; but there was no harshness or brutality in the manners of these peasants. As our equipage required many horses, we were detained at this miserable hut while several men were driving all that were grazing on the plain into a pen, that we might take our choice of them. These animals were as lean and lazy as the inhabitants. They were tied together three and four abreast to the carriages, with rope harness which we had provided at Buda.

After a slow progress we reached Szegedin (Singidava Daciæ); once a city of antiquity, and inhabited by Roman colonists. A principal event of its modern history is, that it was taken by the Imperialists from the Turks in 1686, and completed their possession of Hungary.—At Szegedin, is the junction of the Theisse and the Marocz.

April 24. HUNGARY.

	Posts.	Eng. Miles.
Horgaz - - -	1	- —
Kleinkaniza - -	1	- —
Mockrin - - -	1	- —
Komlos - - -	1	- —
Ozadat - -	1	- —
Kleinbesker th. - -	2	- 65

At Kleinkaniza we found an end to this immense plain, the full length of which, in a right line, without interruption, exceeds a hundred and eighty miles. We now crossed the river Theisse or Tibiscus, which, rising in the Carpathian mountains, becomes here both wide and rapid. We were ferried over on a float; a mode of navigation always attended with considerable danger.

Our road to Kleinsbeskereth, where we rested, led through morasses covered with tall reeds, or plains as barren as before. Villages, or rather collections of huts, were more frequent; but all around them was naked and bare. In several of them we remarked the acacia, which is merely a shrub in England, here a large unbrageous tree; and the chimnies of the low cottages usually bore the nests of storks, which are undisturbed and revered as objects almost of religious regard.

April 25. *Banât of Temeswar.*

	Posts.	Eng. Miles.
Temeswar - -	1	—
Rekas - - -	1	—
Kesseto - -	1	—
Lugos - - -	1	50

During a progress of two hundred miles, we observed no castle or baronial seat; in fact, no residence superior to that of the farmer or peasant is to be seen. This is certainly the most uncultivated tract in Hungary; and as the great possessors of lands give no encouragement to agriculture by their influence or example, neither the people nor the country have much chance of bettering their present condition. We entered the province called the banât of Temeswar; which was a Turkish pashalik; and was retained by that people for three years after they had been driven out of Hungary. This district, which had been laid waste by all the horrors of war, having been colonised by the Austrians in 1739, it was their policy to encourage the emigration of their German subjects by large grants of land; so that no vestiges of Turkish population remain, and the present owners retain the customs and language of their immediate ancestors, little mixed with the Hungarians.—There is also a greater appearance of civilization and agriculture; and from many circumstances we could imagine ourselves into some of the German provinces, beyond the desolated region we had passed with so little worthy of attention or interest.

We halted for a few hours at Temeswar, the capital of the banât: originally, when in possession of the Turks, so strong a town as to resist the attacks of the Imperialists, who invested it for three years in succession without effect; but it was at length taken in 1696 by the elector of Saxony.

It was then miserably built on the Turkish plan; with covered markets, under long cloisters, called bazarre. When ceded to the Germans, it was totally new modelled; and fortified to a great extent, upon modern principles, with double bastions and ditches. Except a convent and a church, the whole town is a fortress, and the streets little more than a range of low barracks. It is hardly possible to describe the shape of the steeple, like most of these erected by the Germans in Hungary: it has a globe covered with lead, bulging out in the middle of a tall spire. And the artificially stagnated waters have added so much to the unwholsomeness of the country, that Temeswar is now become proverbial for an endemial malady.

As we proceeded, the face of the country is more pleasing (by comparison only); with small tufts of trees, and more uneven ground.

We slept at Lugos, a very large village, after having enjoyed the best supper the place afforded. The common diet of the country is black bread, very moist and sour, with which the post-horses are likewise fed. We were favoured with white manchets, which would have been very good but for the sand which is mixed with the flour in grinding the wheat. No less than eight chickens not a month old, were brought in one dish. The wine was dry and strong, and of the flavour which distinguishes that made on the banks of the Rhine.—At Temeswar we were met by a courier, who informed us, that the usual routes by Semlin or Belgrade were rendered extremely dangerous, on account of the plague then raging; and the armed banditti then in a state of rebellion against the Porte, ravaging the country, and plundering all travellers who fell in their way. From these considerations, the ambassador resolved on a more extended course, throuh Transylvania and Wallachia. We were however, amply recompensed for this long deviation, by seeing some very romantic and interesting countries, and of superior beauty to the Turkish provinces of Servia and Bulgaria.

April 26. TRANSYLVANIA.

	Posts.	English Miles.
Boxsàr	1½	—
Faesett	1	—
Kowsoon	1	—
Cròzed	1	—
Dobràh	1	50.

After quitting this rude collection of Huts, we began to ascend the mountainous tract of Transylvania, beautifully wooded, and cultivated in small patches with maize or Turkish corn. The same objects were continued with no observable variety, to Dobràh, another village, where we rested for the night. The roads were particularly rough on the frequent hills, where they were deeply worn by torrents of rain.—We were detained at the post-house at Kowsoon, and were greatly amused by a dance of Transylvanian villagers. The girls paid their compliments to us by kissing our hands, and then applying them to their foreheads with great respect. We distributed some small silver coin among them; which they received with raptures, thanking us aloud in the Illyric language.

April 27. TRANSYLVANIA.

	Posts.	English Miles.
Leshèk	1	—
Devàh	1	—
Szazvàros	1½	—
Sibott	1	—
Müllenback	1	50

The sun seldom surprised us in our beds;—we were, in general, sufficiently induced to quit the accommodations of the night, and to enjoy the fresh air, as the heat of mid-day was oppressive. A few miles brought us to the shores of the Marocz; which then flowed in a considerable stream through wide sand-banks, which it occupies when the rain descends from the mountains. A grand screen of acclivities, shrouded with dwarf wood stretched to our left. It is divided into numberless points, shelving to their bases with singular regularity; and producing pyramids of almost conical exactness, which rise behind each other in the thickest of the groupes.

These mountains, which are of stupendous height, are completely covered with wood; a peculiarity not only pleasing from its novelty, but giving them an inconceivable richness even in the most distant view. On the summit of one of these we observed the castle of Devàh; of a greater elevation than any I ever saw in any country, and rifted in a promontory of a peninsular shape connected with higher summits, which, being thrown back, in this point of view, detract nothing from its sublimity. The castle, from its magnitude and rude construction, appears to be of an antiquity even prior to the establishment of the Roman colony by the emperor Trajan. What now remains of it is a vast oblong tower, which was the citadel, flanked by an embattled wall, which is doubled on the side undefended by an abrupt cliff. The town of Devàh, which was anciently commanded by it, extends at its feet. From the inn, where we halted to breakfast, the rock rises several hundred yards; and the sudden elevation of this fortress excites the greatest surprise. I consider it as a more striking object even than the castle of Ehrenbreitstein as seen from the bridge of Coblentz.

Before we reached Szaz-varoz, where is a fallen castle encompassing a church, the grand amphiteatre of Transylvanian heights was expanded on every side, with groupes of cattle enlivening the meadows on the banks of the Marocz. When we had crossed that river, the scene became yet richer, by the endless intersection of the skirting line of mountains. Some of them were marked with volumes of smoke from the smelting-works at Kremnitz and Schemnitz, established by the Austrian government for the mines, which produce silver in large quantities and some gold. Almost all travellers through this district have noticed these celebrated mines; which exceed any in Europe, both in depth and in valuable produce. The number of their subterranean inhabitants is very great; many of whom, in families, pass whole years without beholding the light of the sun. Some of these are condemned for crimes; but the greater part voluntarily submit to such a privation of all human comforts.

We traversed this open plain till night; when we arrived at Müllenbach; a fortified town, with gates, and a very ancient church built with great strength, and with no marks of what in other countries is styled ecclesiatical architecture.

April 28. TRANSYLVANIA.

	Posts.	Eng. Miles.
Reismark - -	1 -	—
Mäg - -	1 -	—
Hermannstadt -	1 -	35.

At the village of Sibot we remarked the old church inclosed within an embattled wall, flanked with several towers; and, upon nearer inspection, found a number of small cells or rooms of equal dimensions ranged around. If this has not been a monastery, it has afforded sanctuary against the incursions of the Turks, and served as the last retreat of the wretched inhabitants from plunder and carnage. When the Turks were completely masters of the country, it were reduced to the ruins which we saw.—A very agreeable incident, such as we had before observed, now occurred. A few miles farther on our road there was a rustic dance, with a large assemblage of young persons of both sexes. It being Sunday, they were dressed with all the neatness and ornament they could command; and exhibited an interesting picture of provincial habiliment and manners. The girls were lightly clothed: their hair, in a long braid, was tied with ribbons at the end, or coiled round the head several times. They wore a shift of coarse linen, from the neck to the ancles; with full sleeves, tied above the elbow, and worked with many kinds of worsted. Two aprons of the same materials, woven with a thick and deep fringe, were tied round the waist, and open on each side, not reaching so low as the shift. Many had their feet bare, while others wore clumsy buskins of red leather. Several were pointed out to us as mothers, who had not exceeded their fourteenth year. The music consisted of a guitar with a long finger-board; and a kind of hautboy made of the bark of a tree, which produced much softer tones than could have been expected from its rude shape.

At Mäg, the mistress of the post addressed us in fluent Latin; and bade us adieu with the old Roman salutation at the commencement of a new year, "Multos et felices, domini!" She was an officer's widow.—The late emperor Joseph generally appointed persons connected with the army to direct the post, as a provision for them, with a trifling pension. It is asserted that the Latin language is vernacular at this time in no part of Europe except in what was once the Colonia Trajana, in which Transylvania is included. People of the lowest degree of education are able

to read it, and probably to speak it, with a certain purity; but the peasants mix it with Illyrie. It would be more accurate to say, that, instead of their talking Latin, there were more individuals aequainted with that language than in any other country now existing.

At Reismark, previously to our aseending a mountain some miles across, six oxen were put to each earriage, which were encouraged by the ineessant voeiferations of their drivers. Having by this tedious mareh at length gained the summit, nothing could be seen beyond the points of surrounding hills on every side of inferior height. At four o'eloek, p. m. we found ourselves at the gates of Hermannstadt.

April 29 and 30. TRANSYLVANIA.

	Hours.	Eng. Miles.
Talmaeh (Kalmeseh)	4	—
Kinanij - -	6	40.

WALACHIA.

The walls of Hermannstadt are not of high antiquity, without battlements, but flanked by frequent towers, all of which have high tiled roofs and scolloped brackets. The walk round the ramparts does not command any advantageous view of them. The town has been re-built since the Austrian possession, and is now occupied by a large garrison. It has one large church, built by Maria Theresa, with a globe and steeple not easily deseribed. In the great square is the house of the governor, Count Bouckenthal, in the best German style, with eourts and offiees. He gave us a handsome dinner, and Tokay with the desert. His apartments eontained many good pietures, and one interesting to us, found at such a distanee from England, an exeellent head of Charles I. by Vandyke.

We departed early in the morning from Hermannstadt, and at Talmasch reaehed the range of Carpathian mountains, now ealled Fagaressen: it was necessary to ascend them by an arduous journey, as they have a very sudden and sublime elevation, with their summits still white with snow. The ruins of a fortress, probably coeval with the Romans, erowns one of the lower points. A few miles of almost impractieable height led us into the heart of a forest, formed by elusters of pyramidal hills, piled in masses, which seem to pierce the sky. They are elosely invested with low wood and innumerable shrubs of great beauty then in full bloom, and divided by many narrow defiles, through which the occasional torrents foree their way to the river Olta, or Aluta, beneath, which first shows a wide reaeh at Roden Thurn, an old fortification. By the treaty with the Turks, this spot was destined

to be the future barrier of the Austrian and Ottoman empires. We now entered on the "Via Carolina," upon which stands a pedestal, marked "Via Carolina in Dacijs aperta 1717," and on another about twelve miles farther, "Sta viator ubi natura stare jussit et ubi virtus Trajani stetit," with more such exorbitant praise, suitable to the vanity of the Emperor Charles VI. Few public works could less deserve encomium, being originally laid out without skill, and forced upon a craggy terrace, without rails or parapet, many yards above the river, when it might with greater ease have been formed along its shores. Had not this perilous way arrested every moment's attention, the constant recurrence of scenery so sublime, in valleys so deep and stupendous, shifting and repeating their perpendicular sides and avenues so frequently, and excluding almost the whole horizon, are objects too peculiarly magnificent to admit of any cessation of admiration.

> "Continui montes ni dissocientur opacâ
> Valle."
>
> Hor. l. 1, epist. 16.

Leaving the "Via Carolina," we descended into a valley to the village of Kinanij, and prepared for our evening repast. Two kids were roasted in the open air, which, with black bread and strong rough wine, made us a supper, much to be envied as we advanced nearer the close of our journey. The cottage where I slept contained children, lambs, kids, and poultry. I had the advantage of sleeping upon straw, upon a raised stage of boards, surrounded with this noisy company. The peasants were well paid for this accommodation, and willingly resigned their cottages. Under a high entrenchment, thrown up by the Austrians in their wars with the Turks, the church, being the first which we saw on the Greek model, attracted notice. The architecture is indeed very rude; but the plan an evident imitation of an ancient temple. The dimensions are small, with a vestibule, having an open arcade and covered ceiling, which, with the front wall, is painted in fresco, and gilt with figures of saints, scriptural legends, and many inscriptions in the Walachian character. The eastern end is embowed, and near the centre rises a low rotunda, having a closed arcade and conic roof, with few and narrow windows. Of several that afterward occurred on our progress, this building was strictly resemblant, excepting that of some, the outside walls were likewise painted with a kind of mosaic cornice, and they had two towers with slated roofs projecting over the sides. The walls within are entirely covered with rude paintings of the Madona and Child, upon grounds of gilding, and without light and shade, strewed with insciptions. We had now entered Walachia, and the mode of computing our journey was by hours, as used in all

the Eastern countries, which, with the numerous impediments, rarely exceed four or five miles.

May 1. WALACHIA.

	Hours.	Eng. Miles.
Dideschti - -	2	- —
Seletruck - -	3	- 25.

Crossing the Aluta, beyond Kinanij, we encountered a long succession of steep hills, which join each other by the narrowest bases, generally occupied by small streams. These accumulated mountains wind as the river shapes its course between them, and seem often to exclude all farther progress, when scenes are presented which combine every grand feature of landscape. In the glens are the variegated tints of silky leaves of low shrubs, intermixed with broad scars of purple rock, which overhang the devious and rugged road. The whole of a long day was passed in ascending these heights, till we reached by torch-light a cottage on the banks of the Dopologo, at Seletruck. We were glad to retire to rest, with no better accommodations than those we found the preceding night. In this district are many large vineyards, which require but little cultivation, and produce a great quantity of wine: but the peasants are entirely ignorant of the process used in other countries, both in making and keeping it; the flavour therefore is inferior.

May 2. WALACHIA.

	Hours.	Eng. Miles.
Ardisch -	3	- —
Piteschti -	3	- 40.

Having continued our route for several hours among the mountains, we descended into a wide plain, covered with frequent thickets and inclosures planted with Turkish corn, lentils, and water-melons. We came near Ardisch, which is a town having six churches, and of course large, on our left hand, but did not pass through it. There is a very spacious convent of Greek monks, with several cupolas highly ornamented with twisted columns, having the appearance of Turkish minarehs. In point of architecture and revenues, this monastery exceeds any in Walachia. From this place, where several young women met us carrying sieves, in which was a little Turkish corn, which they offered us as a compliment, we were accompanied by a guard to Piteschti. The dress of these girls very nearly resembled what we had seen in Transylvania. Upon our arrival in the evening we were politely received by two officers of the town, who had prepared a

house for us, and provided a supper *à la Greque*. We were served with many dishes in succession, but with one only at the same time; and were extremely well inclined to praise the cookery. We slept upon carpets placed on a raised floor. At sunrise we were awakened by the mode in which the modern Greeks are called to prayer. As the Turks hold bells in abhorrence, and will not suffer them in any of their dominions, the expedient is, suspending a piece of board in the steeples, and playing on it with two hammers, which produce a loud and varying sound, to be heard at a great distance.

Some of the more expert form a kind of tune, by no means unpleasing. The Greek religion is professed in Walachia. Their metropolitan and bishops are subject to the patriarch at Constantinople, but appointed by the hospodar or prince. Their revenues are very considerable, as well as those of twelve monasteries, from which only the superiors of the church can be elected. For this, among other causes, the parochial clergy are ignorant, and chosen from the lowest ranks; many of them in so great a degree, as to be scarcely able to read the Greek ritual.

May 3. WALACHIA.

	Hours.	Eng. Miles.
Gayeschti - -	3 -	30.

The same flat country continued, in which nature showed great fertility, little assisted by cultivation. We forded several shoaly streams, near which were villages, which offered nothing to interest. The whole country appeared to be very thinly inhabited; even that part of it which possessed the greatest natural advantages: but cattle of all kinds were abundant. Near the way-side are set up many crosses, made of a singular shape; and beams of wood, carved with inscriptions in the Walachian character. We learned that they had been placed for the repose of the souls of their kindred by the inhabitants, and that their names were specified upon each. The "Aijasma," or consecrated springs, are likewise seen at stated distances. These are protected by a small building, in which is an iron bowl, chained, to refresh the weary passenger, who usually performs a religious ceremony, and repeats prayers. The climate of Walachia is delightful, as the heat is tempered by the breezes from the mountains. The summer was scarcely begun; and we were not much incommoded by it. This evening we were conducted to a small convent at Gayeschti. It has a church, surrounded by mean buildings, and a moat full of the large hoarse frog, incessantly croaking. There are only four religious, who are married, and cultivate their own land. They wear a

dark brown habit, and a cap of black felt, of a peculiar shape, and have spreading beards.

The Egumenos, or principal, received us with much complacency, as he expected to gain considerably by our visit. Notwithstanding, our fare was homely, a pilaò of rice and some lentils; and a course carpet was spread as usual for our night's repose. Horace has very truly said,—

——— mali culices ranæque palustres
Avertunt somnos.

Sat. iv. v. 14.

May 4. WALACHIA.

	Hours.	Eng. Miles.
Floreschti -	3 -	—
Bucharest -	3 -	30.

which capital is situated on the river Domboriza.

The Hospodar, as the reigning prince is styled, had sent his chariot, drawn by six grey horses, on the preceding night, and one of the officers of his household, called the Rhativàn, to arrange our reception at Bucharest, where we arrived early in the afternoon. The house of the master of the post was appropriated to our use, containing two large apartments fitted up in the same style, which, according to the manner of the country, served us for every purpose. A raised floor in each, covered with a blue carpet, and surrounded by a divàn or continued sofa of square cushions, afforded us repose by day and night; for a bed is as little known in Walachia as in Turkey. Indeed, the whole style, both of dress and furniture, is that of the Turks, rather than of other nations. This circumstance is readily accounted for, as their prince and his multitudinous suite of Greek nobility are natives of Constantinople, where they have passed the greater part of their lives, and have brought its customs with them. They place heavy pieces of tapestry before the doors of each chamber, where servants are in constant waiting, and are called by clapping the hands. We were attended by the prince's servants, among whom he did not forget to send several cooks.

May 5.

Before noon the ambassador, whom we accompanied, was admitted to an audience with the prince, at his palace. No residence could have less the air of royalty, or fewer pretensions to splendour. The state coach which he sent for us was drawn by six horses, and eight Tchoadàars or pages walked at our side. They were habited in close white dresses of cotton, with green silk sashes, tyed in large bows, and high fur caps on their heads. The external appearance of the palace is certainly mean, built of

timber, and low, with slated towers over the gateways. The great staircase leads from a base court, which, beside the palace, contains a church and a range of barracks. As these princes do not constantly inhabit it during their short and precarious government, they are careless about its present unsuitable state; and they spare as little as possible from what they amass from their temporary subjects, to enjoy in their own country, for any magnificence in this.

The Postelnik, or high-marshal, introduced us through a crowd of bojars, of the native nobility, who lined the passage to the presence-chamber, where the Hospodar, descending from his divàn, received the ambassador with great courtesy. His name is Alessandro Moroozi, about six and thirty years old, his person and air much in his favour, his eyes piercing and intelligent, with a look of uncommon shrewdness. He wore a close vest of flowered muslin; his poignard was studded at the hilt with diamonds, a pink caftàn, or robe of damask, with broad facing of ermine, and a kalpac or high cap of green velvet, with the black fox-skin, so much valued in Turkey as to be worn only by the sultan. We were seated with him but a few minutes, when four pages brought napkins of silk, richly embroidered, and fringed with gold, and laid them on our knees previously to a confection of oranges, which was handed to each of us with the same golden spoon. Small cups of coffee, made very thick and strong, in the Turkish fashion, were then served; and in a short time after, as a signal for departure, the pages covered us again with fine muslin napkins, fringed with gold, and poured rose-water on our hands with gold ewers and basons; and lastly, held a pot of incense under our noses. More than fifty of the officers of state and bojars stood around us. The chamber is large, with white walls, only excepting that the bead of the pannel in the ceiling is gilt, and with no furniture but the divàn and chair of state. The prince conversed fluently in French with the ambassador about his journey and accommodations. He understands other languages, having been dragoman, or interpreter, to the Grand Vizier; and acted as a commissioner at the signing the peace with the Austrians at Sestovia in 1789, soon after the accession of Selim III. the reigning emperor, where his services procured him this high post. He possesses some patriotism, and an understanding more enlarged, than that of many of his predecessors, by intercourse with foreigners. He is said to govern with clemency a people inured to every description of rapacity, and has established aregular post, a printing-press, and a manufactory of cloth, which has not succeeded. His birth was noble, his father having been Hospodar of Moldavia, and chief of the Moroosi, descended from the Greek emperors, and which, in common

with the houses of Maurokordato, Loozo, and Cantacuzene, enjoys the principalities of Walachia and Moldavia, as their interest prevails at the Porte, though seldom more than four years, without removal or violent death. He was therefore educated in courts, where he acquired that finesse and political acuteness to which he owes his present elevation. Yet, as he possesses all the intriguing spirit of his predecessors, his reign may not be of longer duration. He has two brothers resident at Constantinople, the younger of whom is chief interpreter to the Porte; an office of high political consequence. The entertainment we received at the hotel was liberal, and the collations elegant.. An attention was even paid to English taste. Plumb-puddings were brought upon Staffordshire ware, and several dishes were on table at the same time.

A dragoman, or interpreter, was assigned to us, who was a man of considerable intelligence, and ready to communicate his knowledge of the country: from him I learned many of the following particulars. The bojars, or native nobility, had formerly the privilege of electing their prince, who was confirmed by the Porte; but their appointment now originates solely there, and an annual tribute is paid of 40,000l. besides secret presents of vast amount, to the officers of state, both to procure and preserve the station. They lost this privilege in 1714, which they had enjoyed since 1520; upon which Constantine Brancovani, the last native Walachian prince, was beheaded. The Porte then nominated Nicolas Maurokordato, without consulting the bojars. The descendants of the Greek emperors were formerly content to apply to the humble occupation of merchants; but this appointment excited their ambition, and they sent their sons to Bucharest to learn European languages, and to qualify themselves for the appointment of interpreter to the Porte, which then certainly led to the principalities of Walachia and Moldavia. The interpreters formerly employed were Christian renegadoes. Since the establishment of the Greek princes in Walachia and Moldavia, fifteen of them have suffered a violent death.

During the late Russian war, this fertile country was nearly exhausted by the foraging of the Turkish army; and the miserable villagers abandoned their flocks, and retired to the mountains. As descendants of the Trajan colony, they still call themselves Romans; and their vernacular language is a mixture of Latin and Sclavonian: the former is extremely debased. At court, the modern Greek and Turkish prevail. The arts and sciences are not more flourishing in Walachia than in other countries subjugated by the Ottoman power. Some study medicine in Germany or Padua; and the merchants speak Italian and modern Greek.

The people in general are extremely superstitious, and duped by the most illiterate priests: they believe in sorcery and ghosts. About fifty years ago, Constantine Maurokordato, when prince, printed a dictionary in three volumes quarto, in modern Greek, French, and Italian, for the use of his subjects; but this effort towards literature has not been seconded, and few books are to be found, excepting of the Greek service and religion, half in Sclavonian, and the other in modern Greek. The trade of Walachia is principally confined to the sending provisions down the Danube to Constantinople, as the pasturage is excellent, and the corn and wine abundant. The Aluta is navigable only for rafts of timber and flat boats. The Zingani or gypsies, who are very numerous, and exclusively exercise the business of blacksmiths, find quantities of gold dust in the sands of the Aluta, for which they, last year, paid a tribute to government of 1224 drachms, which produced 1003 when refined. Minerals of every description which are found in Hungary are not less discoverable in the Walachian mountains; yet, from fear of the Turks, or their own want of enterprize, not a single mine is worked in the whole country. Those of rock-salt as clear as crystal, are frequent, and produce a large revenue. The manners and houses of the Walachians resemble those of their Turkish masters. They wear the long dress: the older men have beards, and the younger whiskers. The women are seldom seen in the streets, or exposed to the public eye. In the houses are galleries, with close lattices or windows, made with dried hog's-bladders; for glass is very uncommon.

In the evening our dragoman conducted us to see the marriage-ceremony of one of the bojars of an inferior class. Guests of both sexes, but no unmarried ladies, were assembled in the larger chamber, who sat on cushions cross legged, like the tailors in England, as chairs are not in use. A dance of very ancient invention, called the Romeika, began after we had paid our compliments. It was conducted entirely by females; one of whom waved an embroidered handkerchief, and extricated herself gracefully from the rest, who coiled round her. The music consisted of a lively air by two violins, as many guitars with strings of cat-gut, and a syrinx or unequal pipe, as seen on statues of Pan and the Satyrs, which was managed with extraordinary skill, and produced tones of great sweetness and effect. Lady M. W. Montague asserts, with truth, that "there is not one instrument to be found on the Grecian and Roman statues, which will not be seen in the hands of the people of this country," a more certain demonstration of their origin, than even the small resemblance to Latin still retained in their language. The company was perpetually changing, and sometimes exceeded forty persons.

Upon admission, the elderly ladies not joining in the dance, were shewn to the divan, where they squat down without ceremony: and where, as a great distinction, we were placed. The men sat round the room; and some of them smoked pipes made of sticks of Jasmin wood, several feet long, and red China boles, with very odoriferous tobacco. A married lady, scarely sixteen, and of superior beauty, handed us a confection of oranges, which was followed by coffee, liqueurs, and lemonade; a ceremony which she performed with unaffected elegance of manner. A second dance commenced, which was ill assorted to a lively air; for it was slow and solemn. All hands were joined, and the whole figure consisted in curtseys and soft motion. During the dance, one of the performers accompanied with an epithalamium in the Walachian language, loudly sang, and with vehement exertions to impress the audience with the excellence of his rhymes. We were told that he was an extemporaneous poet, famous for ready composition, like the improvisatori in Italy.

After a short time we were allowed to see the new-married couples who had retired to a small room opening to the other, in which, as a luxury suited to the occasion, was a bed. The bridegroom, about forty, held the hand of his bride, a younger sister of the lady who had done the honours, whilst they received the compliments of their friends. The bride looked modestly, but had no singularity of dress, beside a long rose-coloured veil, then turned backward over her head. Of the dress and persons of the Walachians many observations occur. The ladies, even in the early periods of life, possess little to fascinate the eyes of an Englishman; and when they have attained more years, they become more corpulent and unsymetrical in shape. Their necks are very thinly covered with transparent gauze, and a girdle, with a broad clasp, is buckled very low round the waist.

> Tereti strophio luctantes vincta papillas;
> Et jacent collo sparsi sine lege capilli.
>
> OVID.

Their hair is very generally coarse, black, and luxuriant, combed over the forehead, hanging over the ears uncurled, or braided over the shoulders. On the crown of the head is a small cap of white cloth, bound with a wreath of coloured muslin, and decked with tinsel and beads of glass, if they have no jewels. Natural flowers are a very common ornament. Over a vest of white muslin they wear a jacket of satin, closely fitted to the waist, and faced with fur or ermine. The ancle is covered by the petticoat, which shews only the yellow slippers. More taste is not to be discovered in the dress of the men; for the head is shorn, excepting on

the crown, which is covered by a red cap, called a fez, in the place of a wig, and a kalpàc of lamb's wool over it, which serves as a hat. Their ears are wholly exposed, and, with the naked neck behind, have an awkward appearance. Corpulency is very common, particularly in middle age; and its appearance much increased by the vest being used as a pocket in front. These heavy clothes, loaded with furs, are little adapted to the heat of the climate; but in dress of ceremony, scarcely any alteration is made on account of season. Fashion has here no influence: the habits of either sex have not varied for ages past, and I have described them, as being peculiar to the Greeks in every part of the Turkish dominions.

The approach to Bucharest shows a vast extent of buildings and numerous cupolas; for it is said to contain 400 convents and churches. But, in fact, this metropolis so little resembles the continued streets of other capitals, that it is nothing more than a collection of villages, without regularity or plan. The streets are paved transversely with planks of wood, badly fastened, and much decayed; so that walking is rendered infinitely tedious. Nearly in the centre of the town are many rows of open shops, Bazàrs on the Turkish plan, which are protected from the mid-day sun by a roof of timber frame extending from side to side. A great variety of wares are exhibited, and mechanics employed. Adjoining to this building is the square and great church of St. George, the patron saint of Walachia, in the best modern Greek style. The plan is the same as those already described, upon a much larger scale of dimensions and ornament. The portico is supported by short spiral columns, with capitals of the composite order, or unclassical imitation of the Corinthian. The façade is painted in fresco in compartments of some scriptural story, or mosaic mouldings; and each of the cupolas to the cornice of their roofs. Within they serve as louvres, and give necessary light, as the windows are few and narrow. The internal area is uninterrupted by seats, which are single, and fixed to the side walls. Fresco paintings of saints, particularly of the equestrians St. George and St. Demetrius, as large as life, are spread over every part, and add in no small degree to the characteristic gloom. The altar is concealed by a painted skreen. All the Greek churches are highly perfumed with incense. It may be conjectured, from analogy, that the ancient temples furnished the original ideas of these edifices: rudely as they are finished, the architectural ornaments are to be traced in many a barbarous adaption of columns of antiquity to capitals of their own imperfect formation, as in Constantinople in the mosques and Greek churches

The patriarchal church is larger, and has four cupolas, adjoining to the palace of the archbishop, which, with a monastery, is situate on an eminence commanding a pleasant view of the city.

Added to the cares which disturb the enjoyment of the most secure throne, the Hospodar has those which render him the least enviable of European princes. Before he obtains his post, he must have exhausted all the stratagems of courts, assisted by bribery; and, after his establishment, must harass his subjects to procure supplies for the insatiable avarice of the Porte. In the Russian wars, his country is generally the scene of military transactions; and if his conduct be not extremely circumspect, he pays the forfeit of his head, upon suspicion of favouring their advances. Whenever the great Pashas of Bulgaria or Romelia declare a rebellion, they forage his devoted provinces without mercy, and the most terrible devastations have been committed before the Turks have thought it expedient to leave Constantinople in order to restrain them. Of all the princes of Walachia who have fallen sacrifices to the avarice or jealousy of the Turks, the hardest fate seems to have been that of Constantine Bessarabas, after a virtuous reign of twenty-one years. During a Russian war, he was apprehended with his son, and conveyed to the prison of the Seraglio; and after a confinement of six months, in which every hope had been given him of regaining his station, Sultan Achmet III. suddenly ordered his son to be executed, and afterward himself, in the view of the whole court.

The happiest event any of these princes can anticipate, is the power of retiring, after a few years, having made themselves and their numerous relatives and dependants wealthy, to a palace on the shores of the Bosphorus, and the enjoyment of Asiatic luxury. Yet, even there, their restless ambition prompts them to new intrigues, and not one instance is known of a Greek prince, who could refrain from means of endangering his safety, to be hurried to a new appointment, from the very solitude he panted after.

The bojars and officers of the court, who are always of the prince's family, have large revenues, and opportunities of making money rapidly. All these are supplied by the oppression of the people, who suffer more in their property than their persons.

The natural arrogance of the Greek character is very apparent in their manners, unchecked by the presence of the Turks.

May 7th.—8th. WALACHIA.

	Hours.	Eng. Miles.
Copochen - -	3 -	—
Catagoren - -	2 -	—
Dajah - - -	3 -	35

We left Bucharest at ten o'clock in the morning, the prince having deputed ten of his baschliars, or body-guard, to protect us to Constantinople. We were likewise joined by Signor Giaccomazzi, and his attendants, the secretary of the Venetian embassy. Two merchants availed themselves of the opportunity of travelling in safety to Constantinople, so that our whole cavalcade was considerable. Our road led through vineyards or wide thickets, till we came to Copochen, where, as usual, we took possession of wretched cottages for the night. There are no inns in Walachia, and the post-houses do not afford any accommodation, excepting horses, which are small and weak, and seldom used in drawing carriages. At five in the morning our tedious course was resumed over the same rich, but neglected territory to Catagoren and Dajah, at which last place we rested a few hours, during the heat of mid-day. There are many remains of Roman architecture in Walachia, but none of them lay near our road or came within our observation. At one time we were about thirty miles from the famous bridge built by the emperor Trajan over the Danube, the piers and other parts of which are still seen near Widdin. The cottages at Dajah are built partly under ground against a hill, with the earth heaped over a roof of wicker, and in front a shed upon poles; but the inhabitants are decently dressed, and had some excellent coffee in the Turkish manner, to which travellers soon become reconciled, and allow it to be the greatest refreshment on a journey which can be offered.

May 9th. BULGARIA.

	Hours.	Eng. Miles.
Guirgevow (Hirshova)	5	—
Rustchiuk - -	1	—
Turlak - -	2	40.

We entered Bulgaria, the Mœsia of the Romans, before we arrived at Guirgevow, the first town which may be considered as intirely Turkish, where every house is closed toward the street with high palisadoes, excluding approach. Before the last war, Guirgevow was the chief port, whence the merchandise of Walachia, consisting principally in hides and the provisions of life, were embarked for Turkey and the Black Sea. A fort, inconsiderable in point of extent, commands a broad reach of the Danube, more characteristic than others of that noble but divided river. After many advantages gained by the Russians, the Turks, who never distrust their own valour, made a furious stand at this fortress, and were again defeated, December 6, 1773. The Vizier immediately published through the army,

that the town had been betrayed, and Mavroigeni, the hospodar of Walachia, was brought from Bucharest, and beheaded before his tent. By this expedient of averting a sense of their disgrace, the degenerate Janizaries were kept together for another battle, and prevented from flying to their shops at Constantinople; but they were reserved for a still more ignominious defeat.

In order to gain a more eligible road, we took a large boat with eight oars, and opposed the stream of the Danube very pleasantly, for about two miles. Upon the left-hand shore, over an abrupt bank of porous sand, are scattered many Turkish houses, dispersed in thick groves of cedar and fruit-trees. These were the outskirts of the town of Rustchiuk, and the country retreat of its more wealthy inhabitants. We landed under an old castle, still garrisoned, which, with many minarèhs nearly as lofty as spires, and chiosques, or summer houses, built and painted with many colours in the Chinese manner, enlivened a river view more than half a mile broad, with many novel and agreeable objects.

The Turkish provincial towns, in general, cover much ground, and it is no proof of great population that they are of great extent. Rustchiuk, like others, is large and straggling. It is very ancient, and said by some geographers to have been "Axiopolis." The house we took possession of, as all those we saw, communicated with the street, by a large gateway and wicket, opening to a court, built partly around. The best part was constructed of wood, and covered with red pantiles, with very close lattices. These were the harèm or women's chambers, who were informed, were overlooking us though they were completely hid from our sight. We were received in a large chiosk, and were served with a dinner in the Turkish manner. We had a wooden spoon given us to eat our pilaò, or rice pottage, but no knives and forks. As the fish of the Danube is both excellent and abundant, it made the best part of our repast, but it was brought to us cut into very small pieces, as prepared to be eaten with the fingers. Servants attended with basons and ewers of water to drink or wash with; and we were indulged with wine, which was procured from the shop of a Jew in the neighbourhood. As this was the first interview we had with a Turk, and a specimen of the domestic habits of those in the middle rank of life, I have mentioned these minute circumstances.

May 10th. BULGARIA.

	Hours.	Eng. Miles.
Pezantzi - -	3 -	—
Turlak - -	4 -	40

Having engaged an additional guard of eight men, who undertook to be our guides, through the intricate passes of Mount Hæmus, as the more public road was probably infested with banditti, we left Rustchiuk, which from the hill above it gains a still more agreeable appearance from the perfect novelty of its component features. We then passed a plain of little variety or extent to Pezantzi, where we found ourselves at the foot of a vast range of mountains, which in the East are denominated collectively by a single appellation of the highest point, Mount Hæmus. Both Mount Ida and Mount Olympus are a chain of hills.

This tract is rendered still more formidable by arduous roads, and armed robbers and insurgents, who seize all they can meet with, as plunder. The close of the evening brought us to Turlak, where many female peasants crowded around us, one of whom was presented to us as a bride. She had on a cap or paper crown, with shreds of gold thread tied in bunches, and plated all over with small pieces of coin, strung together like fish-scales. Others had them interlaced with their braids of hair. The Bulgarian ladies have many of gold, which they exhibit in a similar manner; and it is asserted, that the more rare of the imperial or ancient Greek coins have been frequently discovered by travellers so applied, and as having been transmitted from the remotest generations. They wear them too, sewn on ribbands appendant to their head-dress, and hanging down to their heels. They cherish as a very favourite ornament, broad clasps of silver gilt, fastened about two thirds round each arm, as bracelets. Concerning the antiquity of these fashions it would be difficult to determine exactly; but as they are tasteless in themselves, we would give them a dignity by referring them to the most distant period. So religiously are they preserved, that no rank of life is scarcely so mean as to be deprived of them, and it is not uncommon to see even children, naked and hungry, decorated with these pieces of money, the value of which would clothe and feed them for a yeur.

May 11th. BULGARIA.

	Hours.	English Miles.
Rasgat	3	—
Beshlikuy	1	25

The extreme base of Mount Hæmus extended for many miles before the ascent became more precipitate than the usual level of a hilly country. Near Rasgat we remarked the first Turkish cemetry of many acres in extent, thickly shewn with hillocks, most of which were marked with upright pieces of marble

carved with turbans and with inscriptions cut in alto relievo. Some were of a ruder form, as probably being architectural fragments and columns, the remains of ancient buildings.

The reason that these burying-places are so much more extensive than those in Christian countries, is, that one grave is appropriated to each person, a custom which it would be deemed sacrilege to interrupt.

By slow advances we arrived at Beshlikuy early in the evening, but were advised not to commence our route through the defiles of Mount Hæmus without the day before us. We took up our temporary abode in an open hovel, and reposed at night upon straw, as no Turk in the village would receive us. The necessity, in that case, of suffering their women to be seen, made them resist money, the greatest of all temptations.

In this region, which has been frequently the scene of military transactions, we observed, near the road, many small tumuli, which are always thrown up before the ceremony of hoisting the "Sanjàk Scherife," or holy banner, which was then planted on them in the centre of the army. In many instances, these mounds of earth are the simple but most durable monuments of thousands who have fallen in the field.

May 12th. BULGARIA.

	Hours.	English Miles.
Temkuy - -	3 -	—
Shumblah - -	4 -	35

The road led over rising grounds with gradual elevation towards the mountains, now partially cultivated in small patches, but universally showing former depopulation, and the hopeless indigence of the present inhabitants. As to the government or political state of this subjugated kingdom, for several centuries the scourge and dread of the lower Greek Empire, and of great military fame, it is now that of the worst species of the feudal system. The Pasha or governor has numerous Zaims and Timars, each of which are held by what was once called in England knight's service, that of bringing so many armed men into the field, whenever summoned by their chief. So frequently does this obligation recur, that the peasants, who are forced likewise to cultivate the estates of their lord, and to pay him a heavy tribute, have neither leisure nor encouragement to derive more than natural advantages from a most fertile soil and genial climate.

Before mid-day we halted at Temkuy, and having applied in vain for a reception into some cottage, we assembled under a spreading plane tree, and refreshed ourselves with coffee and

sleeping upon mats. To prevent delay, for neither threats nor persuasion could hasten the horses, at least their masters, into more than a foot-pace, we dined late in the evening. Our fare was constantly fowls, or lambs, roasted or prepared with rice. These provisions were collected on the road by our guards, who took them without scruple from the villagers, and then demanded a very exorbitant price for them proportioned to our necessity. Sometimes we were followed by the poor pillaged people, who vociferated the most opprobious names, which we luckily did not understand, but without making the least resistance.—We entered Shumblàh, which is a post, strongly defended both by nature and art, commanding the straits over the mountains. Like all towns in Bulgaria, it consits of miserable cottages, with their great gate and garden, and covers a very large space. It has not even minarèhs so tall, as to make it interesting at a distance. Near the close of the last war, Shumblàh was considered by the Turks as impregnable, an opinion strengthened by many superstitions, and a confidence that no human power could force these entrenchments. As it was the retreat of the Turks when they fled, they had assembled there to the number of 40,000 men, who were routed by 12,000 Russians, and the multitude put to the sword must shock our humanity, or exceed our belief.

May 13th. BULGARIA.

	Hours.	Eng. Miles.
Nevsha - -	3 -	—
Pravadi - -	3 -	25

Before we came Nevsha we were entertained by a dance of Zingane, or gypsey girls, in a very free style, which they practise to gratify the Turks, who pay them with more liberality, than they usually display. That singular race of people, the inhabitants of every country in Europe, have here the same swarthy faces and peculiar language. They are likewise tinkers, play tricks, and tell fortunes; and there is scarcely a difference between the gypsies of Norwood, and those who lurk in the groves at the foot of Mount Hæmus. The hills, on either side, had now a lumpish appearance with white scars or shrubs low and even, as if they had been clipped, or like artificial mounds of earth. Now and then they approached nearer to picturesque, when the bared ridge that universally shrouded the summit, showed like a dilapidated castle or city wall. It is a melancholy trait of society and manners, that the shepherd and husbandman do not venture into the field without a pistol and dagger at their girdle;—such is the perpetual alarm of these military husbadmen.

A broad defile of rocks, abrupt at their basis, and about ten miles in length, led to Pravadi. In the meadows were many buffaloes feeding; but before we saw them, the whole district, at least within the scope of our road, seemed to be destitute both of flocks and herds. The town of Pravadi is seated at the base of a lofty precipice, said to have been shaped into regular works by the Genoese, during their possession of the shores of the Black Sea, and is a favourable specimen of a Turkish view, at a point within a mile. We were lodged in an unfurnished house, and experienced all the inconvenience which the dirtiness of the Bulgarians occasions in a peculiar degree. That the plague should originate, or, however that may be, that it should remain with them, can excite no wonder in one who has passed a night under such roofs. This is perhaps the language of an English traveller, who, accustomed at home to accommodations, the lowest of which are great by comparison, betrays an impatience, which a farther acquaintance with all the possible convenience of travelling in the Turkish empire may correct or reconcile.

The glaring cliffs are extremely curious on account of their massiveness and height, but they possess nothing for the painter; a deficiency amply made up to the botanist from the abundance of flowering herbs and mosses. Dr. S. marked them, as having contributed very greatly to the rare collection he was then making, and for which he pursued untrodden paths with industry, not to be subdued by circumstances, generally considered as impracticable.

Above the heights of Pravadi were many eagles soaring round their eyries, where they breed in great numbers. It was the first time that we observed so many of those majestic birds on the wing.

May 14th. BULGARIA.

	Hours.	Eng. Miles.
Chonbrootkuy -	3 -	—
Kasanlìk - -	2 -	25

Leaving Pravadi at day-break, and having passed a woodland tract to Chonbrootkuy, another hut, with many surrounding it, we had not advanced more than twelve miles, from the mulish obstinacy of our guards, who reserve the middle of the day for sleep. A village is, at all events, preferable to a town in Bulgaria; for a street exhibits nothing but desolation and the mutual distrust which its inhabitants avow. The women in loose surtouts of dark green cloth, with kerchiefs of muslin concealing the whole face excepting the nose and eyes, seem to have just escaped from premature interment. They peeped through the

doors with much curiosity, but fled immediately when observed. Never before having obtained even so imperfect a sight of Turkish women, some idea was given of the degraded state of female life among them, particularly in the lower ranks of society.

Sepulchral tumuli, which were many yards high, and regularly smooth with turf to their summits, are often seen, and mark the slaughter in those conflicts for dominion, which this wretched country has experienced for several centuries. When the Turks were extending their dominion in Europe, these mounds were thrown up to mark the progress of their victories.

May 15.

BULGARIA.

	Hours.	Eng. Miles.
Balkan - -	4 -	—
Aïtos - -	1 -	20

ROMELIA.

We began to ascend one of the extremities of the Balkàn, as all high mountains are called in Turkey. This is likewise known by the name of Heminy-dagh, an evident corruption of Mount Hæmus.

Although the roads over Mount Hæmus are sufficiently impracticable, they are rendered more terrible, as they are the retreat of banditti, a danger certainly great; but which it is the policy of the guards and peasants to enhance, and they demand a gratuity in proportion as they report it to have been. We fortunately escaped. Mount Hæmus is indeed the site of all those beauties in landscape which the poets have described as peculiar to it, and realizes their happiest imagery. Deep glens, impenetrable shades of gigantic chesnuts, shrubs aromatic, and producing the gayest flowers, and rivulets in rich succession, account for the preference paid to these scenes by Virgil, on the report of the ancients, for we do not know, that he ever visited them in person.

——O qui me gelidis in vallibus Hæmi
Sistat! et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra!—

GEORGIC. I. 2, 488.

The forests in Walachia and Bulgaria abound in many kinds of fruit-trees, particularly cherries, apricots, vines, &c. For many of the flowers we were too early in the year, but they are found as numerous and exquisite, as in the most cultivated gardens in a less genial soil. Art strives in vain to equal nature, and the richest garden must yield to the mountain recesses, which we had then under our contemplation, and which, as totally uninhabited, are lost to mankind.

At the opposite base of Mount Hæmus, we entered Romelia, and followed a winding glen, occasionally a torrent bed, but

now of a small stream, with huge stones, which had been precipitated from the summit. The skreens on either side, were inconceivably lofty, with broad masses of rock impending so far, that immediate falling might be apprehended. The trees were generally, the dwarf oak, with jessamine, wild roses, and spring flowers, in the greatest perfection and plenty. Our route was taken purposely to avoid ascending Mount Hæmus, and lay entirely between two of the least considerable heights, so that our elevation was not greater than we had before experienced in Transylvania, and the whole distance not exceeding above sixteen miles.

At Kasanlik we were met by peasant women, who congratulated us on escaping the perils of Mount Hæmus and begged money, and a few miles farther we rested with the usual accommodations at Dobràh.

May 16. ROMELIA.

	Hours.	Eng. Miles.
Aïtos - -	4 -	25

Over an uninteresting country of covert lanes or waving heath, without the intervention of a single village, we came to Aïtos, a considerable place in point of extent. We were conducted to the Khàn, or general receptacle of all strangers and their horses. A very large open room like a barn receives the latter, and, most commonly, their masters were indulged with a loft spread with matting, extremely dirty, and with heaps of dust swept into the corners of the room. The actual inconvenience was not a little increased by the dread of catching the plague, and the constant succession of the tenants of this wretched mansion rendered escape the less to be relied on. We procured some dried rushes and hay, on which we reposed, having been all alike strangers to a bed or even a carpet since we left Bucharest, as I was at that time, as well as Dr. S. martyrised with a bilious fever, produced by the malariä which affects most of the inhabitants at the approach of summer.

May 17. ROMELIA.

	Hours.	Eng. Miles.
Faki - -	4	—
Kirkecclissa - -	4	35

At Kirkecclissa we were distant ten miles only from the Euxine or Black Sea, our view of which was excluded by a high mountain.

We encountered no new feature of landscape till we reached

a scene of singular appearance. It was a plain, some miles across, almost covered with huge fragments of rock, sometimes single, and as often romantically piled in groupes, and intermixed with thickets and shrubs, whilst those upon the summits of the surrounding hills were more massive, and gave under the glow of the setting sun the effect of continued fortresses and towers. They had the same appearance in the distance. Many of these huge stones and detached rocks on the plain, are so disposed as to represent Druidical temples, and many are so large as to equal Stonehenge in size and extent.

Habit or the fear of banditti prevented our guards from attending us after sun-set, so that, though we were at Kirkecclissa at five o'clock in the afternoon, they would not advance a step farther. The forty Greek churches which gave name to this town, have long since disappeared. Perhaps, there were never near that number, as the Turks use the word "forty" when they mean many. Those that remained undemolished, are converted into mosques. The inhabitants are principally Polish Jews, who from the rich pastures in the neighbourhood, which they rent of the Pacha, send great quantities of cheese and butter to the markets of Constantinople.

May 18. ROMELIA.

	Hours.	Eng. Miles.
Burgàz -	3	—
Tchiorli -	2	—
Koumburgaz -	1	30

From Kirkecclissa to Burgàz (Arcadiopolis or Pyrgos,) we passed through the same desolate country, without houses, cultivation, or water. The soil indeed is blessed with spontaneous fertility, producing plants and shrubs of the greatest beauty. Roses grow in such abundance, that the otto, which requires the greatest quantity, is extracted from them by the merchants of Adrianople, and forms an article of a very valuable traffic. Agriculture and even vineyards are universally neglected. It was curious to see twelve or fourteen oxen harnessed by their horns, and three or four men with a single plough of the most inconvenient construction, and one is tempted to believe, that the art of tillage is almost unknown. Near Burgàz is found a deep red-coloured clay, resembling that used for the Etruscan ware, of which porcelaine is now made; which is principally used for the heads of long Turkish pipes, and richly guilt. Basons for drinking sherbet were offered us for sale; wrought in rich patterns in a kind of mosaic, as figures are forbidden by the Mohammedan

law. From Burgàz to Tchiorli crossing the Erigene (Agrianes), a small river, there is little variety, for no description of landscape can be more monotonous than the Turkish, in its artificial features. Upon our right we caught a first sight of the Sea of Marmora, with the immense rock of white marble, which gave name to the island. After having passed so many days in forests or desert plains, the pleasing variety and repose of a sea prospect can be well imagined. The chain of Mount Hæmus rose in the extreme distance behind us with great elevation. Tchiorli (the ancient Turulose) was taken by Orchan 1360, from the Emperor John Paleologus, and rased to the ground. At Koumburgàs, we passed the night in the Khàn, which is very large and ruinous. All the roads which lead to the metropolis of the Ottoman empire are as much neglected and as impracticable, as the worst village highway in England.

May 19. ROMELIA.

	Hours.	Eng. Miles.
Bàrdos - -	3	—
Selivrea - -	2	- 25

A few miles beyond Koumburgàs, we halted to inspect the "Makroteike," or famous long wall built by the Emperor Anastasius, at the close of the fifth century, to protect his capital and its luxuriant environs from the predatory incursions of the Goths and Bulgarians. It extended from Selymbria on the shores of Marmora to the Euxine sea, about sixty English miles. It was a magnificent work conducted by Eterius, the minister of that Emperor, and his architect. The wall was single with a deep vallation and very frequent towers, consisting of three sides of a square facing the enemy's country. At present, though the line of fortification is perfect, few of the towers are seen above the high mound made by their ruins. We rejoiced that our road commanded the view of Marmora without interruption for many miles, which happily relieved the tiresome sameness of our former journey.

Nothing could exceed the richness and beauty of our first view of the ancient city of Selymbria, corrupted by the Turks to Selivrea. The town lies at the foot of the great palace or castle, which has the boldest situation, being engrafted on a jutting point of rock which overhangs the sea. In itself it is a very majestic ruin, but its grand accompaniment is the connection with the long wall, already mentioned, as the fortification round the old city has a simple wall, and the towers are more numerous and massive, and have suffered less dilapidation. They are embattled upon deep brackets, like those of Constan-

tinople, with which they are contemporary, and were the prototype of a mode of building castles introduced by the croisaders into France and England, and perhaps into Italy. Selymbria was the palace and principality of John Paleologus, after he had been deprived of the Byzantine throne, and was besieged and taken by Mohammed II. before his final conquest of Constantinople.

May 20. ROMELIA.

	Hours.	Eng. Miles.
Bujûck -	3	—
Couchout Checmedgeh		—
Elyûb	2 -	- 25
Constantinople	—	—

"Selymbriæ, tenuit nos jucundus placidi maris aspectus, juvitque alludentibus undis in littore conchas legere, et delphinorum spectare choros, cœlique illius tepore frui. Namque dici non potest, quæ fuit illi temperies, quam mite clemensque cœlum." This journey was taken in 1586.

Still within a mile or two of the shores of Marmora, we were delighted with the singular amenity of the scene, and the softness of the sea air, which rendered the meridian heat by no means oppressive. Since our departure from Vienna, we had been favoured in respect to weather, and were never delayed upon that account; and what may be considered as more fortunate, as being more uncommon, we travelled over the rugged and devious roads without sustaining accident or injury. The ambassador Busbequius, in his entertaining and accurate Letters concerning Turkey, speaks of these prospects as most interesting, and we found them equalling the extent of his praise.

Traversing this delicious coast a little farther, we passed through a large Turkish village called Buyock Checkmedgêh, (Great Drawbridge) situated at the head of a beautiful lake, falling into the sea through an inlet over which is a long causeway and bridge, built by Selim II. in 1568. This road soon brought us to Conchûck Checkmedgeh (Pontepiccolo) where we rested at mid-day to enjoy the shade, and to prepare ourselves for our entrance into Constantinople. A more interesting village I had not seen in point of situation and its accompaniments, with a perfect novelty of features, as it stands enveloped in the shade of plane trees and cypresses of most extraordinary bulk. Our attention was soon attracted to the widely spreading plane tree in the middle of the road, under which several mats were spread and occupied by Turks, who were smoaking, and seemed lost in the enjoyment of such serenity. Adjoining was an open

wooden building, in an airy Chinese style, painted with many colours, where others were preparing and serving coffee with great assiduity. We willingly availed ourselves of this grateful repast. In one corner sat a musician, who recited and sang Turkish verses in a very loud and inharmonious tone, to the tinkling of a tambour or mandoline with a long neck and four strings, which he struck with a quill. Love was the burden of his song, as of all others in Turkey, but his expressions of tenderness were ridiculous, conveyed in such a tone and with such gesticulation! The houses wore a much better appearance, and were usually inclosed in gardens abounding in trees, which are merely exotic shrubs in our climate, and with cedars very unlike their meagre representatives in England. The Turks are really to be envied their luxury of reposing whole days under such a grand leafy canopy, to skreen them from the intense rays of the sun.

Within a few miles of Constantinople, we entered a thick grove of cypress in every stage of vegetation, and many of stupendous size. These form the great cemetries which lead to the gates of the city, and occupy many acres in the centre of a dreary waste. The Campagna itself is not more desolate than the European environs of the sister capital of the Roman world.

The effect of these cemetries is sombre and appropriate. Emerging from their shades, we came to the "Chiftlik," or country seat of the Vizier Daut Pacha. It is a quadrangular building with open galleries, and in one of the angles is a mosque, with a cupola of very elegant construction. But the whole was in a state of decay, as if it had no owner. As it is situated on an eminence, it presented to us Constantinople in all her magnificence. The towers of the temple wall, which extends nearly four miles from the harbour to the sea, rose in front, and were beautifully contrasted by the hundred cupolas and tall minarehs skirting the horizon, and proudly issuing from the sea. After descending a hill, we found ourselves in the narrow and dismal streets of Elyûb, intermixed with sepulchral stones. We then crossed the head of the canal over a rivulet, called the "Sweet Waters." The canal was nearly covered with boats of a very fanciful construction and richly gilt, and exhibited a brilliant spectacle, as the Sultan was at that instant returning from his Chiosk, or banqueting-house, at Chiàtkanah. This most enchanting scene was laid out, about a century ago, by a French Ambassador, to give the Turks an idea of European gardening. It is Fontainbleau or any of the other royal gardens in miniature, excepting statues, which the Turkish scruples would not allow.

Ascending the opposite hill to the Campo de Morte, we entered the suburb of Pera, and arrived at the English Palace at the close of day, where we were received by Sir Robert Ainslie with great hospitality and politeness.

Total extent of the Journey.

	Miles.
From London to Vienna -	795
From Vienna to Bucharest -	670
From Bucharest to Pera -	385
Total	1850

ANALYSES

OF

NEW VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

LATELY PUBLISHED IN LONDON.

THE NARRATIVE OF THE SUFFERINGS OF CAPT. DAVID WOODARD, AND FOUR SEAMEN,---*who lost their ship while in a boat at sea, and surrendered themselves to the Malays, in the island of Celebes; containing an interesting account of their sufferings from hunger and various hardships, and their escape from the Malays after a captivity of two years and a half.—Also an account of the manners and customs of the country, and a description of the harbours, coast, &c. together with an Introduction and an Appendix, containing narratives of various escapes from shipwrecks under great hardships and abstinence, holding out a valuable seaman's guide, and the importance of union, confidence, and perseverance, in the midst of distress.—One volume 8vo. pp.* 292. LONDON, JOHNSON, 1804.

IT is justly observed in the Introduction to this work, that "no history can be more interesting and instructing to man, than that of man and the events that befall him;" to which we may add that the life of a seaman, particularly when on a voyage of discovery, cannot fail to be more diversified, and more liable to danger, than that of a traveller whose progress principally extends through continental regions or inland districts. In civilized countries, the latter has little to apprehend with respect to his personal safety; while the leading features in the life of the former consist of prosperity and adversity—hope and despair. Hence the histories of men who have escaped shipwrecks and

their concomitant hardships and dangers have always been perused with the most lively interest, more particularly when the authors formed their accounts on the basis of truth. In this respect Mr. Woodard's narrative has every claim to attention, as he has brought forward authentic documents from his employers, from the captain of the ship from which he was separated at sea, as well as from different gentlemen in the Dutch and British Settlements, who were witnesses of his distress on escaping from the Malays.

From an elaborate Introduction we learn, that the materials of which this interesting volume is composed have been arranged for the press by Mr. William Vaughan, of London, who became acquainted with the author in July, 1796. At the request of Messrs. Vaughan and Son, he committed to paper a narrative of his adventures, which are brought before the public in all their native simplicity, because, to use the words of the editor, "truth is the best guide to knowledge."

The volume is divided into three parts, each of which is subdivided into a certain number of chapters.

Part I. contains a narrative of the events which happened to the author, from the time of his departure from Batavia for Manilla, till his arrival at the Isle of Wight. This part bears in some degree the form of a journal.

Part II. consists of an interesting description of the island of Celebes, its harbours, rivers, and towns, its climate, produce, &c. and an account of the inhabitants, their manners, and customs.

Part III. is a collection of miscellaneous papers, in which are introduced the testimonies of authenticity already alluded to; and which is extended by the addition of extracts from newspapers and other publications, relative to cases of shipwreck and individual sufferings at sea. This part consequently has but little reference to the subject of the narrative; but it is introduced by the editor, with the laudable hope that the numerous cases which it contains, by being drawn to a kind of focus, "may serve for examples to direct the conduct of men who have neither leisure to read, nor purse to procure them," while dispersed in various and extensive publications.

As the chapters are, in our opinion, injudiciously divided, some containing a considerable portion of matter, while others consist merely of a few paragraphs, we shall not, in our analysis, follow the arrangement of the editor; but shall present our readers with a full and connected abstract of every interesting fact which the narrative contains, and in the course of it we shall occasionally allow the author to speak for himself.

In the first chapter he gives an account of his voyage from Boston to the East Indies, in the year 1791. He sailed in The Robert Morris, Captain Hay, a ship belonging to T. Russel, Esq. of Boston; and on his arrival in India he was employed in making many country voyages in Country ships, till the 20th January, 1793, when he sailed as chief mate in the American ship Enterprize, Capt. Hubbard, from Batavia for Manilla.

In consequence of adverse wind they were six weeks beating up the Straits of Macassar, during which time they fell short of provisions; and a vessel appearing on the first of March, at the distance of about four leagues, Capt. H. directed Mr. Woodard to take the boat and go on board her to purchase a supply, which he accordingly did, his ship being then in nearly nine minutes South Latitude. There were in the boat besides himself, five sailors, two of whom were Americans, two Englishmen, and one Scotchman:---their names were W. Gideon, J. Cole, a lad, A. Millar, R. Gilbert, and G. Williams. They were without provisions, water or compass; and had on board the boat only an axe, a boat-hook, two pocket-knives, an old gun, and forty dollars.

Towards sun-set in the evening, they reached this vessel, after having encountered a heavy squall from the land, which caused them to lose sight of their own. The captain of the ship to whom they applied for provisions, was unable to grant their demand, in consequence of being bound for China, and having no more than one month's consumption on board. Night, however, approaching, Mr. Woodard was prevailed upon to stay on board till the morning, which he readily consented to do, from the improbability of being able to regain his own vessel till the following day. In the morning they found the land bearing the same as on the preceding evening, with a strong current to the southward; the ship Enterprize not being in sight, even from the mast-head. The wind was fair for the latter to go through the Straits of Macassar; and Mr. Woodard perceiving that he was now treated very coolly by the captain of the Country ship, which was making the best of its way to China, he summoned his men and asked them if they were willing to go in search of their own vessel, which they all readily assented to. The boat was therefore hauled up; and though the officers told our voyager and his crew that it was a great chance if they regained their own vessel, he nevertheless persisted in putting to sea. The captain of the Country ship gave them twelve musket-cartridges and a bottle of brandy, but neither water nor provisions.

On the 2d of March, 1793, they left this ship, in Latitude nine minutes South of the Line, and continued their course to the south, in hopes of discovering their own vessel; but after rowing

and sailing till midnight, without attaining their object, they drew towards an island, on which they landed for the purpose of procuring water. They immediately made a large fire in the hope that it might be perceived by their ship; and in the morning they went to the highest part of the island to look out for her, but could see nothing of her. Not being fortunate enough to obtain on this island either water or provisions, they again took to their boat, and continued their course in the middle of the Straits *for six days longer, without tasting either food or drink, except their bottle of brandy.* During this time they encountered a heavy squall, in which the boat had nearly foundered, and which forced them to keep before the wind. When it abated they were in sight of the Celebes shore, on which they all agreed to land, in search of provisions, and then to proceed for Macassar, which they supposed to be about three degrees to the southward.

After rowing the remainder of that day and nearly all night, they came near the shore, and lay-to till day-light; when, observing two proas close under the land, they directed their course towards them: but they soon perceived that the people on board were preparing for defence, by lashing their proas to each other, and collecting their bamboo spears, of which they appeared to have several bundles. Mr. Woodard and his little crew, though overcome with hunger and fatigue, went boldly along side of them, and made them understand by signs that they wanted to buy provisions. The Malays at first seemed inclined to comply with their request. As soon, however, as they perceived that their visitors had no arms in the boat, they immediately prepared for hostilities, and put on their cresses or daggers, which are about two feet long, and waved towards the point.

After a short suspense, Mr. Woodard renewed his solicitations for provisions, and requested to be furnished either with Indian corn or cocoa-nuts; but he met with an absolute refusal. He then offered a dollar for two cocoa-nuts, which the chief promised he should have; but on receiving the dollar, instead of returning the nuts, he jumped into the boat with two of his crew, and immediately began to search Mr. W. to ascertain what money he had about him. Conceiving himself to be in danger, the latter seized an axe to defend himself; and on ordering the man at the bow to cast off the boat, the three Malays made towards their proa, on gaining which the chief presented a musket at Mr. W. which missed fire, and before he could discharge it, the boat had got to such a distance, that it did no execution.

"We now," says Mr. Woodard, "left both the proas, and soon directed our course towards the shore for provisions and

water, which we stood in the utmost need of, as our situation was become truly desperate. I landed with one man, leaving the other four men in the boat, with orders to let nothing come alongside. We soon after perceived both the proas come to an anchor, and that they sent on shore the canoes which they had with them, with six hands, armed and fit for battle. I immediately ran to our boat, and shoved her off. The Malays cried out, and told me that they had Indian corn for me; but perceiving their intentions were to detain us on shore, and then to take possession of the boat, and massacre our crew, I stood off, and went about four miles to the northward, round a point of land, and landed out of sight of the proas, where there was a great plenty of cocoa-nut trees. I left two hands in the boat, and went with the other three up to the cocoa-nut trees; but not being able to climb them, and particularly in our weak state, I was obliged to cut them down with my axe, which now proved a valuable friend to me. It had saved my life in the boat, and now gave us the first means to support that life. After cutting down three trees for our sea-stock, and growing quite tired, Archibald Millar told me, as neither of the lads that were with me was able to use the axe, that he would go to the boat, and let one of the two men left in it, who could handle the axe, come to my assistance. Both of them left it, and joined me, while Millar staid in the boat.

"By this time I had nearly cut down the fourth tree; and, as it was falling, I heard Millar, who was taking care of our boat, scream out in a most bitter manner. I immediately answered him, and ran to his assistance. On my arrival on the beach, I saw our boat off at some distance, full of Malays: but seeing nothing of Millar, I ran to the water's edge; and, supposing him in the boat, called to him. As I could get no answer, however, I conceived that they had carried him off, with all our little stores in our boat, which was the only means of our escape.

"On turning about, I perceived the poor fellow just at my feet, lying on his back, at the edge of the water, with his throat cut, and two cuts in his body; one on his right side between the ribs, and the other on his right leg, with his left hand on his breast, and his right by his side. I was greatly shocked at this event; and did not know how soon it might be our fate to be served in the same manner, as we were discovered in an unknown country, and had every thing to fear from these savage Malays. The men who had taken our boat were the same who had landed from the canoes out of the proas; and, coming across the neck of land, had waited there till they could find their opportunity of carrying it off.

"I now hastened to our four men, and fled with them into the mountains, after having lost our boat, money, and most of our

clothes. We then concealed ourselves in the mountains, amongst the dry leaves, the remaining part of the day, having no great opinion of our lives or safety, and having to encounter with man, beast, and hunger. About the middle of the afternoon we heard a noise in the same direction that we had come; and, supposing it to be some of the Malays in search of us, we covered ourselves with leaves and bushes in such a manner as not to be seen. We were happy at last to find that it was only occasioned by two large wild fowls, which flew away as soon as they saw us.

"We lay very quiet the remainder of this day, concluding, that the only means now left for our escape would be to get to Macassar, if possible, by land. Difficulties and dangers surrounded us. We found it not safe to walk about in the day-time, as we heard people on all sides of us. Night was the best and only time to travel, to prevent discovery; but we were then in danger of beasts, of losing our way, and destitute of the means of furnishing ourselves with sustenance. We, however, agreed to travel by night, and accordingly set out about eight o'clock, taking a star for our guide, bearing south. But the woods were so thick with high trees, and bushes underneath, that we soon lost sight of the star, and kept on the side of the mountain, supposing we were going in the right course. We went through many brambles and places very thick with underwood, which tore our clothes; and at day-light, when we imagined we had walked about fifteen miles, we found ourselves, to our great disappointment and surprise, within a few rods of the place whence we had set out the preceding night,---owing to our having gone round the mountain instead of passing straight over it.

"We resided in this place all the day, during which we heard people on all sides of us; but whether they were in search of us or not, we could not tell. The night following we set out again for Macassar; but not trusting to a star again, we then kept by the sea-side, and so continued for six nights successively, returning into the woods in the day for rest and security; during which time we fell in with many wild beasts. None of them, however, hurt us, as by throwing stones at them, and making a noise, we frightened them away whenever they came towards us; for we were without arms, and had only a boat-hook, which I made use of myself, an axe, two pocket-knives, and four clubs which we had cut in the woods.

"On the sixth day from the loss of our boat, and the thirteenth from the loss of our ship, my people were become very faint, hungry, and weary, having had no provisions since we left the ship, and only now and then a little water from the hollows of

trees, and a few berries when we could get them. Our feet were also very sore, as we were without shoes, and our bodies were much torn by briars and brambles. As for myself, being stout in person, and much used to exercise and fatigue, I did not feel so much exhausted, as I kept up my spirits, and had my mind constantly engaged."

At length, on the morning of the 13th day, our travellers came to a mountain, by the side of a deep bay, in which they observed many of the Malay inhabitants fishing. They were now almost exhausted for want of food; and Mr. W. feasted heartily on a yellow berry, about the size of a currant; but, his companions not relishing its taste, were contented with eating the leaves of various branches.

It is to be regretted that Mr. W. had not some knowledge of botany, which would have enabled him to describe the berry, on which he made such a luxurious repast; as we are probably unacquainted with its nutritive virtues.

The attention of our deserted travellers was now seriously directed towards the means of their escape, which, they were convinced, would be facilitated if they could regain the small island on which they landed the first night after leaving the ship, as they might then be picked up by some vessel which might pass: they therefore determined to purloin a canoe, or to construct what is called a *catamaran*, by lashing several logs together with rattans, so as to form a floating raft. But the men who had eaten of the leaves were shortly afterwards attacked with pains in the bowels and violent vomitings, which rendered them totally unable to proceed in the intended expedition. On the following morning, they presented such a ghastly appearance, that Mr. W. became apprehensive they would not recover; and being still without water, though ready to expire with thirst, he went in search of some, which he found, to the amount of about a pint, in a hollow tree. This he divided amongst them, by giving three mouthsful to each, after which, they all sunk down, being quite overcome by exhaustion.

"I now," says Mr. Woodard, "began to be convinced that they were unable to proceed to the island, as we had intended, and then asked them if they were willing to surrender themselves to the Natives. They all with one voice consented, except John Cole, an American lad, who said he would rather die in the woods than be massacred by the Natives; and, at the same time, catching me by the foot and kissing it, earnestly begged of me to stay in the woods. In order to preserve authority and create confidence, I was still obliged to speak very roughly to him; calling him a

fool, and directing him to follow me; which he did reluctantly, and behind at some distance.

"We now thought it most prudent to hide our weapons in the ground; *viz.* our boat-hook, the axe, the two pocket-knives, and a dollar. These we hid by the side of a large tree, as a mark. We then proceeded to the bay where we had seen the Malays in the morning, in order to meet our fate, or to find friends. When we came to the beach, however, we did not see any one; for, as the tide was up, the Natives were all gone away. I immediately walked on until I came to the path; and then ascending a few steps on the banks, I perceived three girls fishing in a brook. As soon as they saw us, they ran away up the path. We followed them for some distance, and then sat down on a large trunk of a tree, and waited the event of their departure. In about a quarter of an hour I perceived three men coming towards us in the same path in which the girls had gone, and immediately rose to meet them, desiring our men to sit still. I proceeded towards them alone, until I had come within a short distance of them; when they stopped and drew out their cresses or knives. Without hesitation, I still advanced till within two yards of them, and then falling on my knees I begged for mercy. They all looked stedfastly on me, with their knives drawn, for the space of ten minutes; when one of them, putting up his cress, came towards me, and knelt in the same manner that I had done to him. He then offered me both his hands, after their manner of shaking hands; I immediately did the same with him. By this time about twenty more of the Natives, with one of their chiefs, arrived at the spot where we were. They stripped me, took off my hat and handkerchief, and cut the buttons off my jacket, thinking them to be money. By this time my four companions came up, whom they treated in the same manner."

Thus Mr. Woodard and his unfortunate party became completely in the power and lay at the mercy of the Natives; who supplied them with five green cocoa-nuts, and then led them to a town called Travâlla, where they were immediately taken to the court-house, accompanied by a vast concourse of people, who, it appears, had never before seen a white man. They were placed near the judgment-seat, and in the space of half an hour, the Rajah of the place arrived, of whom Mr. W. gives the following description:

"He was tall, straight, well-made, and about six feet high. On his entrance he looked as wild as a madman, and carried in his hand a large drawn cress or knife, the blade of which was two feet and a half long, and very bright. He was almost naked, except that he wore a small pair of breeches, a girdle round his

waist, and a red handkerchief on his head. He came within the circle of the women and children, and then made a stop. I immediately rose, and went to meet him. He fixed his eyes stedfastly upon me, looking wildly. I immediately begged for my life; but he neither spoke a word, nor altered his position. I then approached so near to him as to take his foot and put it on my head, as a token that I was completely under his power and direction. He then went to his judgment-seat, and, assembling his chiefs around him, they discoursed together; but what was the subject of their consultation I could not comprehend. The chief now rose from his seat to go to his own house, which was at no great distance, and soon returned with five pieces of betel-nut, which the Natives chew instead of tobacco. He gave me a piece of it, and the same to my people, as a token of friendship, and this I afterwards learned is with them a constant indication of peace. He then ordered some cocoa-nuts."

Our travellers were then permitted to retire to rest till towards eight o'clock in the evening, when they were ordered to the Rajah's house, and received a supper of sago-bread and pease; but which was so small in quantity, that ony one of them might have eaten it all. After this repast they again lay down to sleep; but, by ten o'clock, a number of Malays who had not seen them before, came to satisfy their curiosity, and expressed much surprise at the stature and colour of Mr. Woodard, who was six feet one inch in height, stoutly formed, and, consequently, appeared to the Malays like a giant. For the space of 40 days, they were detained prisoners, and subjected to the incessant visits of crowds of men, women and children. Their allowance was a cocoa-nut and an ear of Indian corn at noon, and the same at night.

"One day," says Mr. Woodard, "two old men arrived, who made me understand that they wanted to know of what country we were. I informed them that we were English. They then left me, and in the course of two days one of them returned, bringing with him a Mohammedan priest, whose name was Tuan Hadjee. He could speak a few words of English, some Portuguese, and some words of the Moorish language. He had been at Bengal and Bombay, on his way to Mecca. He had a certificate from Henry or John Herbert, the governor of Balambangan in the island of Borneo (dated in 1771), to certify that he was a trusty good man, and was empowered by the governor to assist all distressed Englishmen, and convey them to an English port.

"I cannot describe my first feelings at the sight of this man; for I was in hopes that the knowledge of our situation would soon find its way to some European settlement in this part of the world, and that, sooner or later, we should also reach it. Tuan

Hadjee asked whence I came. I told him from Bengal, and last from Batavia. He immediately asked the Rajah, what he should give for me and my people. The Rajah replied, that he would not part with us. Tuan Hadjee then offered him one hundred dollars in gold-dust, but he again refused to let us go. Our good friend the priest left us that evening, and told us that he would go to the head Rajah about us. We saw no more of him, and neither knew nor could learn which way he went, or to what place he belonged: nor had I inquired, as I expected to have seen him again in the morning."

At length, after being detained close prisoners for a month, and constantly guarded, the Malays relaxed in their rigour, and took two of them daily to the woods, where they were employed in making sago-bread; but provisions being scarce, they were allowed no food till night, when they were only furnished with a scanty meal. In the course of two months, they were only guarded at night, being permitted in the day-time to walk about the town, in consequence, perhaps, of the illness of some of the men, two of whom had been seized with a fever and ague. About this time an incident occurred, which shews that the opinions of the Malays bear, in some instances, an analogy to those of the Jews. ---Mr. W. thus describes it:

"Returning one day from a walk which I had taken towards the sea, which was about half a mile from Travâlla, I heard a noise in the woods at a short distance from the town. On arriving at the house where the sick men were, I was informed that George Williams, the man who was well, and whom I had left at home, had killed a hog---an animal to which the Natives have an utter aversion. I immediately ran to the place whence the noise proceeded; where I, sure enough, found Williams with his dead hog, (which he had killed with a spear made of bamboo) and surrounded by a number of women and children, who were hooting and laughing at his tugging the hog home through the bushes. Williams was grown so weary that he could not stand, and the Natives would give him no assistance. I immediately went to him and laid hold of the hog to carry it into the woods, in order to dress it; when all the women and children hooted and laughed at me, and in derision called me 'Satan' or 'Sytan,' which signifies 'Devil' in their language. I then took the hog on my shoulders, with an intent to get clear of the mob; but they still ran after me, and made such a noise that they raised the whole town, who followed behind us at some little distance.

"I then dispatched George Williams for an old knife which had been given me to cut wood with, and, as he was returning with it, they made several attempts to snatch it from him; but I

caught it out of his hand, and rubbed it in the hog's blood, to prevent their taking hold of it; for (as I have observed before) they hold this animal in the greatest detestation. Still followed by the crowd of people, I now proceeded with the hog towards the sea-shore, for they would not suffer it to be dressed in or near the town. When we came to a convenient place, at a little distance from the sea, we made a stand, and began to dress our animal; but the knife would not cut, and we were obliged to procure some bamboos, and dissect it with knives made out of them. We also kindled a fire, and smoaked the meat, which was the only mode we had of preserving it.

"Just as the sun went down, John Cole, the man who had gone to make sago-bread, returned, bringing with him sago for our suppers; and this, with the pork, afforded us all a hearty meal, it being the first flesh-meat we had eaten for near three months.

"The simplicity of the Natives created us no small merriment. The meat, which we had cured by smoaking, we wrapped up in large leaves of a plant very abundant in that country, and hid it in the woods, as the Natives would not suffer it to come into the house. It served us for eight or ten days; during which time, as the children passed, they pointed to the house, and cried 'Satan muccon babi;' which signifies 'Devils eat hogs.' After this continued feast, we lived, as before, very poorly; sometimes we could get sago-bread, sometimes cocoa-nuts, sometimes none."

At Travâlla, our unfortunate adventurers were confined nearly eight months, during which time people repaired from all quarters of the island to view them, as white men were a novelty to which they were unaccustomed. The state of confinement, however, in which they were kept, enabled them to ascertain that it was the intention of the Malays not to part with them, unless they received a considerable sum for setting them at liberty. Hence, the primary object with Mr. Woodard was to discover the residence of the old priest who visited them soon after their captivity; and, after much precaution, he ascertained that he resided at a town called Dungally, at a distance of about eight miles.

After they had been eight months in the situation above described, a proa arrived from Dungally to purchase cocoa-nuts, when Mr. Woodard found an opportunity of inquiring concerning Tuan Hadjee, and succeeded in gaining information as to the place of his residence, the route to it, &c. About this period our prisoners were sent for by the head rajah, who resided at Parlow, at the bottom of a bay of that name, whither they were conveyed: the sick men being taken in a proa, while Mr. Woodard and the rest, preceded by the Rajah of Travâlla, and guarded by five horsemen, travelled, on foot, by land. Nothing suffi

ciently interesting to merit detail occurred during their journey, excepting that the prisoners, as well as the Malays, who went on foot, were so overcome by the heat and fatigue, as to be unable to stand; as the evening advanced, the Malay guard was taken on horseback, and the whites, though without shoes, were compelled to go forward, without being suffered to relax in their progress; and when they injured their feet by the sharp stones on the road, it was a source of amusement for the Rajah and his guards.

They arrived at Parlow about ten o'clock the same night; and after being scantily fed for two days, they were conducted to the head Rajah, with whom nearly two thousand people had assembled to behold them. After silently observing them for some time, each of them was furnished with a musket. On being asked if they understood the use of this instrument, they answered in the affirmative, which, it will appear in the sequel, was an avowal that tended to their injury.

After the curiosity of the people had been satisfied, our prisoners were more at their ease; but being placed in a large house open on all sides, and surrounded by marshy rice-fields, they were soon afflicted with a fever and ague, a disease very general in such situations, and of which Mr. Woodard and his companions were peculiarly susceptible, from being kept without clothes. The following anecdote will afford an additional proof to the many on record, of the superior feelings of the female sex to the sufferings of the unfortunate:

"On the fourth or fifth day after my falling sick, there came a woman to see me, who, after looking at me for some time without speaking, went to the bazar or market, which was at but a small distance, and bought some tobacco and some bannanas, which she presented to me, giving me at the same time a *double-key* or piece of money of about two-pence halfpenny value. She kindly questioned me if I had no more clothes than those which she saw me wear: I told her, 'No.' She then asked if I would have some tea: I answered, 'Most willingly.' The good woman then took George Williams with her to her house, and gave him tea, and a pot to boil it in: she also sent me rice and a wrapper, which is their country dress; a pillow also, and two mats; desiring him at the same time to call again the next morning, and he should have more rice. This he accordingly did, and she proved a very good friend to us while we staid at Parlow. This lady was of royal blood, and had married a Malay merchant. Indeed I experienced here, and in general, more kindness and compassion from the women than from the men.

"In the course of a few days, the head Rajah, Tommy Ganjoo, provided a house for me and my companions, and we were con-

ducted to it. Not being able to walk, I was carried, and accompanied by a great concourse of young females, who immediately on my arrival kindled a fire, and began to boil rice. My fever still continued very severe for about three days after my arrival at this house. On the morning of the fourth day, an old woman appeared with a handful of boughs of a peculiar tree, announcing that she was come to cure me, and that directly. In the course of a few minutes, I perceived four or five more accompanying her.---According to the custom of that description of people in curing the sick here, they spent the day in brushing me with the boughs of the tree which they had brought in the morning, and used some incantations which I put little confidence in. They came again at twelve o'clock mid-day, and returned in the evening, going over the same ceremony as in the morning; and on leaving me, about ten o'clock in the evening, they ordered a girl to go with me in the morning to bathe in the river, which was at some distance. Not being willing to accompany the girl, I took with me two of our people as soon as day-light appeared, bathed, and then returned. Soon after, the girl came to wait upon me to the water. She did not seem to be well pleased at my having gone before she came."

On Mr. Woodard and his companions being in a state of convalescence, the Rajah introduced to them the commandant of a Dutch fort called Priggia, situated on the east or opposite side of the island; he was a Frenchman, and had been thirty years in the Dutch service. After asking some questions as to his destination, he wished to compel them to go to Priggia, and enter into the Dutch service, which they peremptorily refused. The Frenchman then retired, highly offended, and without offering them the least assistance.

At Parlow Mr. Woodard and his companions were detained eight months, during which time nothing very remarkable occurred. This town contains about five hundred houses, and a large river discharges itself there, after running through the country for a considerable distance. It is situated in about 1° 30″ South Latitude. It is the capital of a fine country called Uncuila, and abounds with great plenty of cattle, horses, sheep, and goats. Round and near the town are rice-fields, which are occasionally overflowed with water from the river, by means of canals. The country abounds with plantains, bananas, sweet potatoes, jack-apples, which they eat like cabbage, and chillies or small bird-pepper, which grow wild, and which the natives make much use of. The inhabitants smoke opium, which they purchase of the Dutch.

On perceiving that the Rajah did not intend to send him away, Mr. Woodard wished to return to Travâlla, in order to escape

from thence to Dungally, the residence of the priest Tuan Hadjee; and to this the head Rajah did not make much objection. He however charged the captain of the proa in which he embarked, not to let him get sight of Dungally, but to pass it in the night; for it appeared that the Rajahs wished to prevent any intercourse between the Englishmen and the priest who had been making inquiries about them. "It however fortunately happened," says Mr. Woodard, "as we passed Dungally in the middle of the night, that we were becalmed. We had been out two days: the Malays got out their oars, and made me assist in rowing; but the current being against us, we did not double the promontory of Dungally before day-light. This was to me a most fortunate circumstance; for through it I got a full sight of the town, and carefully observed the situation of it. In the course of the day following, we arrived at our destined port of Travâlla, where the people did not seem pleased to receive me, as it was then a very scarce time for provisions. They fed me chiefly with green pompions, which soon reduced me to such a relaxed state, that I began to be apprehensive for my life. My ideas were, however, bent upon running away to Dungally, but I was so weakened by my disorder that I could scarcely walk.

"I now determined to try some other method: I went to a village at a small distance, begged some Indian corn, and then proceeded to the place where we had secreted our boat-hook, axe, and knives, and brought away my dollar, concealing it as cautiously as I could. When I reached home, I put it under my pillow, which I knew the inhabitants never would touch. Having now some Indian corn, and every day begging a few ears more, I laid them also under my pillow. I then took one of the Malays, who had been my best friend, to the spot where the boat-hook, axe, and knives were buried, and gave them to him. He very richly thanked me, and asked me where the money was. I told him that I had none; but not being willing, however, to believe me, he scratched all round the place, whence the tools had been taken but ineffectually, and then returned to the town."

It may readily be conceived that the treatment experienced by our travellers, induced them to think incessantly about the means of their escape; and as the projects were planned and executed by Mr. Woodard, he was always upon the alert to effect his purpose. One night, although guarded by three men and two women, he escaped to the shore, armed with a bamboo spear, where, finding a canoe, he attempted to make for Dungally by water: but when a quarter of a mile from land, the bark became so leaky, that he was in imminent danger, as he could not swim; he therefore rowed back, and when in five feet water the canoe filled and sunk. He was then obliged to return to the town,

which he did without detection, and immediately proceeded for Dungally by land. Being in some degree acquainted with the route, which lay through woods and over mountains, he met with no interruption except from the buffaloes, which he repulsed with stones and his spear. By day-light he was fortunate enough to reach the town of Dungally, which is surrounded by a wooden fence. On proceeding to the middle of the town, he was soon recognized by one of the men who had seen him at Travâlla, and who immediately conducted him to Tuan Hadjee.

The priest was in bed with his wife, a young woman not more than sixteen years of age: they both instantly rose to make him welcome, and regaled him with rice and fish. The good old man also bought him a piece of cloth, which he made for himself into a shirt, jacket, and trowsers.

As soon as the Chief of Travâlla learned that Mr. Woodard had escaped to Dungally, he sent to demand him: but the Priest and the Rajah of the latter town refused to deliver him up; they informed him, that it was their intention to send him to Batavia, or Macassar, and they wished him to send for his companions from Parlow. He accordingly wrote a letter, which was entrusted to the captain of a proa to be delivered to them with secrecy; and he so effectually succeeded in his mission, that in five days the men all arrived at Dungally.

The distance between Dungally and Parlow is about twelve miles, and it appeared that the men had escaped in the evening, during the celebration of a festival. The people of Dungally received them with great rejoicings, as they took much interest in their fate on account of the protection afforded them by the priest.---They remained here a short time, and were well treated. Tuan Hadjee informed Mr. Woodard, that it was his intention to set off in about two months on his voyage, but that he must sail for a few days to procure provisions. He therefore left him in his house, with his wife and two servants, while the four sailors were placed in the *Longar* or town-house, where they were kept at the expence of the Rajah. Soon after the departure of the priest, provisions became scarce, and our travellers were conveyed up the country, where they could be supplied by some of the tribe who were occupied in cultivating rice and Indian corn.

"We staid here," says Mr. Woodard, "for the space of two months, during which time the Rajah of Parlow made war on the Rajah of Dungally, because he would not deliver us up. On this account we were immediately called into the town of Dungally, together with all the inhabitants; and as the crops ripened, they were gathered and conveyed into the town.

"At this moment Tuan Hadjee returned home, and the Rajah insisted upon my taking a gun and fighting for him. As the war

was engaged in on our account, I readily complied with his request. He gave me a musket, and stationed me in a small tower, or watch-house, upon the fence of the town, where there was a large swivel gun, which I was to use in case of an attack.

"An engagement one day took place between the two tribes; there were about two hundred men on each side. The people from Parlow killed eight of the men of Dungally, and wounded a number of others. They immediately cut off the heads of those who were killed. The men of Parlow then retreated to their own town, with their dead and wounded. Their loss was reported to be considerable. This was the only battle which took place while I was amongst them."

Provisions now again grew scarce, and Tuan Hadjee being engaged in another aquatic excursion, Mr. Woodard wished to bear him company; the Rajah however denied him leave, and insisted that he should stay at Dungally to keep guard. This he refused with some boldness; and ordering his people together, they took their guns, and, carrying them to the house of the Rajah, told him they wanted to go to Macassar, and that they would stand guard no longer. No opposition was made to them on account of this resolution, but they were obliged to beg their food from the inhabitants; and though, by having learnt the language well, they were tolerably expert mendicants, they met with little success, and were consequently not far above a state of starvation.

They now came to the resolution of stealing a canoe, employed themselves in the woods in making paddles, and in two days were ready for their expedition; when, as they were about to enter a canoe which they had found on the beach, they were suddenly surrounded by about twenty armed men, who took them prisoners and carried them before the Rajah. They made a direct avowal of their intentions, and no measures of severity resulted from it. In short, by an acquaintance with the dastardly character of the people who detained them, they had become impudent and fearless of danger.

They next made an attempt to follow Tuan Hadjee, who was going by sea to a place called Sawyat, though both he and the Rajah refused them permission; they succeeded in passing the sentinels who guarded the gate, and seized a canoe on the beach, in which they put to sea. After some difficulties, and being obliged to conceal themselves for a whole day on an adjacent islet, they put off again at sun-set, when an accident occurred which had nearly terminated their adventures: on raising a sail made of matting, they upset their canoe and were all immerged; but at length they succeeded in getting on the bottom of the boat, and afterwards in setting her right, when they gained the shore they had just left, but lost all their provisions.

The next day they fell in with a proa; the crew of which, taking them at their word that they were bound with Tuan Hadjee to Sawyah, carried them to that place and delivered them to the priest, with whom they continued some time, during which several trivial incidents occured which are here not worth repetition. They went with the priest to Dumpalis, another small town on the coast, where he left them, promising to call for them in twenty days; but the impatience of Mr. Woodard and his companions to escape, induced them to betray the confidence of the good old man, for which duplicity they were soon properly requited.

In a short time after the priest's departure, a proa arrived at Dumpalis, which was bound to Solo, one of the Phillippine islands, (about seven days' sail,) whither Mr. Woodard agreed with the captain to take him and his party, with the hope of being picked up by some English ships which touch there; but the Malay took them to Tomboo, and delivered them up to Tuan Hadjee, to whom he disclosed their intrigues. The coolness of the priest to Mr. Woodard, which was followed by neglect and contempt on the part of the natives, had a strong effect upon his feelings; for he observes that it almost broke his heart. His grief was not concealed; and the savages, by seeing him in tears, became affected in their turn, and reported his situation to Tuan Hadjee. This good man immediately forgot his animosity; and, on learning that the English were lamenting their state of captivity, could not refrain from bursting into tears.

A reconciliation now took place, and the old man redoubled his kindness towards them; but though he promised to take them away, it soon appeared that he had not a power equal to his inclinations. They therefore resolved to steal a canoe, in order to go to Macassar; and the men, being employed in beating rice from the husk, soon procured a quantity for their voyage. They had arranged a plan for stealing the Rajah's canoe; but he suspected their design, and caused it to be secured near his own house.

A pirate's proa, however, came up the river to Tomboo, on the day fixed for their departure, having a fine canoe attached to it. "I went immediately," says Mr. Woodard, "to borrow the canoe, to go fishing with. The people granted me the use of it, the distance not being great. I caught several fish; which I shared with them, and at the same time asked for the canoe to fish again at night. This, however, was refused, yet with the intimation, that I might use it in the day-time. It was, notwithstanding, our intention to steal it that night. The proa to which it belonged lay by the side of a steep bank, with the canoe astern. We all went to bed quietly, and lay until near twelve o'clock. It being a fine moon-light night, all the girls were sitting in the open air,

spinning or dancing. After they had retired to sleep, I came out of the house, and directed my course towards the proa; leaving orders in the house with our people, that if I succeeded in seizing it, they were to come round to the beach, which was not far off. This they did, and we all embarked without being discovered."

On putting to sea, they reached a small island in the bay, about three leagues distant: but finding no water on it, they made for an uninhabited point of land, where they procured some; and, after repairing their boat, directed their course southwards for Macassar, which lay about five degrees distant in that direction. They had been three days at sea, when another proa fell in with them; having on board five Malays, all of whom were known to our party. The foreigners ordered them on board; but Mr. Woodard, observing their small number, set them at defiance, and rowed to windward: the proa attempted to follow them, but could not succeed. They then landed at a place called Tamamâre, about twelve leagues to the southward of Travâlla, where some trivial events occurred. One of the Englishmen was seized by two Malays, who endeavoured to force him and the rest of the party back to Travâlla, when, to avoid coming to hostilities, they again put to sea. They were still without water; and in the night were overtaken by a violents quall, attended with thunder and lightning. Here, however, they escaped the danger which threatened them; and by rowing all night they passed the proa which had chased them on the preceding day. They had now proceeded a considerable distance to the southward.

After having been eight days from Tomboo, they approached a part of the Celebes which was very thickly inhabited, and where the land appeared to be cultivated: they also passed several towns, in the harbours of which were a number of proas. It was consequently not without the greatest precaution that they could succeed in procuring a little water at a retired spot. The next day they learned indirectly from one of the natives in a canoe, that they were only at the distance of two days' sail (in a proa) from Macassar; which was such welcome intelligence, as to infuse new vigour into their drooping spirits.

"We now," continues Mr. Woodard, "left this canoe, and directed our course along the coast. We had a fine wind, but were without sails. At evening, just as the sun was setting, we perceived a proa full of men set off from the shore. She rowed very fast, and soon came alongside us. Without hesitation they caught hold of our canoe; and four or five of them jumped into her, and nearly overset her. All my hopes thus again vanished, and we were once more taken prisoners by the Malays. They told us that we

must immediately go to the rajah, who had sent them after us. Finding ourselves overpowered by so great a number, we were obliged to submit, and reluctantly obeyed their order. They took us on shore, to the town of Pamboon; and the moment we landed they stripped us of every thing we wore, which indeed was but little. They then conducted us to the rajah's house, where all the principal men of the place had assembled. I was there asked whence I came, and to what place I was bound; to which my answers were the same as before. We were now become so familiar with dangers and captures, and were also so much nearer Macassar than we could possibly have expected after so many hazards, that we became more and more desperate and confident, from the persuasion that we should at last arrive at our destined port." It appears, that in order to induce Mr. Woodard to reside at Pamboon, the rajah offered to compliment him with his own wife, while the lady seconded the proposal by expressing her wish to have a white child; but Mr. W. rejecting her offer, she presented to him her sister, and twenty other young girls, from among whom he was desired to choose a partner: but as he did not think proper to comply with their request, he was only allowed to lie with his men upon the ground, and they were surrounded by a guard of twenty of the people.

The next day Mr. Woodard renewed his solicitations to the rajah of Pamboon, to send him and his party to Macassar; and observed that the governor, having sent for him, would, on his being detained, seize all such of the rajah's canoes as might put into his ports. This intimidation had its effect: and the rajah, after reflecting a few minutes, called the captain of a proa who was bound to that place, and delivered our party to his care; informing him, that if he could get any compensation for them he might take it, but if not he was to set them at liberty. While the proa was preparing for the voyage, Mr. Woodard was taken ill; having a violent sore on his shoulder, in consequence of a sun-burn, by travelling without a shirt. He was at length conveyed on board the proa; in which he was extended upon the deck without any kind of covering, exposed to the sultry days and cold nights which prevail in those climates, and the latter of which are attended with frequent showers of rain.

"We thus," says he, "left Pamboon; which is about ninety or a hundred miles from Macassar, and belongs to a tribe called Tremany. In the course of three days we arrived at a small island called San Bottam, within about nine leagues of Macassar; where I was left two days on board of the proa. They would not allow us to go on shore, but for what reason I do not know. I then called to me George Williams; requesting him to go on shore

(and, if they refused to let him, either to swim or to steal a canoe), and acquaint the rajah that I was on board the proa very sick, and wanted to come on shore. Williams soon returned to me, with the joyful tidings that the rajah would send for us immediately; which he did in the course of half an hour, by letting his son come on board with a note to the captain of the proa, to deliver us up instantly. We were accordingly released, and conducted to the rajah; to whom I related my story, and told him that we wanted to go direct to Macassar. The rajah, observing our miserable situation, ordered us some rice; and directed a proa to be got ready that afternoon to convey me and my people to our destination.

"We set off just before night, but did not reach Macassar till the following day. We landed on the 15th of June, 1795, after a voyage of about nineteen days from Tomboo, and after having been two years and five months in captivity; the reckoning which I had kept during all that time being wrong only by one day."

Mr. Woodard speaks in the highest terms of the attention of Mr. W. P. Jacobson, a Dutchman, the governor of Macassar; who, among other kindnesses on his arrival, presented him with *a glass of gin*. He was afterwards, as well as his whole party, provided with clothes at the governor's expence; and on the 1st of July, 1795, was sent off in a proa for Batavia, which island he reached on the 11th. The companions of his misfortune were immediately engaged by an American captain. Mr. Woodard himself soon afterwards sailed in an American ship for Calcutta: where he met with Captain Hubbard, whom he had lost while in the boat at sea; and by whose kind offices he obtained the command of the America, the ship which brought him to the Isle of Wight. Thus concludes the first part of this narrative. The succeeding part, which is by far more generally interesting, consists of a description of the island of Celebes, and of the manners and customs of its inhabitants.

From the different excursions made by Mr. Woodard along the coast, he ascertained that the island differs very much in its form from all the accounts received of it.

On its north-east side is an immensely large bay, where there are two Dutch settlements. One of these, called by the Malays Guarantala, is a sea-port town situated on the north side of this bay, and near it is a gold mine. The other, called Priggia, lies at the bottom of the bay, on the south side of it, and a little way up the country. Its distance from Parlow, across the island, is about three days journey, or seventy miles.

On the south side of the island is another large deep bay; but

which, from shoals and rocks, is not navigable except for small proas. The western shore of this bay is inhabited by a rich and populous tribe called the Tabogees, and by the Dutch Buccanees or Buggeses.

The land between these two bays forms a peninsula, and is inhabited by a tribe called the Borea; but of them Mr. Woodard knows very little.

The western coast is inhabited by many tribes; and contains several towns, together with a number of fine harbours. The Dutch have ports in various parts; particularly the settlements of Macassar, Goua, Gaurantala, and Priggia: and about five years before Mr. Woodward was there, they had attempted to take the town of Tolâtola, near which there is a gold mine.

The principal bays are those of Sawyah, Cape Dundo on the north-west side, and Dumpalis to the southward of Sawyah. At the last, a considerable trade is carried on. The natives fight with poisoned arrows; which they shoot out of blow-guns, about five feet long, made of ebony: and they are very expert in the use of these weapons, with which they kill at the distance of twenty yards. The poison is very subtle; and causes great pain to the wounded person, who very seldom recovers.

Tomboo is a fine open bay, the southernmost point of which is a long promontory or point of land running a considerable way out to sea, and stands just under the Line. This point is not inhabited. The bay is exposed to the westerly winds; which prevail during four months of the year, from the middle of November to the middle of March. In this bay are eight or nine small islands, the two largest of which Mr. Woodard visited. The distance between these islands is a quarter of a mile, with a channel between them ten fathom deep. The largest of the islands is about five miles in circumference; and has a bold steep shore, where a ship can lie alongside and heave down. It abounds in large trees of mangoes, mahogany, bully, bamboos, and in reeds. The harbour between the islands is sheltered from all winds, and has plenty of fish. Here they caught keymers; a large shell fish, about the bigness of a peck or half a bushel, which is good eating, and much valued by the Malays. The natives catch them either by diving for them, and introducing a piece of bamboo into the shell when open, to prevent its shutting; they take a second dive, cut out the fish with a knife, and bring it up in their mouths. There is also a gold mine about two days journey from this town, which belongs to the rajah of Dungally. Mr. Woodard asserts that its produce is very fine; and that he once saw a piece brought from thence, which weighed nine pennyweights. This town produces rice, Indian

corn, tobacco, and cocoa-nuts; which the people barter with the Dutch for cloths, powder, flints, muskets, iron-wire, and cotton. When provisions are plentiful, they sell them indiscriminately, and are thereby often reduced to great want.

Parlow is remarkable only for being a fine harbour, where the land and sea breezes prevail all the year round. The principal native artificers of the island take up their residence here for the purpose of traffic.

The town of Dungally is on the south point of land which forms one side of the bay of Parlow. It is strongly defended by a fort on a hill; in which there are about fifteen swivel guns, thirty blunderbusses, and two hundred small arms. The inhabitants of Dungally are descendants from the Tremany tribe, and command great part of the land and northern territory belonging to the Uncuillas. The people are warlike and enterprising. The town is the residence of the head rajah, and is a place of considerable trade. Here is good anchorage, the town bearing south-west. There is a great plenty of fish. Numbers of alligators infest this place, and indeed the whole coast: the Malays call them carpooners.

"While at Dungally," says Mr. Woodard, "I often observed some of the northern stars particularly the Pointers, over a large mountain situated in the northern headland, which forms the south part of the bay of Tomboo. This mountain, I conceive, may be forty or fifty miles due north of Dungally.

The other principal places are Pamboon, and the territory of the Malogos. Pamboon is the chief town of the Tremany tribe, and is about a hundred miles from Macassar. It is not fortified; but has an open road, with a bad harbour. The Tremanies are a very ancient, numerous, and independant tribe. They keep a great many proas; and raise Indian corn, but no rice. They cultivate cotton; and manufacture great quantities of cloth, which they barter for rice and gold-dust. They trade in their proas to Macassar, Batavia, &c. The Tremany tribe have many muskets in their possession, which they purchased from the Dutch.

The territory of the Maloyos tribe is situated in the south-west part of the island. They are subjected to the Dutch, to whom they pay tribute. The country abounds in sheep, cattle, horses, and goats; and produces much rice. This tribe employ great number of fishing proas; which they keep among the islands and shoals to catch *trepins*, a kind of fish which lie at the bottom of the shoals. They are as big round as a man's arm, and some as large as a man's leg; of a gristly nature, and of a black colour. The natives catch them with little spears. When carried on shore, and cut open, they take out the inside and entrails, put the fish

into a boiler, and boil them till the outside skin comes off. They are then taken out, and placed upon a stage, when a fire is made under them: here they remain till they are smoked, and become hard and dry. When they are fit for market, they are sold to the Chinese.

Macassar is a Dutch settlement, under a Governor and several subordinate officers; and remarkable from no foreign vessels being permitted to touch there, except a Chinese junk, which arrives annually.

The following passages will convey a good idea of the climate, produce, and mode of cultivation, of this island.

Being situated so much under the line, the climate of Celebes is warm, but in general healthy. From the low swampy situation of the rice-grounds however, the inhabitants are sometimes affected with agues. They have eight months of fine weather: the rainy and least healthy season is from the middle of November to the middle of March, and is attended by strong gales from the westward, here called monsoons. During these the current sets to the southward in the middle of the straits, but along shore there is a regular tide. The products of the country are Indian corn, rice, sago, jacks, cocoa-nuts, pompions, black pepper, callivances or beans, melons, plantains, &c. These are in a tolerable state of cultivation.—The Malays have divisions of fields by fences; and a distinction of property, which is well preserved; but that which belongs to the rajah or priest is always looked upon as sacred. Many of the rice-grounds are made on sloping-lands; in which the natives form little canals at about twenty yards distance from each other, in order to water the ground. These divisions are levelled by carrying the higher part of the land to the lower, so as to form steps. This is performed by women and children, by means of small baskets. The land is overflowed six inches deep for about fourteen or sixteen days, when it becomes very moist. About twenty bullocks, used to the employment, are then turned in, and are driven round the rice-fields, to make the land poachy. The Malays term this process *pruning*. This being done, they let in the water; which overflows the land again, and renders it fit for planting. The rice is then taken from its first bed, and transplanted into these rice-fields by the Malay women, who stick the plants into the mud eight inches asunder. The grounds are constantly watered till the rice is half-grown; when the shade of the rice keeping the land moist, it is no more overflowed. When ripe, the rice is cut by hand, one *spear* at a time; it is then put up into bunches that will produce about a quart. When dry, it is put into stacks and covered with mats. In this state it remains for about four-

teen days: it is then carried to the house provided for it, and cleaned as wanted.

Their implements of husbandry consist of a hoe, a knife, and an axe. The ground is dug by two sticks as large as crows; except rice-grounds, which are prepared as already described. The Indian corn is kept in the ear till wanted, to prevent the weevil from getting to it. The people tie two ears together, and string them in bunches; which they hang upon a rack supported by two crutches, and cover them with a mat to guard them from the rain. Rice also remains in the bunch; and is not cleaned till wanted. It will keep in this state for two years. Rice is the common food; and is eaten either plain, or with jacks, greens, fish, or curry.

The cultivation of sago is, it appears, confined to Sawyah and Tolâtola. It is taken from a large tree of about two feet diameter, which bears no fruit, and whose leaves resemble those of the cocoa-nut tree. The sago tree has a hard thin rind; and the inside, from which the sago is made, is a soft pith. When the tree is felled, the trunk is divided into lengths of about ten feet: they crack the end of these by driving in two wedges on each side through the bend, and split the log all along. The pith is pounded with an instrument like a mallet: it is then washed in the river; and the sago, being separated from the bran, is carried home in small kegs made of the leaves of the same tree. It is there dressed or baked, without water, in small pots, which are first made hot. The sago is put in dry; and soon becoming moist, forms itself into a cake, in which state it will keep several days. If not wanted for use, it is laid in a brook where the water runs over it, and will there keep for six or eight months. The timber of this tree is used in building houses, and the leaves for the covering of roofs.

Jacks grow on a large tree resembling an oak, which bears nine months in the year. The fruit is about the size of a half-gallon bottle. It has a pith; but the remainder bears the appearance of a cabbage, intermixed with seeds, which taste like the potatoe. The natives both roast and boil it, and find it good and nutritive. The fruits of the island are mangoes, limes, oranges, lemons, pines, plantains, bananas, mangosteens, wild plums, &c. The timber-trees are large, and in plenty. Black ebony, bullett, and cocoa-nut trees abound; mangoe trees and rattans, are also in great plenty. Their ground provisions and vegetables are yams, sweet potatoes, and callivances (a kind of bean).

The sugar-cane is larger here, in Mr. Woodard's opinion, than any in the West-India islands; almost all of which he had visited.

The Malays cut the cane into joints, peel the outside skin, and pound the joints in large mortars, by which means they become soft. The cane is then pressed, and the liquor boiled till it comes to a certain thickness. It is then taken off, cooled, and put into *cudgaree* pots; in which it continues till wanted to make sweetmeats, for they use it in nothing else. Their sweetmeats do not keep long. They have bees in plenty, which hive in trees: around which they make fires till the bees are destroyed, and then cut down the trees for the wax and honey.

The island of Celebes is well stocked with quadrupeds; there are abundance of horses, oxen, buffaloes, deer, sheep, and hogs. The horses are of a small black breed, but very active; and those used by the natives are ridden so violently, that their backs are always sore. The Malays, however, have a high value for them, and make them their principal presents to great people.

They eat cows, but they never milk either them or their goats. They do not flay their cattle, but cut off the hide with the meat. They also feed upon buffaloes, which are wild, and hunted.—The hogs are abundant; because, being Mahomedans, they never eat them. Sheep are plentiful; and are covered with hair instead of wool, like those at the Cape. When the Malays wish to slaughter a sheep, they first carry it to a priest. The animal is there held by two men; and the priest, taking his knife, lays it to the throat of the animal: he then calls on Mahomet to bless it; and makes two cuts across the throat, to the bone. The animal is then laid on a large bunch of cocoa-nut or other dried leaves, and covered with the same: a fire is applied, and the hair is burnt off. The carcase is now carried to the water to be washed; after which it is opened, and the inside is taken out. The bowels, the skin, and the liver, are esteemed the best parts; but the liver is preferred. The sheep is then carried to the owner's house, who sends a portion of it to the priest, either before or after it is cooked; if after, it is usually accompanied with rice.

They never eat wild fowls or ducks; though they have plenty of both, as well as of pigeons. They likewise have a bird of the size of a turkey, and whose eggs are considered by them as a luxury. The head resembles that of a Muscovy duck; except in the bill, which is like that of the turkey. These birds fly with great strength and noise.—The wild-fowl are caught by means of a swinging noose or trap, made fast to the end of a small bough, which is trailed near the ground, with some Indian corn to entice them. One of the sticks drops, on the bird's getting through this noose; and on his treading on a little trap, the bough flies up with the fowl hanging by its leg. This is exactly the method employed by the Russians to catch pheasants, as described in Pallas's last Travels.

The coast and rivers abound with shell and other fish. Barracoutas are in great plenty; as also are mullets, groupers, sprats, dog-fish, eels, and sharks: of the last the natives eat only the tail. There are likewise plenty of *turtle*: though the natives do not eat them, but catch them for the sake of their shell; which they can take off without injury to the animal, and let it escape. Of the shell the natives make rings, and *bangles* (or bracelets for the wrists or ancles). On this subject Mr. Woodard says, "I here became expert in taking off the shell; and one day begged of some Malays a turtle which they had caught and stripped, but it was refused to me. I then applied to the rajah: he did not seem to be quite pleased with the request, but gave it me. We ate part, and salted and dried the remainder, which we found to be very good.—The natives are expert divers, and good fishermen. Their fishing-tackle is made of cotton; which is fine, hard, and strong, and is stiffened by a gum, to keep out the water. Their hooks are made of brass wire, and are barbed: they are of different sizes, and are baited with shrimps. They also make nets, from the skin of the leaf of a tree; and have weirs, which they place across the rivers, and catch the fish in wicker-baskets."

In his description of the natives, together with that of their dress, mode of living, &c. Mr. Woodard is so concise, though distinct, as to render abbreviation unnecessary.—We shall therefore give a few passages nearly in his own words.

"The men and women of the island of Celebes are not tall nor handsome in their persons, but short and thick set. They have a flattish face, but not thick lips. Their colour is of a yellowish copper, or reddish yellow: their manners are not graceful; and they are revengeful and jealous. The men are very ingenious with edged tools: they are warriors; and attend to the field, and the building of houses, canoes, and proas, in which they are very expert. The women are engaged in cooking, pounding of rice and corn, going to the gardens, and attending to all domestic concerns. The children are kept under no fear or order, and are punished from the whim or caprice of their parents: I have often seen a mother, when displeased, throw stones and billets of wood at her children. The men are capable of carrying great burdens on their backs, enduring great fatigues, and of fasting a long time; and will with ease travel forty or fifty miles a day. They are long-lived, and are temperate. Intoxication is not frequent among them; though they are occasionally exhilarated by drinking toddy, which they collect from the cocoa-nut tree in the following manner: The branches on which the nuts grow, when young, are taken and tied together, and the nut is not suffered to grow upon them: the sprouts are cut off at about one foot from the end; and under these they fix

a bamboo, into which the toddy runs: the bamboo is emptied night and morning, and the branches are cut away about one-eighth of an inch at a time; which creating a fresh wound, the liquor runs again, and is again caught in like manner.

"The dress of the men is simple, the climate not requiring much clothing. It consists of short breeches, half-way down the thighs, and drawn tight to keep out insects; and those who can afford it, wear a country cloth as a wrapper: some even go to the expence of a white cloak, which they put on occasionally when dressed. The women wear a wrapper, with a short gown made of red silk gauze, if to be had; if not, they are ornamented with *bangles*, made of large brass wire, round their ancles and wrists. The young women of fashion or consequence wear their left thumb-nail to a great length; and put over it a case, except when they are full dressed. Some of the rajahs and priests wear wooden shoes, to keep their feet from the wet: these are made with a wooden pin, with a head stuck in the upper sole of the shoe; and which is kept on the foot by keeping the pin of it betwixt the great and the next toe, and by some management of the toes themselves.

"Their mode of living and cookery is simple: it consists of rice, cocoa-nuts, sago, and Indian corn; the latter they often boil into *ommani*. They eat but two meals a day; one about noon, the other just after sunset. They commonly dress their food in Dutch copper kettles; or in their own country pots, made of clay, but which will not long endure the fire. It is customary to cover their dishes, when at meals, with a lid made of the *nissa* leaf, which much resembles that of the sago-tree: these leaves are dyed in ornamental colours, and are often inlaid; they look very neat, and last a long time. It is a custom to eat with their right hand, and wash with the left—as their modes of life are simple, their disorders are few. They do not understand much of physic: they pretend to cure a great deal by enchantment. The betel-nut is their principal medicine. If any part of the body be in pain, the patient sends for the rajah, who, on his arrival, feels the place, and, taking a piece of the betel-nut, and pronouncing some words to himself, blows it on the place affected; which is esteemed a perfect cure. But if the complaint be a fever, they often bring a drum, which is beaten by two men, one at each end. If that does not succeed, they sometimes use a brass kettle instead, which they continue beating until the recovery or death of the patient: in the latter case, the kettle and drum are immediately thrown out of the house; the drummer and the physician are turned out also."

These details are certainly curious. Mr. Woodard, it seems, profited by their ignorance in medical and anatomical knowledge;

and commenced a system of quackery which might have procured him the highest personal advantage, had he possessed a sufficient resolution to carry it to a proper extent. He adopted venesection, which was before unknown to the Malays, and proved very successful: but having been called to perform the operation on a young priest, he declined it altogether, as the death of his patient would have occasioned *him* also the forfeiture of his life.

An opinion prevails among the Malays, that if a man eat while he is sick, he will recover; but if he loses his appetite, they are convinced that nothing can save him. Mr. Woodard, however, endeavoured to refute this opinion, but in vain, though he saw several men who had been wounded in the battle of Dungally eat very heartily of rice, and die almost before it was digested.

One remarkable custom among them is, that the women always bathe in the sea or in rivers on the second day after their delivery.

With respect to their form of government, it is extremely arbitrary. There is a principal rajah on the island, whose power is acknowledged by the others. When he dies, his eldest son assumes the sovereign power. The princes of the rank of rajah wear what is called a segoun, which is a sort of tunic or wrapper, and a pair of short trowsers. They bind a handkerchief round their heads, but the priests wear a turban.

It appears that wars are not unfrequent with these people. When one rajah is going to war with another, he consults with the priest to know if he shall be successful. The priest, upon turning to a little book, which he keeps for the purpose, gives him positive information on that point. If this is in the affiamative, the rajah proceeds; if not, he desists.

"When a rajah goes to war, he applies to the priest for a bill of safety, which is given him. Some bind it on the arm, and some on the forehead, in the belief that while they carry it about them they shall not be killed. The men are courageous, cunning, and enterprising: they despise cowards. Prisoners taken in war are made slaves, and sold: they are valued at from twenty to thirty dollars each. Their arms consist chiefly of a cress, which is a long iron dagger with a short handle; the tips of which are sometimes presented by rajahs as great compliments to men who have been courageous. These tips are made from the end of the horns of cattle; and, whenever bestowed in reward of valour, are much valued. Their spears, the growth of the betel-tree, are about eight feet long, and are shod with iron. They never suffer their spears to go out of their hands, but strike their objects with great accuracy. They also use what is called a *caliavo*, which is a shield made of wood."

The punishment for trivial offences is, to sell the offender as a slave, and part of the purchase-money is paid to the rajah; but if the sale of an individual be not a sufficient compensation for his offence, his wife and children are sold. The price of a young man in general is about 6*l.* 15*s.* sterling; and the whole expence of maintaining and clothing a slave does not exceed 3*l.* *per annum*.

The religion of this island is Islamism; and the natives keep their Sabbath on our Friday. The male sex are subjected to the process of circumcision. Polygamy is general; and a man is allowed to take as many wives as he can maintain, but is obliged to build a house for each of them: the first, however, as is the case in most other countries, inherits his estate, and ranks above the rest.

When a man has an inclination to take a wife, he is obliged to apply to the head rajah; who summons his chiefs, and examines the parents of both parties to know if they are agreeable.

Mr. Woodard gives the following particulars of a wedding, at which he was a spectator:—

"During the time of the war between the inhabitants of Dungally and Parlow, a piratical proa arrived at Dungally from Magindano, or Mindanao: she was owned by a rajah, named Tomba, who was an elderly man, and who was then on board with his son, a young man about twenty years of age. The son of rajah Tomba saw the daughter of Tooa, rajah of Dungally, who had resigned the government to his son Arvo, now become the reigning rajah of Dungally. The young man fell in love with this rajah's daughter, who was a fine girl about nineteen years of age, and applied to Tuan Hadjee for his assistance. The priest was employed in the negotiation for several days: when it was agreed that the young man, or his father rajah Tomba, should give three brass swivel guns, and twenty pieces of white cloth, which was reckoned a great dowry. The parties were all taken to the *longar*, or court-house, and examined, before consent was obtained to give the young woman in marriage. On the day appointed for the marriage, all the warriors of the place were armed; and, about one o'clock in the afternoon, the young man, with the rajah his father and all the men belonging to the proa, came on shore armed, as if for battle. Tuan Hadjee and the rajah Arvo of Dungally met them as they landed, and conducted them to a small shed which had been raised for the occasion. Tuan Hadjee there dressed the young man in a long pair of silk trowsers; and put on him five silk gowns of different colours, a small silk cap, and over that a Turban. To complete this dress (without which he was not properly equipped), he put a wrapper

over all. Being now accoutred, he was placed on the outside of the shed. The rajah of Dungally was stationed next to him; Tuan Hadjee next to the rajah of Dungally; and next to Tuan Hadjee, the most respectable men of the proa.

"About twenty of the best of the proa's crew were picked out as a guard to walk before the bridegroom: they were all armed, according to their custom, with spears and shields. The procession was made from the beach to the town, which was not at a great distance. At the same time about thirty men, armed with spears and shields, ran out of the town to oppose them, or to present a sham fight, which they performed exceedingly well; gradually retreating towards the town, while the party of the rajah and his son kept advancing till they arrived at the gate of the town. A *palempore*, or a piece of chintz, was extended across the gateway, as if to prevent their entrance, till the rajah's son had made some present to the men of Dungally. He therefore was obliged to give them some betel-nut, and some serrie, which they chew with the betel; on which they withdrew the palempore. He then advanced about two rods further, when the palempore was again put across; and at the same time his people, and those of the rajah of Dungally, appeared to shew the greatest anger, by darting their spears over each others' heads, till the young rajah made a second present. The Dungally people then again withdrew the palempore; when the son advanced a little further, and so continued till he reached the house where the bride was. He then went up the steps to go into the house: but there was again a palempore held across the door, which obliged him to make another stop. Here they detained him for some time, requiring a larger present. He took out of his pocket a handful of serrie and betel-nut, holding it out at a distance; and all anxiously reaching for it, they neglected the palempore, and let one end drop; when he stepped in without giving the present. This caused great laughter, and the spectators gave a general shout.

"The son was then conducted into the large room, where the bride was waiting for him, and immediately seated himself by her side. The house was directly crowded by all the head men of the place. Tuan Hadjee, who had followed the procession, now entered; and placed himself at the end of the room opposite to the bridegroom, to perform the marriage ceremony. He first married the bridegroom to the bride; telling him that he must provide a house and servants for her, and treat her well. He then married her to him; by charging her to forsake all other men for his sake, to be attentive to him, and to acknowledge him as her superior. This being ended, they made a *salam*, or gave thanks. Tuan Hadjee then began to sing a certain tune;

which was musical, lively, and pleasing, and used only on occasions of this nature. In its close he was accompanied by all the guests."

This being finished, supper was brought in. The bride and bridegroom ate out of the same dish, for the first time; and the rest of the company as they could, three or four together.

After supper the bride and bridegroom were conveyed to their apartment, which was richly hung with palempores. One or two bamboos of water were brought to them; and they were left for that night, and for seven days, during which it appears they are never seen in public. Water was carried to them night and morning, to wash; and victuals daily, in profusion.

With respect to the funeral ceremonies, it appears that when a chief or rajah dies, the body is conveyed immediately to the *longar,* or great house of public business: and on its way the people sing and throw stones before it, carrying at the same time all their instruments of war; and every person possessed of a palempore (which is a covering of a bed, like our counterpanes) hangs it round the longar, so as to cover it completely. They also make fans of white cloth, at the dead man's expence. Four girls sit on each side of the corpse, fanning it, for the space of two days and one night; and two lamps are kept burning near it. When the corpse is moved from the longar, it is accompanied by all the warriors of the place; who, carrying their spears, guns, and all their war-instruments, and going before the corpse, make a sham fight, brandishing their spears in the air to keep off the evil spirit.

The coffin is covered with white cloth; with a frame made of bamboo, the size of a tent: and when it arrives at the grave, which is generally four feet deep, it is immediately placed in it.—The priests all say prayers, which ceremony lasts about half an hour; the tone of their voices growing lower, and the shaking of their heads faster (and all at the same time and in the same direction), until they make a stop. They then leave the grave; and the four or five men who dug it, fill it up, and keep watch there for that night, having a fire close to the spot. In the morning a house is erected contiguous to this place, in which the widow of the deceased resides one moon: they also enclose a space round the grave, and erect a shed over it. The widow is accompanied by all the young women of her own kindred, and those of the deceased. Some of them stay with her all the time. —Mr. Woodard adds, that it is also a general rule, after their chief has been dead one month, and the widow is about to leave the house near the grave, to *assessor* a woman or girl; that is, to kill her in a most barbarous manner. Two young chiefs begin the business by plunging their spears into the victim; and their example is immediately followed by a number of other chiefs, who,

accompanying their vehemence with the war shout, cover the body with wounds. They at length cut off her head in honour of the rajah, and present it to his successor. The victim meets her fate with firmness, it being deemed an honour to die on such an occasion.

Throughout the whole island, the greatest festival of the natives is that of the harvest, of which the following are the particulars.—The people assemble in the middle of each town, bringing a large tree full of branches; which, after stripping off the leaves, they fix in the ground. They then procure limbs from the cocoa-nut or sago trees; and, slitting them, tie one end of a limb on one bough, and the other end on another, so that the leaves of the cocoa-nut may hang down. In this manner they ornament the whole tree. They then boil rice; which they put into small leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and tie one of these baskets to every branch. In the afternoon, every person in the town provides a dish of rice, fish, or fowl, for the feast. About sun-set the Malays begin to assemble and dance round the tree.

We have now furnished our readers with a complete and connected abstract of the volume before us: and we trust that this specimen alone will fully shew the value of the analytical part of our work; for although we have often allowed the author to speak for himself, we have inserted in the small compass of thirty-two pages, every passage worthy of preservation, contained in a book of nearly three hundred. It should however be stated, that the third part of this narrative consists entirely of cases of shipwreck and distress; extracted, as we have observed in page 2, from old newspapers, and which, were it not for the credit we attach to the laudable motive of the editor, we should censure in strong terms, as one of the subterfuges often resorted to for the purpose of increasing the size and enhancing the price of a volume. But as the collection has been made with a view to benefit sea-faring men, it would surely be advisable to print the part in question separately, and sell it at a price which would render it generally attainable. With respect to the literary execution of Mr. Woodard's portion of the narrative, it would be unfair to subject it to the rigid observations of criticism; but, considering the circumstances under which it was produced, the composition is as good as can reasonably be expected.

END OF WOODARD'S NARRATIVE.

KOTZEBUE'S TRAVELS.

A Journey from Berlin, through Switzerland, to Paris, in the Year 1804; *by Augustus Von Kotzebue, Author of the Stranger, Lovers' Vows, Pizarro, &c. &c. Translated from the German. In Three Volumes, small Octavo.* London: PHILLIPS.

OF all contemporary writers, we shall certainly be justified in observing that no one has excited more general attention and admiration than Kotzebue; and the present production will be found to detract in no degree from his high and well-earned reputation. The immortal Shakspeare, though so ardently attached to, and so pre-eminently excellent in dramatick writing, proved that his genius was not confined to that species of composition alone, but that he was also qualified to shine in other of the principal branches of poetry. The same, with respect to literature, may be said of Kotzebue; who, though he may fairly be considered as the first of modern dramatists, has also proved that he can powerfully excite not merely the passive approbation, but even the strongest passions of his readers, when he appears as a narrator of passing events. No person, we think, can have perused the account of his exile into Siberia, without experiencing the most lively emotion at his sufferings, and coinciding in the justness of his remarks. In the work which we are about to submit to our readers, he appears to still greater advantage; as he now comes forward with a mind at ease, not merely to relate his personal adventures, but to give a fair and interesting description of the various manners, customs, and ceremonies of the modern *Rome*.

If it were not from an apprehension that we might be accused of partiality, we should unequivocally assert that notwithstanding the numerous travels, tours, and journeys, which have lately been made to and through the French Republic, this of Kotzebue now before us is, to say the least, equal in point of interest to most which have appeared. We shall, however, prefer dispensing with all adulatory circumlocution; and, by a correct analysis of M. Kotzebue's production, enable our readers to judge for themselves.

The simple advertisement prefixed to these volumes, though it consist only of a few lines, is nevertheless too interesting to be passed over. "The only merit I attribute to my cursory remarks," says our author, "is that of having made them *myself*: they are my own views; I have imitated no one." A similar declaration from all modern travellers would doubtless be very agreeable information to the public: but when M. Kotzebue informs us that he has been obliged to omit certain passages, of the truth and justice of which he was fully convinced, in consequence of the censorial regulations to which the press is subjected upon the continent, we cannot but feel proud in living in a country where laws so inimical to the freedom of opinion are unknown; and where any man, however humble his talents, or obscure his situation, may fairly examine the public conduct of his superiors, without apprehension for his personal security.

This work, it appears, is addressed to a lady, principally in Letters. After some excellent remarks on travelling, in which life is compared to a journey, our author describes the effect which his mind experienced on witnessing a grand review of the Prussian troops at Potsdam, enlivened by the presence of royalty. It appeared to him too grand and gay; and he declares that he felt so agitated, that he could not breathe freely till he had reached the deep and lonely sand, surrounded with pine-trees, behind the town.

In the introduction the remarks of our author, cursory as they are, extend to so many different subjects, that in adverting to them we must unwillingly require the aid of brevity. It seems that the roads of Saxony, between Wittenberg and Duben, are uncommonly bad. This induces him to observe, that if the Chinese, who will not suffer strangers to reside in their country, were to render travelling difficult by the badness of their roads, they might gain their object. It is indeed worthy of notice, that though three annual fairs are held at Leipzig, the thousands of strangers who attend them are obliged to convey thither the productions of every country, over roads almost impassable, when it is considered that the duties levied for their repair are enormous; it however proves only, that in every country, they who enjoy the receipt of the public money know how to apply it to purposes very distinct from those for which it is collected. The postilion, who was a Lutheran, explained the circumstance, by observing that if the roads were so bad, and were suffered to remain so, it was only because the elector is a catholic. "I certainly," says M. Kotzebue, "should never have sought in this circumstance the reason of the badness of the roads in Saxony. I laughed, yet was vexed to find that a Lutheran could be so intolerant. Formerly the catholics only were

reproached for branding people with the name of heretics, but it will shortly be the reverse. Only hear, by way of contrast to the Lutheran postilion, what a Roman-catholic servant-maid said to me at Neuhof, a small town in the district of Fulda. 'Is this place catholic?' asked I. 'Yes,' was the answer.—'But not the prince?'—'No.'—'Then he cannot be saved, I suppose?' continued I, joking.—'Nay, why not, pray, if he is but a good man? We all wish to go to heaven.'—'True! But the catholics are the first that will get in?'—'Never mind,' said she, 'so that we all get in.' Is not this the true philosophy of life? Yet I assure you, that in other respects the girl's physiognomy looked as silly as that of a goose."

Between Erfurth and Gotha the roads are excellent, and are planted on each side with many thousands of fruit-trees; but by these not receiving proper attention, the young ones are bent and frequently destroyed by the wind, as well as by the wanton treatment of passengers. M. Kotzebue proposes to check this destruction by causing the peasants, on the birth of a child, to plant a fruit tree by the road-side, which, on being duly numbered, should remain his property. It is evident that this suggestion would be invaluable, if carried into execution in that country; where the fruit, in times of scarcity, often preserves the great mass of the people from starving.

On arriving at Gotha, the excellent seminary of professor Salzman, at Schnepfenthal, draws some high encomiums from our traveller; who contrasts it with the less favourable though numerous institutions for female education, which abound in that place. Of these it appears that the mistresses are partly Germans, and partly French; and they have this great disadvantage for ladies, that both nobles and commoners are educated on the same footing. "Young minds, naturally pliant, easily grow partial to each other; and the young countess cares not to ask whether the father of her bosom friend be only a secretary. But the grown-up countess usually changes her mind; or at least forms other connections, which oblige her to forsake the companion of her infancy. This naturally afflicts the daughter of the simple citizen, and renders her unhappy. She whose lot it is perhaps to superintend the small family circle of an unennobled treasury-clerk, leaves a gay and splendid circle where she roved arm in arm with countesses and baronesses, for the homely dwelling of a husband who makes a low bow if one of the former youthful companions of his spouse happen to pass by."

These however are not the worst effects of female boarding-school education: but what has been already described is as applicable to the seminaries of England, as to those of Germany;

and the propriety and justice of the remarks must be evident to every parent capable of reflection.

At Frankfort on the Maine, our author observes that at the Römer, where all the emperors that have been crowned since the beginning of the empire have been pourtrayed in narrow niches, there is no nook left for any future one. This circumstance is supposed to have induced the unfortunate Custine, at the time of his successes, to predict that the present emperor would be the last. We have heard a similar anecdote or prophecy related of St. Peter's at Rome; where all the niches appropriated to the effigies of the popes, except one, are filled up. The German people are extremely superstitious; but if the prediction, with respect to their emperor and his *hereditability* should not be fulfilled, they certainly will not be indebted for it to the good wishes of " our brother Napoleon the First."

There are no curiosities worth notice at Frankfort; except a fine statue of Gunther da Schwartzburg, an ancient German knight. The theatre is under the management of M. Meyer, author of the celebrated poem of Tobias; but the affairs are directed by a committee, without whose assent the manager can neither hire good actors nor dismiss bad ones. At this place the fair is held in a spacious edifice, of a square form, which is filled with all imaginable articles of luxury.

On reaching Darmstadt, M. Kotzebue makes some just remarks on the monument erected by Frederic the Great to his favourite female friend. He thinks it is not sufficiently grand. " Had it not been for its famous inscription," says he, " this little monument would never have been talked of: and as to the inscription itself, there may be people in whose eyes it is no compliment to the Landgravine. *Fœmina sexu, ingenio vir;* " In sex a woman, in understanding a man;" that is, in other words, a being of a middle class, between man and woman. It has long ago been ascertained that this heterogeneous mixture renders neither sex amiable. A virago of a woman, pleases as little as an effeminate man. To say of a woman that she is in understanding a man, is that to praise a flower for being in smell an oak.

The charms of Heidelberg threw our traveller into raptures; and he declares it to be the place, above all others, where the unhappy ought to live, in order to steal an hour from their sorrows. Nothing can exceed the venerable appearance of the ruins of the castle; while the views in its vicinity are calculated to excite ideas of enchanted scenes in the visitor's mind.—The ancient subterraneous walks are said to lead to the town; but from some accidents which have happened in them, an order has been given for filling them up. A few years ago, an emigran

was swallowed here in an abyss; having, with incautious precipitation, gone on before his guide. Fortunately, some boys had a short time before followed him begging; and having marked the spot where he disappeared, he was at length extricated. He related that he had walked forward a considerable way in the vault, when he heard at a distance various confused noises, which echoed down to him from the town. At last he could distinguish the cries of those who were in search of him; and he turned back.—A rope-dancer likewise, erecting some poles in the market-place on which to fix his apparatus, was precipitated into the same vault, where he found some old rusty arms.

The famous tun of Heidelberg, an ancient curiosity, has gone totally to decay, and the elector has built a new one, which in the opinion of M. Kotzebue does him no credit. In the cellar, however, our traveller admired the wooden statue of Clemens; a fool belonging to the electoral court in one of the early ages, and whose physiognomy was completely indicative of his profession. The view of this figure induces our lively author to regret, that all crowned-heads should have suffered such an useful custom as the maintenance of a fool to become obsolete; and he is so charmed with the statue of the electoral fool, that he laments it should be consigned to a cellar, while that of Lady Moratta, (a female celebrated for her *learning*) should be preserved in St. Peter's church.

It appears that the most interesting curiosity at Heidelberg, the spring of Wolfsbrunnen, has lately been despoiled of its principal ornaments. It was formerly surrounded by lime-trees three hundred years old, which formed a dome over the spring, while their branches had become so closely connected, that they were used as a floor, and on their top the company were accommodated with tables and chairs.

"In those times, the female visitors sat on the top of the trees, engaged in reading or knitting stockings: or even had a harpsichord placed by them; while the gentlemen played on the flute, among the umbrageous branches. In the cool grotto below, coffee or tea was made. But all this you must not now ask for: you will find nothing but a square basin, surrounded with trunks of trees. All these beautiful lime-trees were felled a few weeks ago. 'Who gave these orders?' exclaimed I, with indignation. 'The electoral treasury,' was the reply. Those thick trees yield fine wood, and the fat trouts in the stream could not bear the excessive coolness of the shade. I really wish that every counsellor of the treasury who consented to this robbery of beauteous nature, may be obliged to wander about, twice

a year, in the parching summer heat, and in the glow of the mid-day sun, panting in vain for such a shady spot."

We are likewise given to understand, that from motives of economy it was intended to demolish the splendid ruins of the hall of the knights, in order to fell the stones; as well as to let the beautiful gardens of Schwetzingen for potatoe fields: but an effectual protest from the people, we suppose, has been issued against these proceedings. On relating these intended ravages M. Kotzebue makes the following exclamation, in which we cordially join him:—"Oh! may every hand be disabled, which is eager to destroy whatever has given pleasure to mankind for centuries!"

At a small and obscure village called Mauren, our traveller met with a circumstance which called forth the well known sensibility of his heart, and of which he gives the following pathetic description.

"Entering the parlour of the post-house, I saw an old woman of fourscore sitting before the stove, chewing with difficulty a piece of bread, and drinking a glass of wine. By her side lay a crutch. In her youth she must have been handsome; her countenance was still pleasing; and the silent grief with which it was clouded, rendered her interesting to me. I asked the post-master's wife whether she was her mother? 'No indeed,' she replied, 'she is a very poor blind woman, who is obliged to live on charity, and who calls upon us occasionally, when we do for her what we can.'—'But she does not beg?'—'No, that she never does; but all who know her give her something.' I accosted the old woman: 'Have you long been blind?' I began. 'A short time ago,' said she, 'I could still perceive a glimpse of light; but now this is vanished; yet I cannot die.' Notwithstanding the concern which I seemed to express for her, she would not beg. This moved me: one word brought on another; and she related her melancholy story. She had been married to a clergyman in Hanover, had children, and lived happily. By the seven years' war, which brought poverty and distress in its train, she lost her all, pined in want, and yet kept up her spirits. She beheld her children expire, and supported them in the hour of dissolution. At last her husband died also: a long illness consumed what little property she had left: and she was obliged to quit her place of residence destitute and forlorn.

"She was advised to go to her brother-in-law, a counsellor of appeal at Darmstadt. She did not know him personally, and report proclaimed him a strange character. Urged, however, by necessity, she ventured. Being scantily assisted by poor relations ('for,' said she, 'none of them had any thing to give'),

she raised barely sufficient for her travelling expences, and came with the post waggon to Darmstadt. Trembling she approached her brother-in-law's door. A servant received her with considerable embarrassment; yet shewed her into a good room, and brought her refreshment. She remained alone several hours; but no master made his appearance. Towards night the servant brought her a good supper; but, unable to eat from grief and agitation, she continually enquired where her brother-in-law was. 'To-morrow, to-morrow,' said the maid, who perceived her uneasiness, and felt for her: 'first take a good night's repose; you need refreshment.' She could not sleep. In the morning the servant entered her chamber in tears, announced to her the burial of her relation a fortnight before, and his having bequeathed the whole of his fortune to charitable establishments. At this part of her narrative she began to weep bitterly:—'and yet I cannot die!' exclaimed she.

"I forget how she came to the part of the country; in which she has been starving these fifty years, and '*cannot die.*' During a long time she received support from Heidelberg; but for the last eighteen months that pittance has been stopped. As she sits still without begging, her pitiful form often escapes notice; and she gets little. She is somewhat prolix in conversation; but she relates her narrative in correct language, and with consistency; and the woman of education may be immediately distinguished. She accepts presents with blushing modesty, and returns thanks without being abject. Her wish to die, and her invocations of death, are extremely moving. Oh, how cheerfully shall I forgive the post-master for having left his horses in the field, and made me wait longer than he ought, if this brief and unornamented tale should furnish an opportunity to men of feeling, whether travellers or not, of affording relief to the poor blind woman! She will not long prove a burden to her benefactors; death will shortly grant her fervent wish, and remove her to her husband and her children."

It is remarkable that a traveller can scarcely proceed a step on any part of the continent without witnessing some melancholy proof of the dreadful effects of that scourge of the human race, the French revolution. M. Kotzebue did not fail to remark that the war which arose out of it, had left in Germany excessive poverty, and *enlightened ideas!* The peasants have had now experience enough to perceive that "people live four times worse than they did before: that men are no longer what they were; that none will assist his neighbour, but every body cares only for himself!"

At Sinzheim, a town belonging to the prince of Linange, our traveller introduces an eulogium on that prince, who by his benevolent conduct possesses the entire confidence and good

will of his subjects. He has restored their convent to the Franciscan friars: of which M. Kotzebue disapproves; as he compares these mendicants to the dry rot in wood, which consumes all around it till the whole edifice is destroyed.

On arriving at Heilbron he was desirous to see the manuscript of Goertz of Berlichingen; but the deputy keeper of the archives knew nothing more of the contents of the recesses than that they were filled with a variety of paper and parchment! It is still more remarkable that scarcely any of the present inhabitants know any thing of that celebrated character; and among at least a dozen persons of whom our traveller enquired for the tower in which that knight was confined, not one of them had ever heard of his name!

After some slight remarks on Stutgard, Hechingen, and Duttlingen, we accompany our author to Zurich; where he takes considerable pains to point out to his fair friend the impossibility of giving a proper description of a fine country in any kind of writing, all attempts at which he considers as confused, and not at all resembling the original. He represents the fall of the Rhine as a grand sight, of which no pen ought to attempt the description; and he was more charmed with the environs of Zurich than with any other place on his journey. Of the captivating perspective of the icy mountains, from Bugeli across the lake, he gives the following account; which we are convinced will prove highly interesting to our readers, from the circumstance of its never before having been minutely described. He enjoyed the view from an apartment at an inn bearing the sign of the Sword.

"This is a corner room. If you open a window to the left, you see the river Limmat below you; with a very broad bridge over it, lined on both sides with women selling fruit and vegetables, and with groupes of French *chasseurs* walking among them. The main-guard of these soldiers is on the opposite side of the bridge. You cannot conceive what stir and bustle prevail here. Downwards, to the left, you see, along the river, two long streets, and a part of the town. If you open the window on the right, you behold at your feet an open country; and straight before you the lake of Zurich, surrounded by charming villas, and skirted by the Alps, on whose summits the snowy cliffs rear their hoary heads.

"This amphitheatre, forming a contrast of civilization and rude nature, together with the bustle of men immediately below, is incomparable. The beautiful walks about Zurich would tempt even the gouty to exercise."

In the public library he was principally charmed with two letters on religious subjects, written by lady Jane Grey. They were in good Latin, and the manuscript was excellent. He had a superficial view of Lavater's cabinet; and before leaving

Zurich he obtained a variety of remarkable anecdotes relative to the proceedings of the French and Russians during the late war in that charming country. They are such, he says, as to throw great light upon the events of that period; but such as wish to hear them must go to Zurich. Thus it is evident that what would have formed a highly interesting part of these travels, has been struck out by the literary censors of Berlin.

From some observations of our author, it would appear that the spirit of fashionable indecency has extended even to the cantons of Switzerland.—At Baden it had been found necessary to publish an ordinance, enjoining a proper celebration of the Lord's day, and ordering the citizens to go to church in decent dresses. On this subject M. Kotzebue makes a remark not so striking for its novelty as it is for its propriety: "I should like," says he, "for once, to see our great-grandmothers attend divine service, along with their *half-naked* great-great-grand-daughters: how quickly would they return to their graves, that they might not be obliged to cry shame upon our youthful females, who have bidden adieu to modesty!"

At Berlin, Lausanne and Geneva, nothing occurred worthy of particular notice.—When the French arrived at Murten, they, in their rage for annihilation, destroyed the bone-house, in which the remains of the heroes who fell in the battle with Charles of Burgundy in 1476 had been respected for three centuries, and threw the bones into the lake. Enough, however, remain to render the place distinguishable for some time. He *admired* the philosophy of the celebrated M. de Luc respecting volcanoes, but laments that he did not *understand* it.

At Ferney he visited the cottage of Voltaire; in which several rooms are preserved with all their furniture, as they remained in the time of their immortal tenant. In the bed-chamber an urn is contained in a niche, in which is enclosed the philosopher's heart, with this striking inscription: "I am satisfied, since my heart remains among you."

Some remarks upon travelling in Switzerland proves that there, as well as in all other countries, the visitor is liable to gross imposition, particularly at the inns. M. Kotzebue advises all who pass through that country to travel on foot, and to carry every thing with them.

A charming picturesque description is given of the country from Cerdon to Lyons, which our limits will not enable us to quote in detail; and as it would suffer by abridgment, we refer our readers to the book itself, the price of which renders it attainable by all classes.

At Lyons our traveller notices the ruins of the Roman aqueduct

and the bath, which had resisted the destructive efforts of the revolutionary Jacobins. He thinks the quay far inferior to that of Petersburgh, with which it has been compared. In a manufactory which he visited, they were making window-cushions for Buonaparte to rest his arms upon; these were upon a blue ground, richly embroidered with gold and silver. A remnant of the brutal revolutionary manners did not fail to strike our author. People of the lowest classes enter the apartments of their superiors without taking off their hats.—He concludes this introductory account of his journey, with advising all persons who travel to Paris to leave their own carriages on the frontiers, and to travel in the Berlins or diligences. In the latter case, every thing is provided for them by the conductors, at a moderate rate: in the former, they are subjected to the most vexatious and exorbitant impositions.

Thus we have accompanied our author from Berlin to Paris: by the description of which capital he very justly conceives that he shall delineate the character of the nation at large.

'Nothing,' says a celebrated writer, 'is so good a criterion of the general character of a people, as their amusements:' and this remark is peculiarly applicable to the people of Paris; for we will venture to assert that no intelligent reader can peruse the description given by M. Kotzebue of the amusements of the Parisians, without forming an accurate idea of the disposition of the French people. Our author was by no means a superficial observer. He reflected deeply on the scenes which passed before him; and, as he himself declares, by looking and listening at every little crowd, he often picked up a grain of experience to deposit in his memory, and could not help lamenting that one of the most enlightened nations in Europe should be at the same time one of the most superstitious. As his account of the amusements of Paris will, doubtless, be new to the majority of our readers, we shall transcribe the most interesting passages which relate to them.

"At the corners of every street," says our author, "you find cunning people, who in every possible manner allure passengers, to announce to them infallibly what numbers will be prizes in the next drawing of the numerous French lotteries; and such a prophet has always a crowded circle about him. This dirty wheel of fortune, which is made of glass, has a hole on the top; the ragged fellow who stands behind it, has made a kind of an instrument of the back-bone of a goose, which he applies to the hole with great gravity, and almost without moving his lips imitates the speaking of Punch; which sounds exactly as if some little demon were sitting in the wheel, and addressing the audi-

tors. If the curious draw near, the goose's bone suddenly jumps off the hole; and the ghostly voice invites the by-standers, whose hands are already in motion, under the most splendid assurances of drawing the numbers which are to be prizes. Two sous is the usual price of all such never-failing prophecies.—A little further, another has a large board with *letters* exposed. Tell him only your initials, he immediately draws your name from the board, and in a hole behind it finds you all you desire to know. This way of divination has been thought too simple by a third. Behold that table where all sorts of neat little figures are driven round by clockwork! At first sight, it does not seem at all like the sanctuary of a lottery prophet: but you will soon perceive, that on the middle pole which goes through the table, a zodiac is fastened over the puppets, in which the months are inscribed, and which turns round with them. Higher up you behold another circle bearing the ninety numbers of the French lottery. Now only please to touch with your finger the puppet you think most endowed with the gift of soothsaying; for instance, this Turkish Emperor, who holds his sceptre so majestically high: all the figures immediately begin to run, the zodiac turns round, as do the numbers, and you wait in patience for the result. Now the clock-work is run down, the Emperor of Turkey stands still and points with his sceptre to the month of August, exactly above which is No. 78. Can any thing be more natural and certain, than that by taking this number for this month, you will win great sums upon it?—You laugh that people should thus seriously give themselves up to childrens' play. Begging your pardon, is it, in fact, doing more than a philosopher who, taking his chair, draws up with two demonstrating fingers the curtain of futurity, as he would unroll a piece of paper?

"Let us go further, and see the brilliant inscription: *The golden chain of fate.* This valuable chain consists of ninety cases, or wrappers of gilt paper, which are wound on a wheel, like yarn to be unreeled, and turned by a blind man. You choose one of these paper cases, the blind man opens it, and the number it contains makes your fortune.—But should you be absolutely determined not to enrich yourself in the lottery, you will at least be curious enough to learn your future destinies, and the past likewise if you please. In front of the *Pont Neuf* stands a conjuror, who expressly announces himself to be *privileged by the police*; and who has devoted his talent chiefly to the lottery, as men would much rather win money than look into futurity. At your desire the same personage opens you the book of fate for two sous; and, with wonderous fluency of speech, relates to you all that *has* happened and *will* happen. Though twenty people, one

after another, different by profession, age, and sex, should all appeal to his skill, it does not put him out of countenance: he stares at one after the other; reads in their eyes and whole visage; speaks to each for at least two minutes, and is very grave all the time; makes use of the choicest terms of language; says in about half an hour, certainly not the same thing twice over; never stops or stammers; makes a slight bow at last; asks for nothing; addresses those who follow; takes what the preceding drop into his hand, and puts it into his pocket without looking at it. This man, in any other situation, would certainly have been an excellent speaker. The looks of his clients form the most diverting part of the scene: the utmost devotion, perfect resignation, and firm belief, are deeply impressed in every feature. As he always expresses himself, particularly relative to the past, with artful duplicity, he cannot fail, with the help of his ingenious powers of fancy, to hit the truth with regard to several of his hearers. I have often remarked, with what amazement people stared at him, and how many a lady turned away with tears in her eyes. Thus the same Parisians who but a few years ago carried about the Goddess of Reason on their shoulders, believe in divination, and surround by hundreds the first pretended prophet they meet.

"A Frenchman possesses an inexhaustible fund of polite and agreeable terms; which, though every one knows they are unmeaning, yet draw an approving smile from all his hearers.—There stands a fellow twisting a puppet's coat on his forefinger; and sometimes letting a little devil peep out, waving his hand briskly towards heaven, and exclaiming, *there he flies!* This flat and stale joke he seasons very admirably with a ready account of every thing the little imp will see in his flight over Paris: now he sees the gun-boats on the Seine, of which he adds a pompous description; now a young lady just rising from bed, whom he describes with every possible fascination. Ample as is the matter with which he is furnished by his flying devil (*diable volant*), copied from the Devil upon Two Sticks (*diable boiteux*), still he knows how to change his amusements in a skilful manner."

These artifices certainly give us a high idea of the ingenuity of their inventors. We who have lived in London a great part of our lives, must confess that we have met with nothing so ingenious among what M. Kotzebue calls amusements for the populace. But to continue the narrative.—"When the last-mentioned orator has made a pause, the auditors are attracted to another, who immediately calls out: 'Gentlemen, while my neighbour is taking breath, permit me to show you a most remarkable experiment.' Without waiting for an answer, he carries

round a box, from which he desires the people to draw questions relative to money, health, love, the constancy or inconstancy of a beloved object, legacies expected, &c. &c. While the question is being drawn, this professor of a thousand arts stands at a distance, to prove that he needs not be acquainted with the subject of it. Then, upon receiving two sous in ready cash, he first answers the question; and, in the next place, gives a complete character to the inquirer, his temper, his good and bad qualities, and adds some advice respecting the regulation of his future conduct; thirdly and lastly, he gives the five numbers which will come out at the next drawing of the lottery: the whole printed on pretty good paper.

"I cannot indeed conceive how this man, considering the expence he is at, can still have sufficient profit left out of twopence to support this merry life: this thought frequently occurs to me. Listen to that man further on, who offers with a loud voice, and for two-pence, to every passenger, the rules of piquet. The little book consists of about two sheets; and though I cannot see any person who buys a single copy of him, yet I have found him on the same spot for this fortnight, and he still lives."

Various are the methods described, by which French itinerants endeavour to gain a subsistence. The profits of some of them are so insignificant, as to excite our astonishment at their patience; and this can only be checked by recollection of the old couplet, which never was more applicable than to the Parisians of the present day:

> 'All arts on earth a starving Frenchman knows;
> And bid him go to hell,—to hell he goes.'

We shall pass over an account of the ballad-singers, toothpick-sellers, dying-speech orators, and other vagrants, whose manners differ little from those of London; and invite the attention of our readers to an exhibition of ingenuity and interest.

"Let us enter this booth, where the inscription announces a wonder: *He who will not believe, let him come and see!* What pray?—A flea drawing an elephant; a flea conducting a carriage with six horses, carrying ladies and gentlemen; a flea, on whose foot a metal ball has been fastened with a golden chain, with which he merrily leaps about. All this is not fiction. A man has really taken the vast trouble to make the elephant, carriage, chains, &c. of gold, so very small, and to fasten them to the flea.—But still more ludicrous and more inventive is the artist's producing two flies fighting a duel with the small sword. It is thus contrived: two flies are fastened to two needles, placed perpendicú-

larly behind their wings, so that they keep their six legs stretched out before them. They are fixed very nearly facing each other; and a little ball of cork is then given to each of them, in which is fastened a small straw. As soon as this ball touches their feet, they endeavour to seize it to hold themselves by: upon this touch the ball keeps moving backwards and forwards, and consequently the straw turns against the enemy. Each party moving in the same manner, the two straws often clash together like two swords; and this constitutes the duel of the flies."

From M. Kotzebue's account of the blind and other mendicants of Paris, we can decidedly ascertain that they are more respectful and more deserving objects than the quantity of those in our own metropolis. He mentions two blind men who play all day in the streets at qiquet, and one who plays on five musical instruments at the same time. The following anecdote is worthy of notice: "In the *Rue Vivienne*," says he, "I have seen, for more than three weeks, yet always in the evening when it is dark, three wretched children lying in the mud. The eldest, a boy of about ten years, sat reclining against the wall; holding on his lap another wrapped in rags, three years old at most, and usually moaning. By his side sat or lay a third symbol of misery, about five years old. These children did not beg: but had the end of a tallow-candle placed before them; near which, on a rag, lay a paper with the following simple and moving inscription: *We have neither father nor mother.* Few of the passengers remained unmoved; and, the street being much frequented, they always obtained a rich contribution. With pleasure I remarked that the soldiers in particular gave, and gave the most.—One night I found one of these men deeply affected. He wore large black whiskers; which, in wild contrast with the emotion of the muscles of his face, lighted by the glimmer of the candle, threw their shade upon a tear. He surveyed the group for some minutes in silence; the poor little wretch was whining dolefully, because it was cold. The soldier briskly put his hand into his pocket, and gave the elder boy two pieces of silver coin, (I believe, two twelve sous-pieces) on condition of his carrying the child home immediately and warming it. He repeated this condition three or four times, and made the boy as often promise to perform it. He then retired. As he turned round, I accosted him: 'You certainly are a father?' said I. '*Oui monsieur,*' answered he, rather roughly; and hastened away. I stopped some time to see whether the boy would keep his promise, and take the child home; but he did not."

If we were to notice, even in the most cursory manner, all the little incidents which caught the attention of M. Kotzebue in his perambulations through Paris, we should doubtless repeat

many circumstances with which our readers have already been made acquainted by the numerous visitors of that capital, who have of late published their remarks. In his account of the exhibitions, besides those already mentioned, there is nothing particularly interesting; though by his pleasing manner of description, we will venture to say that no reader of taste would think many passages superfluous throughout the volumes before us. From his introductory remarks, when touching on the First Consul and his retinue, as to the fluctuations of public opinion with respect to sovereign princes, we can clearly perceive that our author is an admirer of Bonaparte; and we must in justice add, that his indirect defence of that tyrant, which is made in the way of general comparison, is, in our opinion, the very worst part of his book. On the other hand, many of the anecdotes he has given of that extraordinary character are new and curious. He thus describes his visit to the theatre, and his review of the troops:

"On my arrival at Paris, I was extremely anxious to see the celebrated hero of the age. Several days elapsed before my wish was gratified. At length, one evening, the performance at the Theatre Français was interrupted by a loud and general clapping; and all eyes were directed towards Buonaparte's box, which is close to the stage. Unfortunately I just then happened to be in one from which I could not see him; but the managers having very politely permitted me to go to any part of the house I pleased, I immediately availed myself of this privilege, and hastened upon the stage, to obtain a good view of this remarkable man from a *coulisse*, exactly opposite his box. I had frequently been upon the stage before, and had never met with any obstacle: but how great was my astonishment on this occasion to find the first three *coulisses* occupied by consular guards, by whom every person that attempted to approach was ordered to retire! Even the maid of mademoiselle Duchenois, (who was acting) experienced the same treatment, though her mistress was in great need of her assistance. Through the interference, however, of Messrs Lafond and Monvel, who happened to be near me, this strict prohibition was waved both with respect to the lady's maid and myself.

"At the play he is very grave and quiet, appears extremely attentive, speaks to none of his suite (all of whom stand behind him), gives no sign of approbation, or disapprobation, nor even betrays his feelings by a look. The pit receives him with thunders of applause, but he pays no attention to it. The audience do not renounce their right to hiss; and I saw a new piece damned in the presence of Buonaparte, who had come to see it. During these petulant scenes, he remains quite composed; reflecting, no

doubt, that the Parisians, like the Romans, must have *panem et circenses* if they are to be kept quiet.

"Buonaparte is particularly fond of tragedy. He acknowledged to me that he did not like comedy, but availed himself of the observation urged by Voltaire: *Que tous les genres sont bons, hors le genre ennuyeux*:—("That every kind is good, except what tires us.") It should not, however, be imagined, that he is absolutely an enemy to comedy: I even saw him present at the first representation of a play of that description; and he came to that of my piece called Brothers' Quarrels, which was acted immediately after a tragedy that he had not been to see.—His boxes in the four principal theatres are decorated very richly, and with great taste. Among other ornaments is a gold star, which is sometimes on the top and sometimes at the bottom of the box. It is said that he believes in a star of fortune, on which he places more reliance than on his own great genius.

"I was twice present at the grand parade, now one of the most remarkable sights at Paris. It is really an imposing spectacle. I was with several other persons in a saloon almost in the middle of the Thuilleries, through which Buonaparte was to pass. All the halls were lined with guards; from ten to twelve men being stationed in each apartment, at the distance of two or three paces from one another, and two on every step of the stair-case.—The infantry were already drawn up in the great court-yard of the Thuilleries, and consisted of five or six different regiments. Their uniforms are not very striking, being quite plain: the long coats appear to me neither handsome nor convenient; but the large bear-skin caps have a martial appearance. The colours of the consular guards are not only decorated with the national ribbons, but bear gold suns in the middle; they are principally green. A vain ornament of each regiment is the drum-major; who is clothed by the officers with the most prodigal splendour, and in this respect the different corps vie with each other. For this purpose the tallest and handsomest men are selected; and their regimentals, if I am not mistaken, are of velvet, and so profusely loaded with gold-lace that we can scarcely distinguish the colour of the ground.—The French army are likewise extremely vain of their whiskers, which are preserved with such care as to grow to an immense size. Among the miners there are even men who suffer the whole of their coal-black beard to grow till it reaches down to their bosoms. The cavalry, consisting of chasseurs, horse-guards, and an uncommonly fine regiment of cuirassiers, was stationed beyond the iron gate of the *Place du Carousel*.—The little corps of Mamelukes were distinguished by their splendid eastern costume.

"The colours were brought from the apartments of the First Consul: who soon afterwards arrived, surrounded by generals and adjutants, all wearing superb regimentals; while his own dress was extremely plain, without embroidery, and his hat without tassel, lace, or feather. He walked very fast, carrying only a small riding-whip in his hand. At the gate he mounted a grey horse; and, followed by a brilliant retinue, rode slowly up and down the ranks. Having thus reviewed the infantry, he proceeded to inspect the cavalry in the same manner. Besides the troops, a great concourse of people had collected, many of whom delivered petitions to him. As far as I could see, all these petitioners were permitted to approach him: and, with regard to the strict measures of precaution which are said to be taken for his security, they were not observed, at least on that day; for in the manner in which he rode about among the people, his life was in the hands of every resolute villain. Upon his return to the court-yard, he was several times stopped by females; who approached extremely close, spoke to him, and presented petitions. These, from what I could observe, he gave to his adjutant. One petition, however, presented to him by a woman, who even laid hold of the bridle of his horse (unless my eyes deceived me), he immediately opened, and returned a short answer. During this review, his favourite Mameluke, superbly dressed, was not immediately behind him (as is generally reported), but only in the suite, after all the generals. He then returned; and stopped before the entrance of the Thuilleries, a few yards from the place which I occupied. Here the Turkish ambassador presented him with two horses in the name of the grand-signior. They were said to be very handsome; but their beauty could not be perceived, as they were superbly caparisoned from head to foot, and almost entirely covered with gold and pearls. They certainly were very spirited animals: for two Turks having mounted them, to ride about the yard, one was immediately thrown; but he seemed to be accustomed to this, for he instantly got up, and at one leap was again in the saddle.

"Buonaparte, who meanwhile frequently took snuff out of a very plain tortoise-shell box, did not deign to take notice of this present. He only now and then cast an indifferent look towards the animals. He seemed, on the contrary, to be totally occupied with the troops, whom he caused to perform successive manœuvres. The colonel of each regiment came, from time to time, with his sword drawn, to receive his orders, and gave the word of command accordingly. Every regiment was ordered to form a distinct square, probably in commemoration of the war in Egypt. He ordered the consular guard to go through the platoon exercise; in which, in presenting and firing, the front rank kneels,

while the two others fire over its head. Whether the word of command was not distinctly heard or understood, I will not pretend to determine: but it was most imperfectly executed. Half-companies waited as if to recollect themselves, and at length very leisurely dropped on their knees one after the other. The First Consul expressed his displeasure by ordering the light exercise to be repeated seven or eight times. The infantry then filed off before him, when the band struck up a music scarcely to be equalled any where. They do not play common marches, in which each part is regularly repeated; but rather marching symphonies composed by good masters, and performed with uncommon precision. After the infantry had filed off, the cavalry, mounted on capital horses (perhaps from Hanover), rode in, and filed off. Of these regiments only one went through a few manœuvres, which concluded the grand parade for that day. At the next, a battalion of seamen was also drawn up, and was particularly distinguished by being armed with boarding or grappling hooks."

The above specimen will enable our readers to form a just estimate of the interesting matter of which M. Kotzebue's Tour is composed: it is indeed to us so interesting, so unaffected and amusing, that we cannot but feel how much it suffers by abridgment, and at the same time regret that our limits will not enable us to give its contents more in detail.—Our author next adverts to the First Consul's dinners, and observes that he is not fond of sitting long at table. He gives good cheer, but is not fond of dainties. He is reported frequently to have said, "Whoever wishes to fare sumptuously, must not come to me, but must go to the consul Cambaceres." Entertainments are given in the great gallery sometimes to several hundred persons, but this immense and beautiful place excites and cherishes sensations ill calculated to improve the appetite. The walls are covered with Gobelin tapestry exhibiting the battles of Constantine, the colouring of which begins to fade very much on the side that is exposed to the sun: and at short intervals are busts of the greatest heroes of France; as Bayard, Condé, Turenne, &c. in white marble of exquisite workmanship. "Every one," says Buonaparte, "will be equally sensible with myself, that such a place is more fit for the meeting of a council of war, the concluding of a treaty of peace, or the reception of ambassadors, than for the rattling of dishes." Some celebrated antiques are likewise to be seen here; as the youth extracting a thorn from his foot, the woman playing upon bones, &c. The many paintings on the cieling are likewise of great value. But it is a great pity that this cieling has several cracks. The apartment which may with great propriety be denominated the dining hall, is pretty capacious, and is re-

markable only for its noble simplicity; but is not very conveniently connected with Madame Buonaparte's suite of apartments. These latter are finished in the most elegant style, yet not overcharged with magnificence. Some valuable bronzes, *which were seen before at Versailles;* a few excellent paintings, the best of which is a sleeping Venus by Corregio; some works in marble and mosaics of the Florence school, together with several beautiful vases from the manufactory of Seves; constitute almost all that can be called valuable in the furniture. Many things of the same kind are to be met with in the houses of opulent private individuals. To hang the rooms with silk stuffs of one uniform colour, and in plaits, is now the prevailing taste.

" In one of Madame Buonaparte's drawing-rooms this drapery is divided perpendicularly at small intervals, by gold bars; which produces a fine effect. The bed-room used both by her and Buonaparte contains several fine pictures. It is otherwise quite plain; as is likewise her dressing-room, which is nicely wainscoted; this is the apartment which the queen of France employed for the same purpose. Two small neat bathing-rooms terminate a suite of apartments, consisting altogether of only about seven or eight different rooms, thus falling far short of the almost endless series of apartments appropriated to the use of the great in Russia. In the antichamber are hung two large pictures by a Flemish painter, representing scenes from the life in the history of Louis XIV., and formerly found in the *hôtel de Condé.*"

The apartment in which the consuls meet is, it appears, the same in which the standards are deposited; and the only striking object it contains is a terrestrial globe, " on which," says M. Kotzebue, " their fingers are most probably often engaged in fixing the fate of the countries that move round with it."

The hall of the council of state, together with the little chapel close to it, are neat, but contain nothing remarkable. Every consul and counsellor of state has a pincushion standing before him; and it is curious, that these pincushions serve for wafer-boxes.

M. Kotzebue speaks in high terms of the civility, assiduity, and politeness, of the persons in low stations under the French government: such as the porters at the Thuilleries, the other servants, and even the centinels; who do not treat an individual with contempt on account of the plainness of his dress, but behave, without exception, like well-bred men, even when they have orders to prevent the intrusion of strangers.—To those acquainted with the scandalous impudence and contemptuous audacity of the underlings who disgrace the offices of our own government, this will appear a pleasing picture of the subordina-

tion maintained in a country where every man is a slave to the caprice of the ruling tyrant.

M. Kotzebue expresses his just indignation at the restraints imposed upon the liberty of the press in France; and gives the following anecdote to prove that they are equally severe at Paris, as they were at Petersburgh under the reign of the emperor Paul. Dupaty *junior* wrote a petty piece for the *Theatre Feydeau*, entitled the *Antichamber*, in which the satirist lashes upstarts. The piece was immediately supposed to contain bold allusions; it was even imagined that the dress of one of the actors, consisting of a blue coat with yellow buttons, was intended to represent the uniform once worn by Buonaparte while he served in the artillery. Matters were carried so far, that all the clothes worn by the performers were sent for to be examined. Nothing, however, could be proved against the author: yet he was exiled to St. Domingo,—not as a poet, but, as a naval officer, for having come for a few days to Paris without leave. He informed our author, that, after having embarked, he was attacked with a severe illness in the road, brought on shore again, and kept for a long time in confinement; till at length, in consequence of a powerful intercession in his behalf, this was deemed a sufficient punishment. This young man, he says, is now at liberty, resides at Paris, studies republican precaution, and has his *Antichamber* performed under a different title.—Another poet composed a ludicrous piece, in which a handsome, well-made man lands on an island inhabited only by hunchbacks, who consequently think him deformed, and laugh at him. He makes the following observation: 'If I should once happen to get among blind people only, I should have both my eyes plucked out that I might resemble them.' These words the censor regarded as a satire against those soldiers who lost their sight in Egypt.—A third author wrote a piece entitled *Belisarius*. The censor, thinking that general Moreau was alluded to in this character, forbade the representation.—Nobody must say '*Fermez la porte*' (Shut the door); for a shut door now implies a conspiracy. Nor must the word *brigand* be used, as it might mean persons concerned in the administration of the state. Nogaret, a man of sixty-three, is the censor who plays all these fine tricks. To the remonstrances made to him, he only replies; 'Do you wish me to lose my situation? I have no other subsistence.'

It is curious to read of the ceremonies which were necessary on appearing in the presence of the late upstarts called second and third consuls, but who are now reduced to a cypher beneath

the all-consuming rays of the imperial diadem. These are as follow:

"After being presented to the first consul, the introduction to the second and third consuls is attended with but few formalities. The minister from the country to which you belong, fixes on one of the days on which the two consuls give dinners; these are Tuesday and Saturday. After dinner (that is, about nine o'clock at night), the carriage is ordered to their respective residences. They, like their chief, have consular guards in their court-yards and coridors; not consisting of a few sentinels, but a constant detachment under the command of an officer, which regularly does duty at their residence. Their apartments are very spacious, but are without any superb ornaments. Some Gobelin tapestry is the only costly article to be seen in them. Within the door of the hall for company, stands an officer of the household, or valet; to whom every person, upon his arrival, gives his name, which is announced with a loud voice the moment the stranger enters. This custom is very convenient, in one respect, to the company assembled; but it cannot be denied that it must cause some embarrassment to the stranger, if his name be not entirely unknown, as the eyes of all are immediately directed towards him. The consul who usually stands before the fire-place, proceeds several, or but a few steps, or does not move at all, to meet the stranger as he enters, according to his rank, merit, &c. returns his bow very politely; speaks, or is silent: after which the person newly introduced joins the circle, which is generally very numerous.

Cambaceres has two cavaliers belonging to his court, dressed in black; who do the honours, and are particularly attentive. If a lady enters, they run to meet and conduct her to the consul; to whom she pays her respects, and is then handed by the cavalier to a chair. Gentlemen are likewise received by these persons, who usually receive them with—*Approchez-vous du feu, monsieur* ("Draw near the fire, sir"); the usual Parisian winter-formality for commencing conversation. "At present," says M. Kotzebue, "one of these chamberlains is Aigrefeuille, a man who has obtained considerable celebrity by the Epicure's Almanack being dedicated to him. It is said that he justly merits this distinction, though he modestly declined it. For my part, I must confess, that if the second consul's kitchen is superintended by him, I shall myself feel tempted to compose his eulogy; for, out of seventy or eighty dishes, to taste at least one-half of which I had summoned all my powers, there was not one which Lucullus or Apicius would have disdained. The French mode of cookery is certainly the first in the world. The consul himself helps to many dishes, pours out a variety of

wines and *liqueurs*, and very politely asks his guests if they choose any. Notwithstanding the great abundance of viands, very few dishes are of such a nature as to allow all the guests to partake of them: but the principal only are carried about by the servants; the rest remain stationary, and the person before whom a dish stands, helps those who wish for some of it. The service of the table is performed very expeditiously; almost too much so. Whoever wishes to try the two extremes in this respect, let him dine at the second consul's one day, and at a good private house at Berlin on another. With the former he will not find time to eat enough; but at the latter he will have leisure to digest and begin again."

Of the consul Lebrun he observes, that, being inferior in rank, he does not give such sumptuous entertainments: but he is more affable; keeps no guards; and, from his literary talents, is more esteemed.

After some remarks on the political caricatures in the print-shops of Paris (most of which have for their object the ridicule of the English government, and the anticipated success of the invasion of England), our author reverts to the exhibitions of that capital; from which we shall continue to give such as cannot fail to be novel to our countrymen who have not performed a journey to Paris. He thus describes the feats of the incombustible Spaniard:

"Do you see that jar of oil, bubling and boiling over a coal fire? The young man who takes it off drinks a hearty draught of its burning contents without distorting a feature, rinses his mouth for a long time with it as if it were fresh water, and spits it out still boiling; he then, with the remainder of the oil in the pot, washes his hands, arms, face, and even eyes (which last, however, he shuts). Having been purified by the fire, like the asbestos, he takes a walk, by way of change, with his naked feet upon a piece of red-hot iron; and, to refresh himself, even licks the glowing metal with his tongue. If this poor youth is equally insensible to the flames of love, he is doubly to be pitied. All this is no imposture, but really happens as I have now related; but whether, as some assert, he causes a kind of salamander-ointment to be rubbed into his skin, which is not to be perceived, I shall leave undetermined."

The next exhibition worthy of notice in our contracted limits, is that of some Canary-birds upon the Boulevards. One turns a spit; another drives his companion in a wheelbarrow; a third stands sentry with his gun, sword, and grenadier's cap; a fourth does not stir from his master's shoulder, though the man beats a drum loud enough to make one run away; a fifth fires a cannon, the

burning cork of which knocks a sixth down from the table, and leaves him on the ground for dead; a seventh sits in the very middle of a flaming wheel; as quiet and cheerful as if perched upon a rose bush in his native island.

The first volume of this interesting work finishes with an elaborate account of the well-known madame Recamier; who, in the opinion of our author, possesses every attribute of virtue, beauty, and generosity. He admits that he was at first prejudiced against her; but while at Paris he spent several weeks in her company, and was particularly pleased with the neatness and modesty of her dress, which was never adorned with the fictitious embellishment of jewels. Nothing can exceed the praises which he bestows upon her for her amiable hospitality, her unaffected manner, and her affection for the old and decrepid object to whom the avarice of her relations caused her to be united. We have good reason to believe that she has been assailed by the envenomed tooth of calumny; and we feel much pleasure in being able to offer a few passages in her vindication, from the elegant pen of the author before us.

"She has never been a mother," says M. Kotzebue, "but tends with maternal fondness the children of a female relation, who love her with filial affection. She is warm, and perhaps even a little enthusiastic, in her friendship; but on that account not the less constant, as her oldest friends have assured me. She is as prompt and ready to make great sacrifices to her friends, as she is reluctant to offer them trifling ones. While the happiness of one of them is not in question, but only his wishes and pleasures, she sometimes seems to neglect him without scruple, in order to entertain the company; but this is almost always done without premeditation. This is a fault partly congenial to the female character in general, and partly inseparable from a certain degree of importance in a city like Paris. Madame Recamier is religious without wishing to appear so. If she did not so often attend divine service, her beneficent actions alone would make us conclude that she is pious. She marks every day with fresh deeds of charity. I am well aware that a charitable gift, even of considerable value, is not to be deemed particularly meritorious on the part of the wealthy, but that the manner in which this gift is bestowed constitutes its merit; and in this very point I have found madame Recamier inexpressibly amiable and noble-minded. That she should only have wished to make a vain parade of her beneficence in my presence, as envy would sometimes suggest, is impossible, from the circumstance of my having had free access to her house every hour in the day, and having often been quite an unexpected witness of her actions.

"Never shall I forget the morning when I found her with a deaf and dumb little girl, whom she had picked up in some petty village while taking an airing in her carriage. This child was for some time educated at her own expence; and by her intercession was afterwards placed in the excellent institution of Sicard. The little creature had just then been sent to her, newly clothed, that her patroness might herself introduce her to Sicard. She ordered a breakfast; which happened to be served on a marble table in the splendid drawing-room, not far from a looking-glass, in which the child could see her whole figure, probably for the first time. The delight felt by her charming benefactress at the joyful surprise expressed by this infant; the tearful smile with which she removed its hair from its face, and from time to time imprinted a kiss on its forehead; the maternal good-nature with which she encouraged to eat, while she filled its pockets with the remainder of its sweetmeats; the inarticulate thanks which the child uttered in a most singular, yet most charming, manner, by a kind of out-cry,—in all this there could surely be no art: and scenes like these I have witnessed *more than once.*"

Our author concludes his remarks on this lady, by refuting the calumnies against her in the English and the foreign journals.

One of the greatest receptacles of curiosities in Paris, perhaps in the world, is undoubtedly the museum of French monuments. It was founded by M. Le Noir; well known for his learning, taste, and knowledge of the arts: and its contents were collected by him, under the patronage of the government, from all the churches, castles, and convents, destroyed by the revolutionary fanaticism. The monuments here assembled are six hundred in number; many of them date their origin from the sixth century, and they are charmingly arranged in the venerable premises of a suppressed convent of Augustine monks. To the credit of M. Le Noir, it appears that he was present in every place from which these relics were procured; and particularly at the abbey of St. Denis, where he made some interesting observations during the digging up of the corpses. Those who remember the excesses of the revolution, will recollect the motives which induced this sacrilegious outrage. The first was, to plunder the peaceful dead of their valuable ornaments, with which they were entombed in the barbarous ages; the second to procure the leaden coffins to make bullets; so that this violation of human feeling, which would have disgraced the most savage nation upon earth, was sanctioned, and even ordered, by the government of those miserable slaves, who avowed their determination to revolutionize the world! During these events it appears that many per-

sons, who had rested in stone coffins from the earliest period of the French monarchy, were found with their bodies and clothing in complete preservation. After the barbarians had torn the dresses in pieces, M. Le Noir, caused the most valuable monuments to be conveyed to a place of safety; and nobody thought fit to interrupt him in his exertions. This, then, is the origin of what is now a national gallery, the delight of the curious, and the admiration of men of taste and genius.

M. Kotzebue apologizes for inserting brief accounts of such as struck *him* to be most curious:—his selection, however, we must contract still farther; but we shall present, in a few connected passages, such descriptions and remarks as will doubtless be deemed particularly interesting. We are the more inclined to enter in detail upon this subject, from a conviction that of many of the monuments described by our author, no account has ever before been published, unless in the catalogue (if there be one) of this new institution.

After briefly taking notice of a large Grecian tablet full of the names of the brave men who fell at the battle of Peloponnesus, and of a vase said to have been used at the *marriage in Canaan*, he thus describes a monument which induced him to smile: "It is consecrated to Dagobert I.: who stained his victories with lust and cruelty; who, without reckoning his concubines, was at one time betrothed to three queens. But he expiated all his sins, and was numbered among the saints, by building the abbey of St. Dennis. His epitaph relates, in the most ludicrous *bas-reliefs*, how he fared after his death. Below, Dagobert's body lies extended. A little higher up is a boat full of devils; who are holding fast Dagobert's soul, and tormenting it. If the artist designed to represent the devils as ugly and frightful, he has wholly missed his aim; for they are all grotesque figures, with human bodies, and the heads of frogs, dogs, &c. In order to shew that the man whom the demons are thus teazing and tormenting is not corporeal, but merely a soul, the artist has not represented his sexual dintinction. Perhaps he was not altogether wrong in this fancy: but had he in the same manner represented him as wanting a *stomach*, he would at least have excluded every thing that prevents a man from being a *soul*. Farther up we see, besides two angels, St. Dennis and St. Martin; whom Dagobert invoked in his distress, and who re-took the royal prize from the devils: on which occasion several imps of hell, with frogs' heads, tumble, in a most laughable posture, into the water. Still higher, the soul, between its two deliverers, stands enveloped in a linen-cloth, perfumed by angels with censers of frankincence. At the summit, the saints are kneeling before Abraham, whom they beg to receive the soul into his ca-

pacious bosom. A couple of statues are likewise to be seen, formerly placed on both sides of the monument: the one Nantilda, wife of Dagobert; the other, their son Clovis.—With more serious feelings, uttering both curses and blessings, I now stand between the monuments of Fredegunda and Bertruda; the former of whom murdered her own husband, and was an enemy to both God and man; and the latter was indefatigably employed in softening, by her gentleness, the rude disposition of her husband, and saving every victim destined to destruction by his blood-thirsty tyranny. The son of Fredegunda Clotaire II., was her husband; and he himself ordered both monuments to be erected.

"What an oppressive sensation seized me, upon stepping into that closet whose style of architecture announces the twelfth century. Oh, these pillars, these ruins, once belonged to the *Paraclete*; and in the middle of them is a tomb.—'tis ABELARD'S! the identical sepulcre which the venerable Peter dedicated to his friend. Here lies Abelard; with his head reclined, and his hands folded. Near him reposes his faithful mistress. The heads of these interesting figures are impressions taken by the sculptor: and, what is still more, this tomb actually contains the ashes of the two lovers. Every loving couple who are so happy as to visit the thousand curiosities of Paris, should hand-in-hand renew the oath of fidelity at this tomb. Let them cast a look of contempt as they pass, on yonder tomb-stone; which covered the bones of Abelard's persecutor, the abbé Adam. This blind fanatic, as abbot of St. Dennis, ordered Abelard's incarceration for having dared to utter the heresy that the bones kept as the relics of St. Dionysius (or Dennis) were not the real bones of that holy Areopagite, who had never been in France.

"That little box, decorated with ivory and tortoiseshell, deserves, by all means, a look of curiosity. Louis XI. brought it back from his crusade in Palestine, full of relics; and it has since been worshipped in the holy chapel at Paris as one itself, though its *bas-reliefs* very plainly represent the expedition of the Argonauts. In this manner even pagan obscenities have often served as ornaments to enshrine the relics of the saints.—The eye gladly dwells on that statue of white marble, which perpetuates the memory of that excellent lady Valentine of Milan, spouse of the duke of Orleans, who was murdered in Paris in the year 1407, and whose loss the good Valentine could not survive. She died of a broken heart, in 1408. Her affecting device was a watering-pot, from which trickled drops in the form of tears, with this circumscription:

Rien ne m'est plus:
Plus ne m'est rien.

Hall Sc

View of the Tomb of Eloisa and Abelard.

"That statue of Peter of Navarre reminds us of the singular death of his father, Charles II. surnamed "the Wicked." The avenging Nemesis held him up as a terrible example. A kind of torpor seized him, and he was unable to move a limb. The physicians then advised him to have himself sewed up very closely in a linen sheet previously steeped in brandy. It was at night, when he went to bed, that this kind of sack was put about him. One of the chambermaids sewed it fast under his chin: and having done, she was going to cut off the remaining end of the thread; but, having no scissars, she took the candle to burn it off. In an instant the king was all in flames: the affrighted chambermaid ran away, amidst violent shrieks; and Charles the wicked was burnt alive in his bed.

"With awful reverence I enter a chapel dedicated to Francis I. the restorer of the arts. The corpse of this good man, as well as that of his spouse Claude of France, are imitated with striking truth in marble; and the bas-reliefs, placed here and there, interest us by a faithful representation of the dresses, arms, and implements of war, in those times. Above the timber-work, supported by sixteen Ionic columns, appear again the statues of the royal pair, surrounded by their children kneeling and praying. The formal court and state dresses make a sad contrast with the uniform of death below.—I find another statue, of the corpse of the royal friend of Da Vinci, most ingeniously sculptured in white marble; and I observe with regret that the boyish petulance of ambition has been before quite as active as it is at this day, in profaning the most sacred monuments by scrawling obscure names upon them.—This fine column hung with laurels and vine leaves, supports on its top the image of Justice; and once contained the heart of the noble constable Montmorency, together with that of a king who wished to be united with his friend both living and dead.

"I would not stop a moment before the kneeling statue of the chancellor Réné Biragué (who, with the abhorred Catherine de Medicis, waded through torrents of blood shed in the night of St. Bartholomew), did not the sight of his spouse under his feet arrest my attention. Dressed in the costume of her time, she reposes on soft pillows, and supports her plump cheeks with her fleshy hand; before her is placed a book, which she seems slightly to peruse, while a teazing lap-dog does all he can to prevent her. What a quiet image of the calm enjoyment of life, unsuspecting the stratagem of death, which is lurking near a bush! Yet on looking down to the *bas-relief* of her couch, we find the same woman a lifeless corpse: the full round features are vanished; the sparkling eye is sunk deep; and the rich vestment, changed into a melancholy winding-sheet. This contrast

of life and death makes a deep impression on the beholder; and the whole appears less a monument, than a satire upon human life.

"I had never before heard the name of Dominique Sarrede mentioned; but my eye dwells gladly on his bust, since I know how faithfully he loved Henry IV. He lost a leg in the battle of Ivry: this, however, did not prevent him from devoting his farther services to his excellent sovereign. His grief at the assassination of the best of masters was such, that passing, two days after the perpetration of the horrid deed, through the street called *Rue de la Ferronerie,* he fell down senseless on the spot where it happened, and died the next morning.

"The physiognomist will find an interest in that statue of Charlotte Catherine de la Tremouille, accused of having poisoned her husband, but acquitted by the parliament. As this image is said to be a striking likeness, he may decide whether she has been justly accused or acquitted: I believe, the former.

"This princess of Conti, who, beautiful and virtuous, was snatched from the world in the thirty-fifth year of her age, was scarcely nineteen years old when she sold her jewels to relieve the poor in a famine. Her tenderness of conscience induced her to make restitution of all those estates of which the possession appeared in the least suspicious to her, and the amount of them is estimated at eight hundred thousand livres. The look with which we part from her *bas-relief,* is benevolence from the heart.

"Another emotion, sublimely affecting, pervades my frame, when I look at the superb monument which Charles Le Brun raised to his mother. An angel with a trumpet hovers over her coffin; the call of the resurrection is sounded; the matron hears it; raises the lid of he coffin; and, gladly awaking from a long slumber, rises out of her grave. Art has here lent a hand to filial duty: the expression of the figure is admirable; a fervent desire after the celestial light seems to beam on the countenance of the blessed parent.

"The two French lines subjoined to the Latin epitaph of the poet Santeuil, are more striking than intelligible:

> Cy git le celebre Santeuil!
> Muses et fous, prenez le deuil.

A composition unique in its kind."

We most cordially agree with our entertaining author, that it is a delight for a thinking and feeling mind to be every where placed among great men; and we are convinced that the museum of monuments must be a far more gratifying exhibition than that of the treasures of art in the museum Napoleon, were it only from the knowledge that the latter is a collection made not

by men of science, but by a banditti of victorious plunderers, whose progress was one continued track of ruin and desolation. M. Kotzebue concludes his account of the monuments with the modest remark, that an amateur who could see them and *judge*, would be able to say twenty times more than himself, who only *felt*.

Before our author gives his opinion on the contents of the gallery of paintings in the museum Napoleon, which he considers to be the richest treasure of the arts in the world, he informs his readers that he is so unfortunate as at first to interest his *feelings* in the works of art, in contradiction to the maxim of the modern school, that such productions are wretched when they operate at all in this manner. Hence he never inquires who is the master, or what the age of a picture: but considers only what sensation it gives him; from a conviction that it was intended by the painter to produce a certain impression upon the spectator. After an introduction similar in substance to what we have stated, our author advises the *critic* to pass over the present chapter; and begins his description of the contents of the first saloon,—the repository of the valuable plunder of Venice, Florence, Naples, Turin, and Bologna.

"The expiation," he observes, "of an involuntary offence, by St. Julian, rouses all the powers of fancy. This poor saint had the misfortune to murder his own father and mother, because he found them in his bed: and misled by the darkness of the night, took them to be his wife with her paramour. In order to atone for his sin, he fled with his wife to the banks of a torrent, of which the passage was very dangerous. Here he founded an hospital for the poor and distressed. Once in winter, at midnight, he hears a plaintive voice from the opposite bank; he crosses it with eager haste, finds a poor leper, carries him over, tries to warm him, and, not succeeding before the fire, puts him into his own bed. Immediately a glory of celestial splendour encircles the head of the patient; who assures his pious host that his crime was now expiated by his charitable compassion, and vanishes. The Florentine painter, Allori, of the sixteenth century, chose, and represented in a capital manner, the moment when St. Julian helps the poor leper out of the boat."

Some of his remarks upon the performances of Guido, and others of equal celebrity, shew an extraordinary justness of discrimination and refinement of taste; but his criticisms upon the scriptural pieces might as well have been dispensed with, for we observe that he uniformly treats such subjects with contempt. For instance, he informs us that he *smiles* and passes by the Holy Family by Guido, without assigning any other reason for his sneer than that "the little Jesus is playing with a rosary!" Cor-

regio's Martyrdom of St. Placida and St. Flavia he considers as *revolting;* and the Curse of the Almighty upon our first parents, by Dominichino, as calculated to excite *laughter!*—On other subjects his remarks afford far more gratification. He was particularly struck with the tent of Darius, by Charles Lebrun, in what is called the French school of the gallery; the subject of which he thus describes: "After the battle in which Alexander vanquished the king of Persia, the conqueror, attended by his favourite Hephestion, enters the tent of the Persian princesses. Sysigambis, the mother of Darius, throws herself at the feet of the favourite; and, dazzled by the splendour of his armour, mistakes him for the king. Aware of her mistake, she attempts to apologize. 'There is no mistake,' said Alexander; 'he is my *second self*.' Near Sysigambis kneels the widow of Darius, holding her son towards the victor. The weeping Statira and her younger sister (Darius's daughters), with a great retinue of women, priests, and eunuchs, fill the remaining space of this charming picture.'

The following remarks on the massacre of the innocents by Guido, are strikingly accurate.—"This painter," he says, "otherwise so great, shewed little knowledge of the heart of a mother; nor did he profit of the subject so far as he might have done. Here the mothers only *flee*, or *cry;* none *supplicate;* none *oppose*. This should be particularly noticed, as the weakest hen will defend her brood, were it even against an eagle. I recollect having seen, at Vienna, a picture representing the same horrors, in the gallery of the princess of Lichtenstein, I know not by what master; but the subject was more justly conceived than in the present. The hand of a mother in despair, whose child had just been run through, at the same moment lacerated the cheek of its murderer.—Let him who has seen the boasted painting of the Sabines, by David, here cast a look upon the same history by Guercino. The first view immediately tells us that the latter was no poet; for who, without being a poet, has ever been a great painter?"

Of the contents of the gallery of drawings he is very brief in his descriptions; but the gallery of antiques gives him an opportunity of expressing what he calls *his own* opinion upon two of the most celebrated sculptures of antiquity.

"It is strange," says he, "that though we do not feel ourselves created to gaze at and ape others, we should at the same time feel rather shy of publishing our opinion against the majority. I am in this predicament respecting the Venus de Medicis and the Laocoön. How can I help it, if this Venus appears to me like a very pretty chambermaid, whom the young master of the house surprises in perfect *dishabille*, and who does not

wish in earnest to avoid his voluptuous looks? Her ears have holes bored in them, from which costly rings may have been suspended. The mark on her left arm plainly shews that she once wore the bracelet called *spinther*. It is said to be in contemplation to restore to her these ornaments, in order to imitate fully the taste of the ancients, who loved to mix gold and marble. My taste, however, is not of that kind. The artist who formed this Venus is said to have been Cleomenes, and to have had a peculiar skill in representing beautiful women; so much so, that Pliny mentions a Roman knight who fell so desperately in love with one of his statues that he died of his passion. How can I help it, if this Laocoön inspires me with a sensation like the man-eater at Berka near Weimar, when I saw him broken upon the wheel in my infancy? "Art, sublime art!" some will say. I have every respect for art; but as I did not come hither to study anatomy, I pass on without prejudicing the opinion of any person; only let me be allowed mine, which invariably consists in this,—*that the fine arts ought only to be employed on fine subjects*; and that as the representation of a scene of torture would give little pleasure upon the stage, neither can Laocoön with his horrid serpents."

The mistakes and innovations of the modern connoisseurs who have been intrusted with the arrangement of these statues, do not escape the notice of our author. They have converted a priest of the god Mithra, which was dug out of a cavern on the banks of the Tiber, into the figure of Paris, by putting into his hand an apple. Before they resolved upon this addition, they supposed him to be Antinoüs; afterwards, the unbearded Hercules; and at another time, Meleager; but he is now almost generally pronounced to be Mercury, and is considered to be one of the most beautiful curiosities in this grand collection. But when Kotzebue arrives at the Apolo Belvedere, he thus expresses his admiration: "I stand before the Apolo of Belvedere; and for once I gladly kneel, and uniting my astonishment and admiration with those of all the skilled and unskilled in this noble art. Yes; this winged foot overtook the serpent Python: already has the fatal arrow fled from the bow, every limb still shews the exertion; indignation sits enthroned on his lip, but confidence of victory in his eye, with joy at having freed Delphos from the monster. His light locks curl in ringlets about his neck, or bear up the divine diadem. Over the right shoulder hangs his quiver, suspened by a ribbon; and rich sandals decorate his feet. The *clamys* thrown back, displays every part of his divine form. Ever-smiling youth, nobleness, slenderness, energy, and elegance, are its component parts. Yes; I readily prostrate myself here, and lament

with many others, that the manner in which this most excellent performance has been exposed, prevents its been seen from all sides."

Our author concludes his account of this gallery with praising the busts of the emperors Adrian, Commodus, Galba, and that of Julia Mammæa; after which he enters into an interesting detail of the manners and customs of the Parisians.

Among the absurd alterations which owe their origin chiefly to the French revolution, those which have taken place in social regulations are not least remarkable. The time as well as the nature of their meals has been totally changed by the versatile Parisians; and not only has the dinner been transferred till a late hour in the evening, but the afternoon's luncheon has been abolished from the capital, and is now only represented in the theatres. This refreshment consisted in France of fruits, wines, and milk; but it is now replaced by what the Parisians call their *tea*. We shall doubtless surprize the plain English reader, when we inform him that the Frenchman's *tea* consists of every thing except the infusion of that plant. It is served between two and three o'clock in the morning: and its component parts are butcher's meat, game, wines, and punch! In cases of emergency, however, the Parisians find it necessary to prepare an afternoon's luncheon; which M. Kotzebue observes, is provided in the following manner: "A huge tart by Cauchois or Leblanc is placed on the middle of the table: at both sides cheeses; and cream *à la vonille*, or *a la rose*, half-whipt, half-iced, and seasoned with pistachioes. These articles are to be provided by mesdames Labour, or Lambert; who are deemed the best cream-makers in Paris. Six plates surround the tart, with the choicest fruits from the widow Fontaine. *Brioches* by Le Sage are placed at the four corners: *meringues à la creme*, by Benard; cakes *á l'abbesse*, and tartlets, by Georges; and *wafers* by Van Roosmalen. Four pyramids must be raised in the corners, of dry or liquid preserved fruit, by Oudard and Berthellemot; *pepper-cakes* and *marsipannes*, by Hemart: confectionary, by Rougot; and jellies by Janvel. All these nice things must be washed down with *Frontignac*, from Tailleur's; and different *liqueurs*, from Lemoine. Among the latter ought to be particularly recommended the *créme d' Arabie*, of which the makers bill assures the public that it is "bottled velvet" *(du velours en bouteilles)*. This liquid velvet is a real delicacy, both in flavour and taste. I have exported some, and several dainty friends of mine allow that they never drank any thing equal to it. It is a proverbial saying here, that *breakfast* is for *friends*, *dinner belongs* to *etiquette*, *afternoon's lunch* to *children*, and *supper* to *love*!

"The bustle of day is gone; business done; repose is inviting; the wax-candles diffuse a soft light, the women are then most amiable, for the hour of their unbounded sway is nigh, for which reason many of them have taken a total leave of the sun. Happy he who can boast of belonging to a good woman *at all times of the day;* yet let him, whom the care of providing the means of subsistence immerses in the vulgar crowd during the day, seek refreshment at night at the round table, with a cheerful and a tender female neighbour. The Muses too are propitious at the evening meal. While the cork flies from the sparkling champagne, wit sallies forth; bon-mots rise like sky-rockets from all quarters; every one is witty, and communicates his wit, though he should only have collected it in the morning of that day.

"So it was at Paris, at least formerly. So it was at those celebrated suppers, when courtiers, citizens, and learned men, associated together; when equality reigned, and high rank was only to be distinguished by a finer taste, and a more graceful ease of manners; where the real *ton* of the world shewed how to be tenderly mindful of the self-love of every guest; and when the beauty and toasts of the day, and the poet in fashion, were mixed with the all-powerful minister and the minion of the court.

"Alas! the torrent of the Revolution has swept all this away. Those suppers were replaced with *fraternal* meals, as they were called, in the middle of the open street, at which presided the fraternity of Cain and Abel: for there never was less liberty and equality in France than when those words were inscribed on every house. Manners, wealth, dignities, good sense and wit, all had taken a different direction; and could the existing remains of those societies of old be brought together, they would hardly find the genuine *ton* again. Suppers are little cared for by the Parisians of the present day. And how should it be possible in a city, where they dine in the evening, where the plays end at midnight, where the rage of gaming has broken loose in all companies, where the rich (allowing a few exceptions) are destitute of knowledge, where the women are without education, and where (as a Parisian journal says) respect and polite deportment *(égards et politesse)* will soon be known only by name?"

It appears from M. Kotzebue's remarks, that many attempts have been made to substitue tea for the suppers, but without success, as nothing is relished but dishes of cold viands, as insipid as the attempts at wit made by those before whom they are placed. Our author could not help observing, that the conversation of the modern upstarts was constantly tinctured with such arrogance as formed a striking contrast with the republican sentiments which they profess; but he scarcely need to have told us, that the Dukes and Peers of the French monarchy were

much more polite than the modern army-contractars, who, at the time of his visit, were the greatest men in Paris.

The old-fashioned and salutiferous breakfasts of tea, coffee, or chocolate, have also, it appears, been abolished, or at least, by the revolution effected in the hours of meals, they are no longer sufficient to serve till dinner, which has rendered it necessary to make the breakfast a more substantial repast. Hence he observes, have arisen the fork-breakfasts *(dejeunés à la fourchette)* which were formerly despised, and, as a vulgar custom, only left to common people and travellers. Now they are very usual in the houses of the rich in modern France. Business seldom begins before ten o'clock. About one the cloth is laid on a mahogany table, and a number of dishes with cold meat and great variety of wines are served. No warm dishes are suffered, with the exception at most of pigeons *à la crapaudine*, fowls *à la Tartare, petites pattées au jus*, kidneys (a very favourite dish), and little sausages. But there are sallads, cold meat, venison and ham pies, and you commence with oysters from the celebrated rock of Cancale. It appears that chocolate, which was formerly consumed by few except invalids, is now a general breakfast with the poor people of Paris, or rather with all, who, though dining at a fashionable hour, cannot afford to stay their appetite with the substantial breakfasts just described. There were, however, only two coffee-houses in which our author could procure this beverage of a good quality.

The dinners given by private families, must appear to an Englishman equally singular with the other ridiculous customs at Paris. This meal is not served till the evening; and in some houses the names of the guests are previously laid upon the plates, by which a man is often obliged to take his seat by the side of a disagreeable companion. The company are first obliged to swallow soups scalding-hot, which they do without the slightest distortion of features. Boiled meat, which used to form the basis of a dinner, is now disused, and *entrées* or side-dishes are substituted, which are carved and distributed by the persons before whom they happen to be placed, so that no man can help himself to any particular dish. Another circumstance worthy of notice is, that they pretend not to relish the roast meat, unless it be in a state approaching to corruption. There are always several sorts of wine, and an abundance of pastry, which, however, is seldom eaten but by ladies and children. At some houses, the extravagance of a private entertainment is almost beyond conception; for M. Kotzebue assures us, that the dessert alone, which is only looked at by the epicures, frequently costs two thousand louis.

The account given by our traveller of the accommodation to be procured at the houses of the restaurateurs, is highly curious. He observes, that in one bill of fare taken from Verry's in the Palais Royal, who is not considered as the first, you have nine different soups, which are followed by seven sorts of pies.

" Those who do not like pies may have oysters at ten sous, or five pence English, per dozen; and there are always women attending in the hall who do nothing but open them. The *hors d'œuvres* (small cold dishes) are twenty-five in number; among which are the famous pigs' feet of St. Menehoult, all sorts of pickled sea-fish, herb sallad, hogs' puddings, hams, and such like articles. Many are accustomed to lay a foundation with beef dressed in fourteen different ways; likewise beef steaks and roast beef. After laying a solid foundation, the bill offers you thirty-one *entrées* of wild and tame fowls, and twenty-eight of veal and mutton. The choice is difficult, particularly as a foreigner, not accustomed to Paris, cannot always understand and translate into his own language the technical French appellations. What foreigner, for instance, would at first know what is meant by a *mayonnaise de poulet*, a *galatine de volaille*, a *cotelette à la minute*, or even an *épigramme d'agneau*? It often happens too, that, seduced by some high-sounding name, you order something that does not afterwards answer your expectation. This, however, is never the case with the fish, of which there are twenty-eight kinds; carp, eels, cod, salmon, sturgeon, pike, gudgeon, cabliau, mackarel, flounders, perch, cockles, trout, soles, &c. &c. all to be had in one day! It must be acknowledged that those who are fond of fish cannot fare badly at Paris. There is likewise abundance of roast: fifteen different sorts are to be had, the dearest of which are fat Normandy capons, red partridges, and snipes. Besides the roast, the *entremêts*, or side-dishes, ought not to be omitted; they are very numerous, and tempt the appetite under forty-eight different forms. There are also all kinds of vegetables, whether in season or not; asparagus and green peas are always at command; there are eggs and pancakes dressed in various ways, jellies and creams, macaronies and truffles in champagne, champignons and craws, cherries and apricots. A great eater, were his appetite ever so voracious, cannot rise from table hungry: but should he still have a little room left, thirty-one different articles of dessert will afford him an opportunity of filling it up; if he be not (as great eaters should be) fond of sweet things, preserves, confectionary, fresh and dried fruit, &c. he will not refuse a slice of *fromage de Rochefort, de Brie, de Neufchatel*, or even of Cheshire. He may abundantly moisten his solids with twenty-two sorts of red, and seventeen of white

wine, being perfectly at liberty to chuse either a bottle of good, ordinary table-wine, for an English shilling, or one of *clos vaugeot* at eight shillings. Seven kinds of *liqueur wines* then await him; these are, however, drank only out of small glasses; and after taking his coffee, he has the option of sixteen sorts of *liqueurs*, and is at liberty to select that which he thinks most worthy of terminating the whole repast."

These luxuries, it appears, are by no means expensive. The charges at the greatest restaurateurs, including wine, are seldom more than eight shillings; and though the wine is brought in whole bottles, a person pays only for as much as he drinks. Those with whom economy is an object, may procure a dinner consisting of a number of dishes for thirty-six sols. At other places the charge is still more moderate. *Letellier, rue St. Honoré*, gives soup, four dishes, a dessert, bread, and a pint of wine, for thirty-six sous. Another person in the Palais Royal, No. 643, offers the same, one dish excepted, for only twenty-five sous (scarcely thirty-five pence.)

On the subject of the indecency to which the Parisians have extended their dressing, we are not altogether ignorant; for, thanks to the efforts of our own *marchandes des modes*, they have enabled our females to imitate with no ordinary success the attractive nudity of their Gallic neighbours. M. Kotzebue is of opinion, that the present fashion of dressing is certainly the most tempting that Satan could have invented to attract the voluptuous eyes of men. We agree with him, that the clothes called decent, even by the beauties of our own metropolis, no girl of the town would, a few years ago, have been allowed to appear in. We cannot, however, conceive why such an accurate observer as M. Kotzebue, should treat so serious a subject in one continued strain of levity. It must be admitted, that the difference between the present transparent chemises and a fig-leaf is no greater, than between the former and the hoop petticoats of old. But M. Kotzebue *hopes*, that, with *God's assistance*, we shall bring matters still farther! He afterwards, in some degree, defends this naked method of dressing, on the ground, that it is conducive to health; because "man and potatoes may be inured to any thing." A still greater advantage, however, in his opinion, is, that from the corporeal petrifaction, if we may so call it, arising from the nakedness of dress, the sexes can assemble on parties of pleasure with the assurance, that they shall not be interrupted by those temporary ailments, the head-ache and nervous affections, with which about twenty years ago females were always accompanied.

We learn, that painting with rouge is quite out of fashion among the ladies of Paris; but the use of white paint is very

general, and is called painting *à la Psyché*, as those who are so ornamented, resemble a portrait of Psyche, by Gerard. But what has been abandoned by the ladies, has been adopted by the gentlemen, who rouge themselves to excess, in order that their cheeks may form a contrast with the blackness of their wigs. Every part of the world contributes towards the dress of a woman of ton in France, as it consists of English cloth, Egyptian shawls, Irish shoes, Roman sandals, India muslins, Mechlin lace, Lyons embroidery, and Turin silks.

The following remark is not unworthy of notice, as it shews how anxiously we imitate French extravagance; for it is well known, that *our* furniture must now be every thing but English. "A *petite-maitresse*," says a wag, "wants every year 365 head-dresses, and as many pair of shoes, 600 dresses, and 12 shifts. Her furniture must be Grecian, Roman, Etruscan, Turkish, Arabic, Chinese, Persian, Egyptian, English, and Gothic, but by no means French. This furniture ought to cost 50,000 francs per annum, the bed excepted, which alone requires 20,000 francs. Thirty thousand more must be expended for boxes at the play-house, and the insertion of paragraphs in the journals; and in acts of beneficence only one hundred!!!

In proportion as shifts have become obsolete, splendid carriages have been ranked as articles of necessity. The female fashionables drive a curricle in the morning; in the evening they ride in a diligence; they travel to the country in a tape-cul; go to the play in a berlin, to places of entertainment in a chariot, to their creditors in a demi-fortune, and to their husbands in a dormeuse. To France, also, our females are indebted for the very convenient custom of wearing no pockets; and it seems, that even the *ridicule*, or thing which was suspended from their arm as a substitute, has now fallen into disuse. On alluding to this circumstance, M. Kotzebue relates the following anecdote:—"A mother once asked her daughter, why do you suffer that huge overgrown fellow, who looks like a model of a church steeple, to be continually following you?—Lord! replied the daughter, I must blow my nose, must not I?" He actually carried her handkerchief.

We shall pass over the fantastical and ridiculous dresses of the *élegants*, or men of fashion, which, thank heaven, with all our excesses, we have not yet become sufficiently degraded to imitate, and proceed to some anecdotes more nearly connected with the dissolute manners, which prevail in our own capital; we mean the production of matrimonial matches, by advertising in the newspapers. These kinds of advertisements are far more frequent in Paris than in London, from the simple circumstance, that the people of that capital are doubtless farther advanced in

vice. The following are some specimens of the Parisian mode of advertising, to which we shall subjoin M. Kotzebue's remarks:

"A bachelor of forty, versed in literature, a cheerful companion, of pleasing manners, *good family*, and in tolerable easy circumstances, wishes to meet with a maiden lady, or widow, without children, from twenty-six to thirty-four years of age, well-bred, intelligent, and without property, to be united *(à s'unir)*, and to live happily together."

Does this *unite* signify to *marry*? I don't know. At any rate one cannot help observing what stress the French again lay upon being of a good family.

"A man, thirty-eight years old, who is his own master, &c. &c. wishes to find a lady who has some property, and would join in company with him." The word marry is again eluded here.

"A healthy widower, sixty years old, without children, possessing a yearly income of 1400 franks, and who has for these ten years inhabited neat apartments near the Thuilleries, seeks a lady of a *suitable age*, of agreeable temper, and some property, to whom he might make such proposals as would be acceptable; or he is willing to receive proposals from her. His sole aim is their mutual happiness." This old Corydon, likewise, is careful not to mention matrimony. He, too, like the former, makes it a condition that the lady must not be poor. For the rest, it is worthy of remark, that he boasts of his lodgings being near the Thuilleries, a circumstance particularly tempting to a French woman.

"A young widow, in every respect interesting, both with regard to character, personal accomplishments, and education, having lost her fortune, wishes to keep company with a single person." That, by this single person, a man is meant, is plain, from her praising her figure, which, if it had been addressed to females, would have been superfluous, perhaps even prejudicial.

"A single young lady, thirty years of age, of good family, with 16,000 francs, and a pretty considerable property in movables, wishes for a legitimate union *(à s'unir legitimement)*, with a man between thirty and forty-five years of age, who has a situation in some office, or possesses some property." At last here is one who wishes for a *legitimate union*. But as the word *legitimement* must be placed next to *unir*, to shew this legitimacy, it is clear that all the others who have been speaking of *union* and *unite*, without this addition, could not have matrimony in view. We see, at least, from this example, how far a female, with 16,000 francs, may be brought, if she owns herself to be thirty years old, and is of course forty.

"A man, sixty-three years old, in good health, and a widower, without children, wishes to become acquainted with a lady (endowed with all the qualities that are generally required of them), in order perhaps to offer her his hand, if, upon further acquaintance, their respective moral qualifications inspire them with the hope of living happily together; or, if she should prefer it, merely to unite her interest with his, without any other tie than that of friendship, on which she may safely rely on his part."

The result of such connections may be easily anticipated; but as such events are not inserted in the newspapers, they are seldom generally known.

The intelligent mind of M. Kotzebue leaves no subject unobserved: he enters at much length upon the description and practices of a certain class of females, who carry the indecency of their dress to an extent of which none but an actual spectator can have any conception; the age of some of these unfortunates was such as to shock the feelings of our author in the extreme; though he has occasionally shewn us, that he is not affected by trifles! Passing over the disgusting detail here alluded to, we shall give the following passage, which forcibly exhibits the easy descent from profligacy to destruction.

"The ladies of pleasure reside principally in the Palais Royal, in the *entresols* of the first floor, where they stand singing at the windows the whole day, and in this they are not interrupted. Their's is, truly, the song of the Syrens. The palace has an infinite number of divisions. I was much struck by one of these, because a libertine and debauchee may run through his whole romantic career in it without loss of time. At the very top, in the third story, is a pawnbroker's, where the profligate spendthrift may replenish his purse upon leaving valuable pledges. Descending one pair of stairs, he finds gaming-rooms, where he may get eased of his money. He needs then only to go down half a flight of stairs, to lose his health with an impure. On leaving her, he is joined by a new companion, Despair, with whom he descends to the shop on the ground-floor, where are sold daggers and pistols. There he may spend his last farthing, and, without any farther ceremony, blow out his brains. It must be confessed, that it is impossible to render living and dying more convenient to a profligate."

M. Kotzebue then mentions a very excellent institution called the Physico-pathological cabinet of Bertrand, likewise in the Palais Royal, which exhibits the human subject in every state of progressive disease. He advises all parents or tutors who send or accompany young men to Paris to take them to this exhibition: and, if afterwards, they are unable to resist the allurements of vice, they must have been incurable before their

arrival. He concludes this subject with the following almost incredible anecdote, for which he pledges his veracity:

"Some German physicians who have fixed their residence at Paris, bringing with them their native modesty, at first avoid speaking to young men concerning a certain disorder before parents, brothers, or sisters. They however soon find with astonishment, that their patients speak on that subject with the utmost freedom, even in the presence of their sisters, who frequently interfere in the conversation, or bring to recollection some particular circumstance that may have been forgotten. The ladies are said to possess great penetration in discovering what is the matter with a young man; upon which they frequently teaze him with saying, *Il s'est brulé*—He has burned himself!—O sacred Modesty! thou hast indeed chapels here and there in Paris, but temples thou hast none!"

Madame Recamier one day proposed to our author to conduct him to the ruined abbey of St. Dennis, which contained the remains of the ancient Kings of France. We have already shewn the refinement of M. Kotzebue's taste, as exhibited in his veneration for the monuments and sacred relics of the departed great. It will therefore be readily conceived, that no spot could be more attractive to him, than that which was now the object of his curiosity. Accordingly, on approaching the abbey, he indulges in some animated reflections on the vanity and vicissitudes of human life, arising from the circumstance, that the spot in which worms once preyed upon Kings, is now converted into a store-house for the food of man; many parts of the abbey being filled with casks of flour.

We are here strongly tempted to exceed our usual limits by giving the interesting remarks, which were made by M. Kotzebue, on his visit to these venerable remains of antiquity. "Here," says he, "we found an aged Swiss, who had served forty years in this abbey, and had seen it during the last days of its splendid existence. He wanders about the precincts as the ghost of some noble ancestor is supposed to haunt his ruined castle, which in his days appeared to bid defiance to the ravages of time. His eyes were wishfully surveying the naked walls, and he now and then gave a significant nod, as if taking leave of some old friend, whose image presented itself to his mind. It was to different monuments which had once been placed there, and had left an idelible impression on his soul, that he made this motion. This man was a complete register of every thing formerly contained in these spacious vaults. He stopped us at every step, saying, 'Here was the monument of a Queen;' at every hole into which he cautioned us not to fall, he named some King or Hero who had been deposited in it. We followed him down a long

flight of steps into a dark subterraneous passage, on both sides of which still projected the blocks of stone on which the coffins were formerly placed. They formed such a narrow alley, that the living fair-one took faster hold of my arm, and pressed closer to me in order to keep out of the resting-place of the departed great.

" In this gloom, where only a distant light sheds its dim rays, the old man, with a voice as if it proceeded from another world, exclaimed, " Here lay Louis XIV. and there Turenne; here Louis XIII. and there Bertrand du Guesclin ;" and having proceeded almost the whole length of the narrow passage, in which the majesty and ambition of thirty kings found sufficient room, he stood still; folding his hands and hanging down his head, he said with a faultering voice, " This bench bore the coffin of Henry IV!"

" His mournful silence, seconded by ours, both did honour to the place, and left us at liberty for a few minutes to indulge in a melancholy sensation, which each endeavoured to suppress. This silence the old man interrupted; for there was still something that oppressed his heart, which he wished to unbosom to us: it was, that he was present when the coffin of Henry IV. was opened; that his corpse was in perfect preservation: that at this sight the most resolute ruffians, by whom it was surrounded, and even Robespierre himself, were seized with a sudden and involuntary awe; that several of them softly approached, and stole some hairs from Henry's beard, which they afterwards wore in rings as precious relics. " But what became of all those corpses?"— " Robespierre ordered them all to be burned excepting that of Turenne."—" And were they actually burned?" Here the old man made a pause: but discovering that I was a foreigner, and seeing my fair companion so deeply affected, he was inspired with confidence, and acknowledged that he had not burned the bones, but had buried them in the dead of the night, about one hundred yards from the abbey. We requested him to conduct us to the spot, when he complied.

" Leaving the long, dark vault, we entered a light subterraneous chapel, where several statues of saints, as large as life, still remained. The Swiss pointed out to us a Virgin Mary, which, by some strange coincidence, bears such a striking likeness to the ill-fated queen, Marie Antoinette, that every person who ever saw her must admit that no portrait could be a more perfect resemblance.

" From the ravaged temple of death, we reascended into the desolate hall where Time now first dares to whet his scythe. The old man flatters himself that he shall yet live to see the

abbey restored to its former splendour, and his hope is founded on some words which Bonaparte is reported to have once dropped. But as the rebuilding it would cost immense sums, it is not probable that it will be undertaken, at least for the present. It is well for the old man that he still entertains some hope; it is the last recruit of oil to the wick of his life, and he who robs him of it to-day, will to-morrow find him no more.

"Upon leaving the abbey, he conducted us, conformably to his promise, to a little grass-plot, about one hundred yards off, which had nothing whatever to distinguish it. Here, in a space which I could cover with my extended arms, were deposited, under my feet, the bones of more than forty kings, queens, princes, and heroes. What had agitated, convulsed, tormented, or blessed the world for a series of ages, now occupied a spot just large enough for a child to throw its doll about! Let him who is tortured with arrogance and ambition flee to this hallowed retreat! For as the Furies quitted Orestes at the entrance of Diana's grove, so his passions will not dare to follow him hither; and even after he has left this solitary grass-plot, those that might otherwise have attacked him will not trouble him any more.

"I asked the Swiss if all the bones were mixed together? "Yes," said he, "I had no time to separate them, but dug a hole as quickly as possible, and threw them in all together. The only one that I should know again is Henry IV. whose remains I threw in first, so that they lie quite at the bottom."

"I suppose this fact may be known to several in Paris; but as many, perhaps scores of years may elapse before the time shall return when a virtuous Frenchman durst loudly wish to rescue the bones of the good Henry from a degrading oblivion, I will consign my information to these pages: and should the old Swiss die, together with all those who may know the spot, yet as long as I live the place cannot be lost, for never shall I forget it!

"The old man attended us to the carriage, and it might be seen in his countenance how happy he felt in having been able to unbosom himself without restraint. We sat mute for some time, revolving in our minds what we had seen and heard. It was a preparation worthy the view of Rousseau's hermitage, which, after strolling about for some time in the valley of Montmorency, we discovered, modestly peeping out from an eminence overgrown with bushes. As we approached, my imagination represented the philosopher botanizing on the hill under the trees, or looking on with good-nature at a dance of the rusties. The house, which is now inhabited in summer by the amiable Getry, is very small, extremely plain, and is left in winter to the care

of an old woman and her daughter. We found only the latter at home: with a friendly anticipation of our wishes, she introduced us into Rousseau's apartment, the papering of which is still the same as when he occupied it. I sat down at the same table on which he wrote what Nature dictated to him: I opened the table-drawer, and found in it the identical ink-stand that he used: on the mantle-piece was likewise placed his candlestick. I shall say nothing of my feelings. If the past rush with vivid recollection upon the mind, it at the same time deprives a person of the power of utterance. For the present, Heaven has given us sounds; for the past only sighs. A dove was fluttering about the room; it was so tame, so gentle: we opened the window for it, but to no purpose. We might almost have been induced here to believe in the transmigration of souls."

Professor Bygge, whose Tour to Paris was not long since published in London, in one volume 12mo. has been very accurate in his descriptions of the different public institutions of that capital. M. Kotzebue, it is true, goes over the same ground; and though in some parts, his manner of description may be more interesting, yet these are the passages which we can pass over with least reluctance, from a conviction, that what is related in them, is already well known. For example, M. Kotzebue is very minute in his account of the cabinet of antiquities, on which almost all modern travellers of a literary turn have published their remarks. Those made by the author before us on many of the institutions in Paris, such as the Mint, the College of Surgery, the Veterinary School, the Prytaneum, the Athenæum, &c. are very brief, and these places have been already described with accuracy, in the well-known pocket-volume, called the Picture of Paris.

M. Kotzebue was led from motives of curiosity to hear several trials at the Palais de Justice: he gives a minute description of the arrangements of this court, which we do not think sufficiently interesting to specify. The examination of prisoners and cross-examination of witnesses, are conducted nearly in the same manner as in our own courts. Trials for forgery are very frequent in Paris, arising from the high degree of public misery prevalent in that capital. Some criminals, who were convicted during the attendance of our author, of forging bank-notes, were sentenced to be branded on the shoulder with the letter F. and to be confined six years in chains; they were found guilty on the evidence of an informer, a character which the Parisians hold in the highest detestation, and who, not unfrequently, forfeits his life to their vengeance. But it is remarkable, that those found guilty of forg-

ing paper-money, are only subjected to the punishment just mentioned, while those who counterfeit pieces with Bonaparte's effigy, receive the punishment of the guillotine.

When speaking of the versatile temper of the Parisians, M. Kotzebue introduces a very laughable dialogue between persons of different professions, supposed to have met in a stage-coach, which, though he admits it to be only an invention, he considers it, and undoubtedly with justice, as a parody upon the world at large; its object being to shew, that no man is, or ever has been, satisfied with his condition. This spririt of envy is prevalent in Paris, where even the upstart is not contented, because he conceives another is about to get the start of him.

We are not suprised to learn, that the horrors of the Revolution are loaded with execration, though our author is of opinion, that this arises in a great degree from *fashion*; but that the authors of such excesses live among those they have injured, in *amicable* intercourse, we cannot bring ourselves to believe, from our own knowledge of the French character. The people certainly have not forgotten the injuries which they sustained from a few of the revolutionary tyrants; who, it appears, still exist among them; and it is probable, that they will one day make a dreadful retaliation.

"That the Parisians take pleasure in recalling to their remembrance the ancient order of things, is observable on a hundred occasions, and in a hundred little traits. The portrait of Louis XVI. is to be found in all the print-shops. On the evening of my arrival, I went to see the opera of Adrian, and heard with astonishment the most enthusiastic plaudits bestowed on these words, *Fidèle à mon roi.*

"The palace of the tribunate is again generally called *Palais Royal;* the last post-station before you reach Paris, *poste royale,* and the *Rue de la Loi* is most generally called *Rue Richelieu.* The wife of a post-master on the road between Lyons and Paris sorrowfully said to me, on perceiving the star on my coat, *En vous voyant, Monsieur, nous renaissons.* People who want to obtain situations think it a recommendation to have been nobles. A lady who wished for a situation as governess in a family, expressly mentioned, that she was the daughter of a *Chevalier de St. Louis!* and another boasted in the same manner of her noble descent; the latter even went so far as to have it mentioned in a public advertisement, that she wished to do the honours at a lady's or gentleman's table of her rank *(de sa classe.)* The ministers are again called *Excellencies,* and liveries become more numerous every day.

"The most popular public journals often defend the nobility in an ingenious manner. A certain family pride is peculiar to all

ranks and classes. Before the revolution, the citizen, as well as the nobleman, was honoured by a line of respectable ancestors, who perhaps filled places usually held by nobles. Even farmers, before they would give their daughters in marriage, carefully enquired about the *family* of their future sons-in-law. A kind of nobility was not unknown to the peasant's cottage, where it consisted in the respect of old age, and the acknowledged spotless good name of his family. Philosophy has sometimes degraded those sentiments, and the Revolution was about to extirpate them entirely. Every body exclaimed with Juvenal, "*Stemmata quid faciunt!*" What do we care for ancestors? The wisdom of the hoary ages of antiquity has long since answered this question. Even then every body began to count his ancestors when asked his name and calling. They were in some measure, his *guarantees*. The heroes of Homer never omitted doing so. Plato himself did not deem it a trifling matter; and we observe that Alcibiades, by Eurysaces, could trace his ancestors up to Jupiter; and that Socrates, among his, had Dædalus and Vulcan.

"What people were they, who, at the Olympic games, had the genealogy of Leonidas recounted to them? What nation was it that had the patience to hear the long line of Cæsar's ancestors named from the tribune? The Greeks, the Romans! Weigh on one side, the unanimity of all nations and ages, under all forms of government; on the other, the wisdom of a few days, to which we owe the great discovery, that a father is nothing to his son. What is general cannot be a prejudice. Not only Europe, even the New World adheres to this persuasion: no savage in the wilds of North America leaves his cot, without taking the bones of his fathers along with him. The most ancient nation that is known, the Chinese, pay divine honours to their ancestors. From the palace to the hovel, man tries to propagate his memory to future ages. Animated by this wish, the hoary sire sows the seed of a tree, of which he will not perhaps live to see the third leaf: by his ancestors (that is to say, *recollections*), he is connected with the past; by his children (i. e. *hopes*) with the future. In the physical order of things individuals perish, the species subsist for ever; and so it is in the moral world. He is not a good man who wishes to insulate, as it were, all our enjoyments, and to confine them to the present moment.

"Thus reason, at present, those very Frenchmen, who, but a few years ago, who would have hurried to the lamp-iron any one who durst have uttered such sentiments."

It appears, that notwithstanding the well-known character of the French for vivacity, their modern fashionable societies are intolerably dull. This arises, in a principal degree

from that want of confidence, which evidently prevails between parties of all classes, where each man looks upon his neighbour with suspicion and distrust. Instead, therefore, of those friendly and open communications, which prevailed in all respectable companies under the old form of government, there is now, in the evening assemblies, literally no conversation at all: the guests come and go when they please, fill up their time with common-place remarks upon the weather, and occasionally play at cards, while those hostesses who lay superior claims to politeness, always invite the blind Abbé de Lille, who entertains the company with recitations from his poems. The principal performers of the French Stage are also invited to all fashionable parties, where they give recitations and songs.

The most celebrated contemporary painter of the French school, is David, well-known in the annals of the Revolution. He exhibits a few of his most famous pictures, amongst which are the *Rape of the Sabines* and the *Horatii* taking their oath: the expence of admission is trifling; yet by this means David has amassed the sum of 60,000 livres. We learn with regret, however, that the historical painters in Paris, although there are several who possess exquisite talents, can scarcely procure a subsistence.

Speaking of the Bastile, our author says, "The spot where this structure of lawless despotism once stood will be for ever memorable. Some parts of the walls, ditches, and gates, still remain, but within the inclosure is piled up wood for fuel. I will not vouch for the truth of the assertion, that a certain republican hero has on several occasions sincerely lamented the destruction of that tomb of the living. Let him consider, that there is still left the Temple where Louis XVI. was immured, and which still contains room for many a wretched victim. The latter is now surrounded with walls of such height, that its four turrets, with a fifth in the centre, can only be seen at a distance. Recollecting the dreadful times past, a sensation of gloomy melancholy seizes the passenger."

It was doubtless such sentiments as these, which M. Kotzebue has frequently interspersed in his work, that caused his late arrest, while travelling in Italy.

Amongst the curiosities worthy the attention of foreigners, is the Physical Cabinet of Professor Charles, in which there is an immense electrical machine, which on merely being put in motion, causes the hair of the spectator to stand erect at the distance of two yards. The Observatory is also well worthy of attention.

The third volume commences with an account of some

remarkable curiosities, establishments, and public edifices; and we really remember no traveller who ever entered into so minute an examination of every subject worthy of notice in that capital, nor one who has such a happy method of communicating his ideas. His account of the *Palais Royal* will serve as a farther specimen; and we would really advise every Englishman, who may hereafter go to Paris, to take M. Kotzebue's book as a companion: he will need no better conductor.

"Its inner court (the Palais Royal), three hundred and twenty yards in length, and one hundred and fifty in breadth, has been newly planted. The present generation will scarcely live long enough to walk under the shade of these trees; but whether shady or not, this palace, nevertheless, remains the daily place of resort for many thousands of people; and during the greatest part of the day, its piazzas or arcades are so much crowded, that it is impossible to make your way through without the aid of your elbows. No wonder; for here are eighteen coffee-houses, ten restaurateurs, half a dozen pastry-cooks, many public-houses, several wine-merchants, ice-sellers, fruit-women, a couple of billiard-tables, and a great number of confectioners; in short, you may eat and drink in as great abundance, and of as great delicacies as in any part of the world. Among other things, you find a wafer-shop, where several persons sit before the fire the whole day, and do nothing but bake wafers, and most excellent ones they are. In a small room beyond the shop, they are served quite hot, and if you please you may drink a glass of Malaga with them. It was my usual breakfast, and does not overload the stomach. Whoever does not like this fare, may go to the next shop and procure a cold partridge-pie, or some of the thousand cold viands, which are every where exposed in a most relishing manner to tempt the eye.—If you like, you may go one pair of stairs higher into apartments elegantly furnished, pass your time in playing at all imaginable games of hazard, and drain your purse; or follow the syren's song, resounding from the windows of the *entresol;* or read the newspapers in a coffee-house; or go to the reading-rooms kept by one *Jorre,* where you always find two warm rooms in winter, and on paying six livres a month, you may read from morning till night forty newspapers and journals. When tired of this, you may go (take notice, still under the same piazzas) to the *Théatre Montansier,* or to *M. Seraphin's Ombres Chinoises,* or to the *Theatre des Enfans,* or to the puppet-show, or to a private theatre in a cellar. At the time I was there, Pyramus and Thisbe were to be seen in wax-work; the body of the virtuous Thisbe, who was probably rendered pregnant by Pyramus, might be opened, and the situation in which the fœtus lay examined. Before the door

door was a cryer, who kept repeating the whole day, *Messieurs, voyez en passant, le chef d'œuvre de l'art, curieux et interessant. Le professeur va commencer l'explication dans l'instant, entrez! entrez!*

"This invitation was sung to the tune of a hymn, and the vociferating sounds tickled the ears even after you had left the *Palais*. More serious entertainment is afforded by Bertrand's physical cabinet a few paces farther.

"The *Théatre Français*, the first in Paris, is likewise so connected with the Palais Royal, that a continuation of the covered walks leads through into it.—If every other method of diversion be exhausted, surely some novelty may be found among the twenty booksellers' shops under the arcades; or, giving way to the impulse of vanity, you may have your portrait taken by a miniature-painter. Not less than nineteen of these artists here exhibit their specimens good and bad, cheap and dear, from six livres to ten louis. There are some of them who promise to furnish a portrait within the space of an hour, and who are artists of merit as far as regards hitting a resemblance. Thus I saw, for instance, a portrait of the hereditary Prince of Weimar, badly painted, but a strong resemblance, in the Palais Royal, during the whole of my stay. If, notwithstanding all this, you are still at a loss for diversion, which is scarcely possible, you may read so many thousand bills posted up against the walls, or look at elegant shops; among which you find no less than sixteen milliners, twenty warehouses for ready-made wearing apparel, thirty stocked with all kinds of stuffs for ladies and gentlemen, numerous shops containing the most beautiful hardwares, glass, china, arms, seals, childrens' toys, &c.

"If you have no money to purchase any of these things, here are two pawnbrokers' shops, and two lottery-offices. The former give ready money on good pledges; and the latter, hopes of ready money. In short, were you to be shut up for life in the Palais Royal, you need never want any thing that renders life pleasant, from the *Théatre Français*, to the shoe-black's stall, which bears the pompous inscription, *Aux artistes réunis*, The united artists.

"The coffee-houses vie with each other in making a splendid external appearance. One is called the coffee-house of a thousand columns (*cafe aux mille colonnes*), because its apartments, supported by about half a dozen pillars, are multiplied by the reflections from one glass to another, to thousands. Another, with the sign of the Mount St. Bernard, calls itself *unique*. The manner in which it distinguishes itself is indeed singular enough. A considerable portion of the coffee-room has been sacrificed to a model of Mount St. Bernard. Besides this, all the rooms are decorated with an immense number of small puppets, in glass

frames, and capable of being set in motion. They partly imitate various nations, and particularly those described in Cooke's Voyages, and partly French peasants, from the most remote provinces, and are, in general, a tolerable resemblance. At any rate, a person who takes a dish of coffee here, is sure of being agreeably entertained."

The palace of the Conservative Senate, which was formerly called La Luxembourg, and celebrated for its beautiful gardens, has been mentioned by almost every modern traveller; so that in M. Kotzebue's account of it, we meet with nothing particularly worth attention. Of the hall appropriated to the Council of Five Hundred, he, however, gives the following interesting description:

"Such must have been the appearance of the place where the Senate of ancient Rome used to meet, and if not such, it was certainly far inferior to the Hall of Five Hundred, which is splendid without luxury and gaudy glitter. In a vast semicircle, five hundred seats rise into the form of an amphitheatre; behind these is a gallery for the constituted authorities, and, above that, a second for the people. The ceiling, which joins the latter, is decorated with the pictures of ancient legislators and celebrated republicans. Here are Solon, Lycurgus, Regulus, Cato, and many others, with the period in which they lived marked underneath. In the midst of all these figures, Nature sits enthroned with the inscription: *Nature alone gives eternal laws.* The hall receives light from above, and warmth from below, for it has neither windows nor stoves.

"Opposite the seats of the Five Hundred, is a handsome tribune for the president; and, a little farther, a second for the secretaries. The walls are hung with drapery, not tricoloured, but of light green cloth, with flame-coloured ornaments. Every thing is simply dignified, and I think it impossible to fit up any place in the world in a manner more appropriate to its use."

His account of the Hotel of the Invalids strongly reminds us of our own excellent institution, Chelsea Hospital. Like this, it is built on the banks of the principal river: the ease and regulations of its tenantry seem to be the same; and we learn, that the veterans of the French hospital have the advantage of an excellent and very extensive library, in which are abundance of tables and chairs placed for the accommodation of its visitors.

"At different distances is a written request, not to spit on the floor, which is kept uncommonly clean. In the back ground of the library hangs David's picture of Buonaparte crossing the Alps, while a gust of wind blows his cloak over his head. It is the same which Buonaparte made a present of to the Invalids,

and which the hoary warriors were obliged to salute with discharges of artillery on its arrival. This *large cloak,* spread like a sail, almost wholly enwraps the *little man.* It bears not the least resemblance to him. Flattery, however, takes care that it be multiplied. I found a painter and two young ladies sitting before it, and taking a copy; the former was a miniature painter, and the ladies only took a drawing of it. A number of invalids were sitting round about reading; one a military work, another a tragedy by Racine, and the third a novel. Meantime their eyes were fixed on their visitors of the fair sex; and it being rather cold, they came to solicit the ladies to warm themselves before the fire. The latter, wholly intent upon their work, declining it, the gallant cripples brought straw mats, which they spread under the ladies' feet, to prevent their catching cold on the marble pavement. It ought not to be forgotten that they were all *common* soldiers."

The great cupola of this institution is surrounded by a multitude of colours, each of which forms a letter of an inscription announcing the victories of the French. M. Kotzebue could see here the colours of all nations *except his own,* the Prussian; but this remark, which he evidently intends as a compliment to his country, seems to us so very much like a satyre upon its government, that we can hardly refrain from a smile. Pray, good Mr. Kotzebue, how are the colours of one nation to be obtained by another, if the former be resolved to see with impunity the grossest outrages committed on its neighbours, in defiance of every known principle of national justice, rather than take up arms against the common enemy? Since the French, in the late war, began to be victorious, the wary government of Prussia resolved to be at peace; and if it had taken a contrary resolution, perhaps, good sir, you would have had no cause for your exultation! We think, if our memory do not fail us, that those very French, who were once in your opinion the greatest people upon earth, did a few years ago beat your countrymen most soundly, and take away their colours; and perhaps if you were again to visit the Hotel of the Invalids, you might, by the help of your spectacles, discover those identical colours in some remote corner of the cupola. Besides, sir, *we* will not believe you, when you assert, that you saw the colours of *all* nations in this cupola, except those of your own. We cannot bring ourselves to believe, that you saw any *English* colours amongst them; or if you did, and were gratified at the sight, you need only visit London, and we will return you the compliment a hundred fold.

But to return to our analysis. M. Kotzebue makes some just remarks on the fine battle-piéces, with which the halls of this institution are decorated, as all such pictures resemble each other.

" But one," says he, " which shews the heroic sacrifice made by the officer at Nancy, of his own person, by voluntarily placing himself at the mouth of the cannon, to prevent its being fired upon the citizens, and who thus became a victim to his patriotism, is a beautiful performance; and it is still more charming, that it should hang here. Finally, if I step under this *vast* cupola, this rotunda, towering aloft into the skies, in the most superb style of architecture, I observe its sole ornament, its sole ornament in the strictest sense of the word, the tomb of Turenne. His bones, saved from the monument at St. Denis, really repose here. This sepulchral monument resembles that which his children had once raised for him at St. Denis. Something, however, surprised me in the cupola, viz. the twelve apostles painted, and below them *bass-reliefs* of Voltaire, Rousseau, and others. How happens it that Voltaire and Rousseau should be confounded with invalids and apostles?"

The botanical garden he considers unworthy of praise, as it is very inferior to many in Germany. This garden, however, contains the gallery of Natural History, which is allowed to be the most famous in the world, as it possesses, either alive or stuffed, every animal that has hitherto been described by naturalists or travellers. " A large hall contains the quadrupeds. In its centre is the zebra, with variegated stripes, the rhinoceros, the elephant, and finally the tall camelopard, near which stands the elephant like a dwarf. At two yards distance is the little Siberian mouse, the smallest of all the quadrupeds. Good God! if you eye in thought the humming-bird near the ostrich, and the little Siberian mouse near the camelopard, and you recollect that these colossal creatures did not receive more life from nature than those diminutive atom-like animals—how much matter do we find for serious reflection! On the side walls are to be found not only the well known animals which are found in other places, but likewise the hippopotamus, the sea-cow, the antelope, the sloth, the ant-eater; in short, all the animals that are seen depicted in Buffon." It also appears, that this institution is about to receive many important additions, from the curiosities sent home by Captain Baudin, now on his voyage round the world*.

On examining the anatomical cabinet of the celebrated Cuvier, our author makes a remark, which we recommend to the attention of our advocates for the liberty and equality of the Negroes, which is, that the heads of those people are an exact mongrel-species between men and monkies: they are quite as *distorted* as

* The first part of the Voyage of this celebrated traveller has been some time in the French press, and is nearly ready for publication. Our readers may be assured, that we shall be the first to present them with its translation.—EDITOR.

those of the apes; and the chin, like that of those animals, turns inwards. The result is, that Kotzebue is of opinion *the Blacks are not our brethren!*

We now come to a part of this work, which we will presume to say, notwithstanding the improbability that may be attached to it, none of our readers can peruse without a strong degree of interest. It relates to the actual existence of the Dauphin, the son of the unfortuate Louis XVI. Before we begin our extract, we must premise, that there are many thousands of persons in France, who implicitly believe in the truth of this story, which is placed on the records of the government of the usurper. It is as follows:

"*Jean Marie Hervagault* is the son of a taylor at St. Lo, of a prepossessing figure, features bearing great resemblance to those of Louis XVI. fair, slender, lively, communicative without suspicion, quickly penetrating, and feigning innocence in a masterly manner; of course a person of great endowments, but of no education. He is supposed to be a natural son of the late Duke of Valentinois, who possessed estates in Normandy. The strange events of the Revolution disordered his senses; he saw that many had raised themselves from obscurity, and he wished to do the same. In September, 1796, he left his father's house, and strolled as a vagabond about the country, declaring himself to be the son of a family of rank, reduced to distress by the Revolution. His youth, his innocent appearance, and the plausibility of his story, every where procured him a favourable reception and relief. He had no passport, but was never asked for one. He became bolder, and attempted likewise to carry on his trade in the towns. He came to Cherbourg, but was soon taken up as a vagrant. His father, the taylor, being apprized of this, hastened to fetch him, and was not a little surprised to find him richly provided with money and jewels. He brought him back to St. Lo, where the brisk young blade did not, however, stay long, but soon ran away a second time, strolled through the department of Calvados; and, having improved both in body and in mind, he became more ingeniously inventive in his stories than at first. He sometimes passed for a son of the Prince of Monaco, and sometimes for the heir of the Duke d'Ursel, in the Netherlands. He thus raised himself step by step, and ere long made himself a relation of Lewis XVI. of the Emperor Joseph II. and of the King of Prussia. For the sake of his safety, which was threatened, he travelled in women's clothes, pretending that he was just returned from England, whither he had been taking some money to his emigrant father. Many, very many people of rank and education, were deceived, for he flattered their former prejudices; the ladies in particular shewed a

decided partiality for him, because he addressed their hearts. His adventure began to attract some notice, and he was arrested a second time in female attire, and conducted to prison at Bayeux, at the distance of only ten leagues from St. Lo. His father came again to procure his deliverance, which, in consideration of his youth, was indulgently granted, and the lad replaced under paternal authority. He was now to learn the trade of a taylor, an insufferable thought to his mind. He broke loose a third time.

" In 1797 he was in the diligence, or stage-coach, between Laval and Alençon, very plainly and decently habited according to his sex. Not far from the latter place, he alighted, and brushed off to a village by the road-side, called *Les Joncherets*. Being benighted, he begged quarters of a peasant, who directed him to the house of Mademosille Talon Lacombe for better accommodation. To this lady he declared himself to be one of the family of Montmorency, who had a castle and estates near Dreux, but was obliged to fly from his persecutors. She conceived a lively interest for his situation, and supplied him with money and clothes, which he promised to repay upon his arrival at Dreux. Here he lived for a while much at his ease, acted the part of a man of quality, and presented, for instance, the ostler who saddled his riding-horse with a louis d'or.

" At last he felt himself induced to set off, and Mademoiselle Lacombe accompanied him to Dreux, to get back the value of what she had advanced to him. They safely reached the place; but both castle and estates had vanished. Can any thing be more natural? The Revolution accounts for every thing. Poorer by fifty louis-dor's, and richer in experience, the lady returned home. The young hero continually gained in boldness. In the month of May, 1798, he ventured in the diligence to Meaux, only eight leagues from Paris, and alighted at the inn, where he indeed, obtained some refreshment, but having no passport, was refused a night's lodging. The wife of a Paris merchant, Laravine, who happened to be at Meaux, took pity on him, and permitted him to sleep in her warehouse. This encouraged him to ask farther favours, and he succeeded. He represented himself as a rich farmer's son at Domery, who had fled to avoid being enrolled as a recruit, and Madame made him a present of four louis-dor's, upon which he hired a place in the diligence for Strasbourg.

" About one league from Chalons he disappeared, and the postillion in vain waited his return. He went to the village of Mery, and wished to make good his story at the castle of Guignaucourt; but being suspected, he was put under arrest, and taken before the justice of peace at Cernon. Being asked who he was,

he mysteriously replied: 'He had no answer to make to such a question.' He was sent to Chalons, where, being again asked to give his name, he proudly said, 'You will learn it but too soon.' At last he said, he was called Louis Antoine Jean François de Langueville; that his father was dead, and that his mother, Madame Sainte Emile, lived at Beuzeville, near Pont Audemar, in the department of Eure. It must be confessed, that it is impossible to tell a lie more circumstantially. Confined in the prison of Chalons, Hervagault assumed an air of grandeur, and a mysterious deportment; he tempted the curious, gave significant hints, and, in short, ere long it was whispered about, It is the Dauphin! the son of Louis XVI! The jailer himself believed the story, and advanced him money. The wives of two merchants of the towns Saignes and Felize were initiated in the secret; which soon spread about, and no one any longer doubted. His figure, his manners—'You need but see him,' exclaimed the credulous souls, 'to recognise him at the very first look.' All the inhabitants of Chalons, of the priveleged orders, were by degrees made confidents and adherents; and they all vied with each other in supporting this ill-fated offspring of their king. His table was daily served with dainties of every description, his rooms were elegantly furnished, masters were given him, the jailer treated him with deference and respect; his prisoner was allowed to walk about as often as he pleased, but always in the disguise of a female; in fine, his dungeon was as it were metamorphosed into a pleasure-house.

"Meanwhile the persons who were let into the secret were not sufficiently discreet. A word dropt here and there in the gladness of their hearts, aroused the vigilance of the magistrates; and, after this masquerade was played two months, Hervagault was made to undergo stricter examinations. With artifice and gestures that seemed to belie his words, he now declared that he was the son of a tailor at St. Lo. The father was applied to in writing, confirmed the truth of the declaration, and the offender was sentenced to *one month's* imprisonment. This mild punishment was considered as a victory by those who thought they really knew the secret: during his trial, they trembled lest the real origin of the prisoner should not escape discovery. In order to free him from the prying vigilance of the police, they abundantly furnished him with money and jewels, and thus facilitated his retreat. He was very well satsfied with the issue, and now began to act his part at Vire, in the department of Calvados. Here he made but a few proselytes, was soon arrested again, and with greater severity doomed to two years' imprisonment. As the inhabitants of Vire only considered him as a young vagabond, he would have passed these two years very sorrily, had not his

faithful adherents at Chalons continued to support him; on which occasion the consoling Madame Saignes conducted the correspondence. This woman really wished him well, and advised him to apply the time of his confinement to the improvement of his education; but he gave way to drinking, and at the end of two years left the prison worse than when he entered. Madame Saignes herself went to fetch him from Vire to Chalons, into the bosom of his faithful and devoted friends. The most splendid preparations were made for his reception. He arrived, received congratulations, had flowers strewed at his feet, and was treated with the most distinguished respect. In short, the horn of plenty was again most copiously poured out on the taylor's son of St. Lo. When the police discovered these proceedings, his partisans, upon deliberation, found it expedient to send the Dauphin on his travels. His route was so contrived that he every where found confidential friends, who being previously informed of his supposed high birth, shewed him all the respect due to that exalted station. He was once at Rheims, twice at Vitry le Français, and often at different country-seats, where balls, concerts, and feasts, of every kind, were given in honour of him. At Vitry he was splendidly and conveniently lodged at the house of Madame de Rambecour, whose husband closely followed all his footsteps, waited upon him with the most attentive zeal, and served him like a valet. On St. Louis's day a superb *fête* was prepared for him, it being the feast of the saint whose name he bore. The ladies sung songs composed in honour of him. In the confidential circles which he frequented, they always called him, *mon prince!* his portrait was handed about as that of the *Dauphin*, and it was reported that the Pope himself had imprinted a mark on his leg, to know him again by; finally, a letter was handed about from a *bishop*, in which this deluded prelate *writes in expressions of the profoundest respect for this young vagabond; and, by his example, convinced many who were still wavering in their belief.* Already was a court formed round Louis XVI.; he had immediately his favourites, and was going to nominate those who were to hold the great offices of his household. Many names of consequence were to be found among them. They all glowed with enthusiasm, and prepared to make the greatest sacrifices. MEN OF BIRTH AND RANK *deemed themselves fortunate on being able to perform the meanest drudgery of menial service for him.* Misers turned spendthrifs, that they might have the honour of entertaining him. It was very natural that such proceedings should not escape the eye of a vigilant police. Fouche was informed at Paris of all that was going forward at Vitry; and a warrant put an end to the farce.

"But even when taken into custody, Hervagault *conducted himself with a loftiness and dignity that struck all present with a kind of dubious awe.* His downcast confidents surrounded him with the most heart-felt reverence; one of them, highly moved, begged leave to embrace him, and the taylor's son negligently tendered his hand to kiss. The very first night of his incarceration a most splendid feast was given at the prison. Intercessions were made for his release upon bail, but in vain; all that could be obtained was to mitigate, as much as possible, the rigours of his captivity. He was constantly served in the most sumptuous manner, and so accustomed to this high style of living, that once a chicken, a pigeon, with a sallad and custard, being served for his supper, he thought proper to find the fare incomplete, and indignantly dashed the mess on the ground. Aduet, the notary, called him in his prison *Monseigneur,* and was most graciously rewarded with the appellation of *Mon petit page, mon petit valet de chambre d'amitié.* Thus he acted his part, and always with an air of the utmost importance. Going to mass, a servant carried his prayer-book and cushion. He appointed a secretary, and made him sign in his name that of Louis Charles. Where a man bears a great name, said he to the justices, he is sure to be exposed to persecution. The Mayor of Vitry, owing to the great concourse of people, found himself, at last, under the necessity of putting him under closer confinement, and, at the same time, intercepted the *enormous supplies of wine* and good cheer sent for his use. No person, but those absolutely necessary to attend him, was permitted admission without a ticket. Meanwhile, *his offence was by no means considered in a political view,* but merely as a matter belonging to the correctional police, to the enquiry and punishment of which it was accordingly left. Madame Saignes was likewise taken up as his accomplice; but there being no proof to convict her, was acquitted in consequence. Hervagault, in the beginning of the year 1802, was sentenced to four years imprisonment, as a sharper and abuser of the credality of the people, and confined accordingly in the house of correction at Ostend. Both the delinquent, and the *attorney-general,* though upon different grounds, *appealed against this sentence* to the government.

"The matter was now to be treated at Rheims, when a new and very important actor suddenly burst upon the scene of this tragi-comedy. The aged prelate L. de S.... Bishop de V.... *a man venerable for his integrity, universally respected for the austerity of his manners and his profound learning,* EXPRESSED HIS CONVICTION THAT HERVAGAULT WAS THE REAL AND GENUINE DAUPHIN. He had even spoken to the surgeons that had anatomised the corpse of the *pretended Dauphin.*

in the Temple, WHO HAD INFORMED HIM IT WAS NOT THAT OF THE REAL ONE. He resolved upon freeing his young Monarch from the chains of captivity, lent out considerable sums to effect this purpose, abandoned the very functions of his office, came to Rheims, corresponded with the prisoner by means of the keeper of the jail, and thought himself sure of his being the identical person. The dauphin's death appeared to him a mere political lie of the National Convention. He even thought it his duty to give to the neglected prince a good education, and endeavoured to accomplish this end with the purest and sincerest intentions. He sent him amongst other works one day, *Le Genie du Christianisme* by *Chateaubriant*, and the tragedy of Athalia, upon which he received, to his surprise, this answer: 'Do you mock me? all this I know by heart.' All the fears of the prelate were, lest the object of his care should be sentenced to transportation. To prevent this, he strained every nerve, and made use of the interest of every friend he could command in Paris: he drew up a list of those persons to whom he intended to entrust the fate of the Dauphin. In it were found, amongst others, the names of Brissac, Necker, Madame de Stael, Montesson, Roquelaire, Angouleme, Talleyrand, Puys de Segur, Boufflers, La Harpe, &c. Some believed him, some did not; some called him a *Blondel*, some a *Joab*. The correspondence was carried on in cyphers; it even went so far, that the project was formed to marry the dauphin with a distant relation of the royal family. Hervagault at first seemed to wave the proposal, for he had (as the reader will presently be informed) sworn the oath of fidelity and affection to the queen of Portugal's most amiable sister, but from political motives he yielded, and it was resolved to make levies of men for his service. But ere these negociations could possibly ripen, the trial before the criminal tribunal at Rheims was once more publicly revised, and that in the presence of a numerous multitude of people, who all were in favour of the accused, loudly murmured against the prosecuting attorney-general, and with enthusiastic fervour applauded the official defender of Hervagault. The judges, however, would not suffer themselves to be misguided, and confirmed the original sentence. While they were deliberating on the subject in another room, the most painful anxiety was depicted in the countenance of every spectator in court. Hervagault heard his sentence with composure, with a smile of contempt; and his partisans, instead of giving credit to the juridical decision, obstinately persevered in their former pre-conceived opinion. They continued to wait on him with royal service in the place of his detention. He had by him, amongst other effects, a silver cup, on which were the letters L. C. (Louis Charles) engraved and decorated with

an antique French crown. This he pretended to the jailor was his cypher. *None of his adherents deserted his cause; on the contrary, their zeal redoubled,* and the venerable Bishop of V—— always headed them. Nay, the latter did not confine his zeal to presents and good advice, he even resolved most actively to exert himself; and being informed that it was intended to bring his illustrious pupil from Rheims to Soissons, he determined to rescue him on the road from the hands of his persecutors. This youthful project of an old head was betrayed; the Bishop and his papers were seized; and it evidently appeared upon proof, that it was his intention to make the taylor's son of St. Lo act the part of the dauphin. The government, however, had compassion on the hoary dotard, and gave him his liberty. Hervagault himself, had fared better, if the least prospect of amendment had appeared in his conduct; but as he formed another junto of partisans at Soissons, it was thought proper to make him disappear.

"In order to render it conceivable how so many persons of rank and knowledge of the world, should have suffered themselves to be made the dupes of this raw youngster, people ought themselves to have heard him tell his story. With great emotion he would remember how Louis XVI. his father, used to give him lessons in history and geography in the Temple. In the tone of the most ingenious simplicity, he would talk of a little bitch called *Fidèle*, of which Marie Antoinette, his mother, was very fond. The most minute details he described with infantile vivacity, nor did he forget that Simon, his jailer, used to wake him in the dead of night, to convince himself that he had not been carried off. 'I was obliged,' said he, 'to perform the meanest drudgery, which affected my health.'—'The ninth Thermidor alleviated the miseries of many victims of the revolution as well as mine; they gave me better clothes, more wholesome victuals, and even allowed me the diversions suitable to my age. My sister was permitted to come to me, to eat and play. What a moment was the first of our re-union! *(he always wept bitterly when speaking of this interview.)* Meanwhile my health became continually more impaired, and the prison air must have killed me, had not the Lord decreed to send me relief. One day, about the latter end of May, 1795, as I was just going to dose, one of my keepers, whom I always liked for his mildness, accosted me, and whispering said, 'My dear child, you would soon die in this prison, but people who love you, though utter strangers, let you know that, if you keep the secret, they will soon bring you to a place where you shall be at full liberty, and play with children of your own age.' I swallowed his words with avidity, promised to reveal nothing, and waited with

anxiety the fulfilment of his promise. On the following evening, about the same time, a cart with clean linen came into the court-yard to be unloaded, and to take in another quantity of foul. *Among this linen was laid concealed a very sickly looking child, about my age.* A strong man in a sailor's dress took me in his arms, put me amongst a parcel of the foul things, and only a small aperture kept me from suffocation; the last thing that I saw in my prison, was the sick child, whom they put in my bed. I was rather roughly flung into the bottom of the cart, and without any farther obstruction conveyed to *Challiot.* As soon as we got out of the temple, they gave me a little more air, but on approaching the barriers they covered me again entirely. At Passy I was carried, still packed up, into a low room, where I was quite at liberty. Here I saw three strange men, who threw themselves at my feet, and seemed to be quite beside themselves with joy. *They quickly put on me female attire, placed me in a post-chaise, and drove along the road to La Vendée to the army of the royalists.* How it came about that I should be liberated, I was not informed till a long time afterwards. After Robespierre's fall, the ruling factions were divided among themselves, and many were not disinclined to the restoration of royalty; overtures were made to the Vendean royalists, and negociations opened with them by Rouelle, a member of the National Convention; and one of the conditions which the former insisted upon was, my being delivered up to them; to which, however, the committee of public welfare added the restriction, that my deliverance should at first be kept a secret, and another child substituted in my place. After long and violent debates, the royalists assented to the measure. The only difficulty was to find a proper subject of a child to replace me. Count Louis de Trotte undertook it, and sent the Abbé Laurent for this purpose into Normandy, attended by his adjutant Du Hamel. *They bribed one Hervagault, a taylor at St. Lo, to sacrifice, for a consideration of 200,000 francs, for the general good, his son, who resembled me.* They otherwise assured the taylor that he han nothing to dread for his son's life, and they even concealed it from him that the stripling should be lulled into a sound sleep, by means of a strong dose of opium.

"There were but three persons in the Temple who knew the secret; this was the jailer's wife, the above-mentioned turnkey, and the sweeper of the prison. It was the latter who carried me out, and delivered me at Passy to Messrs. De Trotte du Chatelier and Abbé Laurent. Two hours after my deliverance, the celebrated Dessault, to whose care I had been entrusted, came into the Temple, when the too strong dose of opium had lulled the child, which was laid in my bed, into a lethargic slumber,

resembling death. Dessault was going to feel his pulse without waking him, but on laying his hand upon his body, he perceived such a difference between it and mine, that he uttered a shriek, and his amazement was changed into the most violent fright, when, upon close inspection, no doubt remained of its being another child. He remained near an hour in mute amazement. He considered his responsibility, the danger he was in, and finally resolved to screen himself by sending a secret report, perfectly congenial to the truth, to the committee of public welfare; where Rovere, the then president, who was in the secret, after the first paroxysms of violence to his astonished and furious colleagues had subsided, proved to them that silence would be the best remedy, particularly so as there was every appearance that the strange and sickly child would die, in which case it would be perfectly easy to persuade all Europe, that the real dauphin was dead. Dessault was summoned before the committee, and loaded with such bitter reproaches, that, overwhelmed with grief and vexation, he fell into a disease, which, baffling all the skill of medicine, proved fatal to him. My little substitute died likewise. Dessault's successor, upon dissection of the body, was equally sensible that it was not mine, and consequently made use of the following equivocal phrase, in the *procés verbal: 'Nous sommes procédés à l'ouverture d'un cadavre, que les commissaires nous présentèrent comme celui du fils de Louis Capet.'* i. e. 'We proceeded to the opening of a corpse, *which the commissioners presented to us* as that of the son of Louis Capet."

He proceeds to state, that he acquired vigour by the motion of the vehicle, arrived at Belleville, the head-quarters of the royalists, and after the expedition to Quiberon, that he was sent to England by desire of the British Government.

We had hitherto, from a variety of circumstances, not only given implicit credit to this singular story, and far from considering its hero as a swindler, or obscure adventurer, we must confess that, from the coincidence of events in the narration, and those of the revolution, which are still fresh in our memory, we viewed him only in the light of the real and undoubted heir of the throne of France. But the subsequent part of his story is too absurd to deserve attention, and induces the reflecting reader to withdraw that confidence which he had placed in the preceding statements. For example, he boldly asserts, that after all the perils that he had encountered, from the tyrants of his own country, it was in England that his life was most in danger, for that his relations here, the venerable Count d'Artois, and others, had conspired to poison him! That in consequence of this transaction, the King of England sent him to Rome and Portugal, with powerful recommendations. That the Pope

blessed and annointed him, and caused the *fleur-de-lis* to be imprinted on his right leg; that the Duchess of Orleans, on his arrival at Lisbon, prostrated herself at his feet; that the Queen of Portugal caused him to fall in love with her *siter*, the *dowager* of the Prince of Brazil, that she procured for him a declaration, signed by *nine sovereigns*, promising him succour, and which is still in the archives of Portugal, &c. &c.

We do not hesitate to pronounce the whole of this statement, from the part at which he mentions his departure from Quiberon, to be a contemptible mass of falsehood: but our readers will recollect, that this last part of the narration is not inserted in the records of the French Government:—it may, therefore, have been fabricated, for motives which may easily be conceived; but we do not entertain this idea of the whole account. We well know the character of the present tyrant of France, and convinced of the instability of his power, we will submit the question to our more penetrating readers, whether it be not very probable, that Buonaparte has secretly preserved this youth in order that when his own fortune shall experience a reverse, the time of which we hope is not far distant, he may make a merit of his abdication, by restoring the kingdom to its rightful owner, and thus obtain a remission of that punishment which would otherwise be the result of his audacity and his crimes?

We learn from M. Kotzebue, that Lucien Buonaparte, admittedly one of the best of the family, has an excellent gallery of paintings, which is open to the public at large. Lucien, it seems, is a domestic man, and frequently accompanies his visitors, carrying his child in his arms. We must pass over our author's remarks on the superb paintings in this mansion, by referring our readers to the book itself.

The insitution for the deaf and dumb, next passes under his notice; and afterwards, the French theatres, at which he disapproves of the manner of acting tragedies, and makes many remarks upon the talents of the different performers, which, though they may be just, we think are common-place and trivial. He attended a piece which was damned; and described the uproar to be exactly similar to what we have often witnessed in our own theatres: though the following method of effecting such a purpose we never before heard of. "I have been assured," says he, "that the men take whistles, with bellows *under both arms*, and in *both shoes*, to the theatre, so that they seem to applaud with their hands, while they are only moving them to put the whistles in motion; and as often as they stand on tiptoe, and let their heels sink again, the whistling sounds from their shoes!"

At the *Theatre du Vaudeville*, a sort of Astleian place of buffoonery, a peculiar custom prevails amongst the audience:

" Should only the end of a shawl hang down from the front of one of the boxes, the whole pit immediately exclaims, ' Away with the shawl!' *(otez le shawl)*: if the lady does not instantly obey, the noise redoubles, and ' throw over the shawl,' *(jettez le shawl)* is the cry. Ladies have often been obliged to give way to these brutal demands. In those instances where it was refused, the uproar rose to such a formidable pitch, that the police was obliged to interfere, and to desire the lady in the box, to comply with the vociferating rabble."

About half of the last volume is filled by what the author calls " notes from his pocket-book," and which consist of a variety of detached and interesting fragments, relative to the manners of the people of Paris. We shall select a few of these passages, by way of specimen, and with these we shall conclude our analysis.

" Most of the *ci-devants* are not only poor, but really suffer the most distressing want, which even obliges them to solicit charity. But they, in general, have such a way of begging, as prepossesses one in their favour; they send up their name, generally a well-known and celebrated one, at which the doors fly open immediately to receive them. In they step, full of the assurance of their pristine character, sit down by the fire-side, lavishing the most impudent flattery on the strangers present, and are apt to talk of a thousand things for an hour together, without touching, with a single syllable, on their distressed condition. They will, for instance, say, they only wish to make the strangers' acquaintance, &c. At last they open their budget, at first in metaphors, then somewhat plainer, genteelly hinting that they had written a book, for which they took in subscriptions; and immediately, with a negligent air, fling down the proposals on the next table, all the while talking of other things. Often has it been my fate to fall in with such nobility and gentry, and I could quote names that would astonish the reader. Many of them, to be sure, do not venture to act the part in *propriâ personâ*, but they write letters, carrying at least the appearance of modesty.

" It is, however, easy for me to conceive, that people, thus educated, and accustomed to such a life as they led, being once reduced to mendicity, could not beg in any other manner."

" The author of a theatrical piece, or of the music belonging to it, is treated in France in the following manner: Every night's receipts is divided into three parts, of which the author receives a seventh out of one third. This, however, would be but doing little for them; but they receive this seventh part not

once, but as long as they live, and their heirs ten years after their death; they receive it not only in Paris, but all over France, and from every theatre; and this not merely while the piece remains in manuscript, but long after it has been printed, for no manager of a theatre dare have it acted without the express permission of the author. The piratical printing of a piece is likewise subjected to heavy penalties. Many will object to the possibility of the author's being often deceived, as he neither can know, or be informed of the pieces played all over France, and of the frequency and amount of the receipts of the different houses, it being extremely expensive to collect information of this kind.

"All this has, however, been provided for; there exists an office in Paris, established for the purpose. Here the author of any dramatic production need but mention his name, and the office takes care of all the *rest*. The office has its correspondents and cashiers all over the country, and with a clear conscience, accounts to the author for all the shares of his profits, for the moderate allowance of two per cent.

"Madame Molé, who translated Misanthropy and Repentance rather in an aukward way, is already in possession of a property of 60,000 livres, and even now this comedy is frequently performed three times on the same day, in the different theatres in Paris. To ME, its AUTHOR, the sum total brought by this piece never exceeded 200 *German dollars!!!*"

"Of a girl romantically in love, I have noted an anecdote, which is said to have happened very recently, and which will touch the feelings of most of my readers, as it did mine.

"She was playing on the harpsichord, and her lover used often to accompany her on the harp. He died, and his harp had remained in her room. After the first access of despair, she sunk into the deepest melancholy, and much time elapsed ere she could sit down to her instrument. At last she did so, gave some touches, and, hark! the harp tuned alike, resounded in echo! The good girl was at first seized with a secret shuddering, but soon felt a kind of soft melancholy. She thought herself firmly persuaded that the spirit of her lover was softly sweeping the strings of the instrument. The harpsichord from this moment constituted her only pleasure, as it alone afforded her the joyful certainty that her lover was still hovering about her. One of those unfeeling men, who want to know and clear up every thing, once entered her apartment; the girl instantly begged him to be quiet, for that very moment the dear harp spoke most distinctly. Being informed of the amiable illusion which overcame her reason, he laughed, and with a great display of learning, proved to her, by experimental physics, that all this was very natural.—

From that instant the maiden grew melancholy, drooped, and soon after died."

"L**, an old man of 70, had been rector in the village of Gagny, in the department of Seine and Oise 25 years; but, like many others, was proscribed and transported. Having wandered about for many years in a state of wretchedness, a milder government at last permitted him to revisit his native home. A short time before my arrival, he paid a visitto the mayor of Villemamble, a village in the neighbourhood of Gagny. Being so near his former mansion, he felt an irresistible desire of revisiting his old steeple. The mayor attended him. At the sight of his village the hoary sire was extremely agitated, and could walk no further without being supported by his friend. Scarcely had he past the first houses, scarcely had some of the inhabitants perceived him, but shouts of joy resounded all over the place, with the exclamation, *Our old parson is returned*! Men, women, and children, thronged to see him: he was surrounded, almost stifled with caresses, and loaded with blessings. Every one wished to treat him; one drags him into this house another into that; they produce the children born during his absence; they will not suffer him to depart, without pledging his promise to come and say mass on the following Sunday; he promised it, and kept his word. Though he no longer found his sacerdotal habits, and the former ornaments of the church, yet the whole altar was decorated with flowers, and the whole village was contained within the precincts of the church. He performed the sacred functions of his office with heart-moving sensibility, upon which a *Te Deum* was suddenly chanted.—He asked why?—*We celebrate your return,* was the answer. Scarcely able to sustain the weight of so much cordial attachment, he leaves the church; a solemn deputation of his flock wait on him with the earnest prayer to return to the parsonage, and end the remaining days of his venerable career in the midst of his children. Such had not been his design; he had longed for solitary repose, but what resistance can be opposed to such prayers? Scenes of this kind, I am assured, have happened in several places."

We have already said so much in praise of this interesting work, that any farther remarks would be superfluous: we cannot, however, refrain from delaring, that it is, in our opinion, amongst the best and cheapest books of Travels which British literature has in modern times produced.

END OF KOTZEBUE'S JOURNEY.

TUCKEY'S VOYAGE.

An Account of a Voyage to establish a Colony at Port Philip, in Bass's Strait, on the South Coast of New South Wales, in his Majesty's ship Calcutta, in the years 1802-3-4, *by* J. H. TUCKEY, Esq. *First Lieutenant of the Calcutta.* One vol. pp. 239. LONGMAN & Co.

IN a very brief, though modest and well-written Preface, the Author claims the indulgence of the public for the faults, which, he anticipates, must be found in his production, by observing that the anxiety of a seaman's life affords him few moments of "learned ease;" that he is fitted more for action than for thought, and that connected arrangement and logical deduction are only the offspring of retired meditation: but these preliminary remarks only serve to increase the good opinion which the reader must form of Mr. Tuckey's abilities, as every page of his book indisputably proves it to have been written by a scholar and a gentleman. We agree with him, that no apology is necessary for the paucity of nautical observations which it contains; for certainly we should find no amusement in perusing the dry details of common occurrences, which fill the pages of a log-book.

Our author begins by exhibiting the motives which induced government to employ vessels of war instead of merchant-ships for the conveyance of convicts to New South Wales; these were principally the disgraceful abuses which took place on board the latter, together with the great expence at which they were hired; while by employing King's ships for such a purpose, a number of seamen were constantly provided for, and the convicts were maintained in a better state of health and discipline, because his Majesty's officers had neither pecuniary nor commercial interest in the voyage. A secondary consideration, though one of no trivial importance, was the procuring of ship-timber, so abundant in New South Wales, and of which from a variety of causes, that it is not our object to examine or explain, our dock-yards have long been almost exhausted.

The first ship which sailed with convicts for New South Wales, was the Glatton, which was followed by the Calcutta. They were both fitted alike, armed *en flute*, that is, having only eighteen guns on the upper-deck, rigged as 56-gun ships, and containing as a crew 170 men. While the Calcutta was preparing, it occurred to government, that an advantageous esta-

blishment might be formed at the western entrance of Bass's Strait, which was discovered in 1799, by Mr. Bass, surgeon of the Reliance, in an open whale-boat. This strait lies in latitude 39° S. and separates New Holland from Van Diemen's land: it is from 100 to 130 miles in breadth, and affords a clear passage from the South Sea to the Indian Ocean. The Calcutta was in consequence accompanied by the Ocean of 500 tons, which was laden with stores for the new settlement, and which carried out many of the officers and settlers, while the Calcutta had on board the whole of the convicts, their wives and children, and a detachment of marines.

After various delays, arising from adventitious circumstances, these ships on the 29th of February, 1803, sailed from Yarmouth Roads, and cleared the Channel.

Many of the prisoners on board were accompanied by their wives, who were in some instances women of respectable birth and education; and while the men, inured to vicious habits, considered their departure with indifference or apathy, these females were affected in a pitiable manner at their voluntary exile.

"Amongst the convicts," says Mr. T. "were some who, by prodigality and its attendant vices, had degraded themselves from a respectable rank in society, and were indebted to the lenity of their prosecutors alone for an escape from the last sentence of the law. Some of these men were accompanied by their wives, who had married them in the sunshine of prosperity, when the world smiled deceitfully, and their path of life appeared strewed with unfading flowers: in the season of adversity, they would not be separated, but reposed their heads upon the same thorny pillow; and as they had shared with them the cup of joy, they refused not that of sorrow. Those alone who know the miserable and degraded situation of a transported felon, can appreciate the degree of connubial love, that could induce these women to accompany their guilty husbands in their exile. The laws can only make distinction in crimes, while the criminals, whatever may have been their former situation in life, must suffer alike for crimes of the same nature: it therefore entirely depended on us to ameliorate their condition, and grant such indulgences as the nature and degree of the crime, and the otherwise general character and conduct of the prisoner seemed to deserve. To these helpless females, all the attentions that humanity dictated, and that the nature of our service would admit, were extended; but still it was impossible to separate their situations entirely from their guilty husbands: they were consequently far, very far, from being comfortable; and one of them, borne down by the first hardships of the voyage, which she felt with redoubled force

from being far advanced in her pregnancy, fell a victim to her misplaced affection before our arrival at Teneriffe."

Much praise is due to the officers of the Calcutta for their great attention to the health of the convicts, by the enforcement of cleanliness, the only preventative of disease in long voyages. They were allowed fresh water to wash their clothes, so often as the ship touched at any port where it could be procured.

Mr. Tuckey is of opinion that the climate of Teneriffe is as salubrious as it has been represented. He attended the funeral of a native of that island, who had attained upwards of 100 years, while his brother, who was in perfect health, was 94. With respect to the celebrated Peak, he says, "It has by no means the grand appearance that the traveller is taught to expect, but its apparent altitude is much diminished, by the general height of the circumjacent mountains; indeed, the appearance of the eastern side of the island gives a very unfavourable impression of its value; a confused assemblage of rocky hills, heaped upon, and crossing each other in every direction, present themselves to the eye, like the waves of the ocean disturbed by the fury of contending winds and currents. These precipices are bare of vegetation, except where a starved brush-wood insinuates its roots between the rugged masses of volcanic matter, or in a few spots where the industry of man has conquered the sterility of nature, and raised a scanty crop of barley or maize: as we recede from the sea-coast, however, the country improves, and affords many prospects of romantic grandeur and luxuriant fertility. The town of Santa Cruz is built with tolerable regularity, on a gentle acclivity, on the west side of the bay: the landing-place is defended from the sea by a projecting rocky point, and a good stone pier. Being merely a King's port, it derives but little advantage from commerce, which is entirely carried on from the port of Orotava, on the west side of the island. Teneriffe has no manufactures of any consequence, except its wine, nor does it produce corn enough for its own consumption; for this, and also for poultry, it depends upon the other islands, particularly the Grand Canary, with which there is a constant intercourse by boats. The importation of foreign linen or cotton manufactures is prohibited, and consequently those of the English looms bear a high price, and are universally worn; which proves that great restraints laid on any articles of merchandize, serve but to enhance their value, to make them be sought after with more avidity, and to encourage their clandestine importation. It was found that the friars and women, whose persons were held free from scrutiny, smuggled on shore great quantities of these goods; and in consequence, neither are now permitted to go on board any vessel, without

express leave from the Governor. The importation of tobacco, by private traders, is also forbidden, Government drawing part of its colonial revenue from the exclusive sale of this article."

We fully agree with our enlightened author as to the causes of that deeply-imprinted superstition which prevails in Catholic countries; and as a general system of religion is necessary for every state, we must confess that, in our opinion, the greater the pomp with which its ceremonies are administered, the more it is likely to excite the awe and veneration of the multitude. Speaking of the Catholic town of Santa Cruz, he observes, "Toleration of religious opinions has not yet reached this island, and, whatever may be his real persuasion, every person residing here must conform to the external ceremonies of the established church: a heretic is still denied the boon of a consecrated grave, and his hapless ghost must be contented with a mansion in the unpurified bosom of his mother earth, unless it prefers a more extensive sepulchre in the ocean. The bodies of those who die in the faith, are usually interred in the churches; the coffins have no cover, and are filled up with quick-lime, which decomposing the flesh, the bones are afterwards removed to a general charnel-house. This example deserves to be universally followed; but the prejudices of education, which teach us to consider disturbing the dead as a species of horrid sacrilege, still war against our better judgment, and perpetuate the noisome and acknowledged evil of crowded church-yards."

How long this nation, which advances such claims to philanthropical and philosophical progress, will persevere in the detestable custom of annoying the living with the remains of the dead, it is not for us to determine; but we have a deep presentiment, that nothing but the power of the legislature can secure us from the dangers of pestilence, even while performing the duties prescribed by our religion.

In the opinion of Mr. Tuckey, Santa Cruz might be taken by a *coup de main*, the fortifications being in ruins. The inhabitants, however, preserve with great pride as a trophy, the union flags left behind by Lord Nelson, in 1799. Beef is there 4*d.* per lb. and the best Teneriffe wine is 20*l.* a pipe.

Nothing worth notice occurred till the arrival of the Calcutta at St. Sebastian. Our author briefly describes the Cape Verd islands, and supposes that the haze which always obscures them, proceeds from the exhalations of the salt lakes. The operations of our seamen for catching sharks is to us novel and pleasing. "The northern tropical seas," says Mr. Tuckey, "are the peculiar residence of the Dolphin, the Bonetta, the Albacore, the Skip-jack, and the Flying-fish; the latter is often seen winging its transient flight, to escape the swift pursuit of the dolphin, while the voracious shark waits its descent; when,

exhausted by the want of moisture, its wings refuse to bear it aloft, and it falls helpless into his devouring jaws. The shark is the hereditary foe of sailors; and the moment one is spied, the whole crew are instantly in arms; often the day's allowance of meat is sacrificed to bait the hook intended to entrap their hungry adversary; while grains, harpoons, and every missive weapon, are pointed at his devoted head. When success attends their operations, and the deluded victim is dragged on board, no pack of hungry fox-hounds can be more restless, till they receive the reward of their labours, than the sailors to tear out the bowels, and examine the stomach of the shark. Here they often recover the pieces of meat used to bait the hooks, which his sagacity had extricated: and after cutting off his fins*, saving the jaws as objeces of curiosity, and reserving a few slices from the tail to eat, the carcase is again committed to the watery element."

The ceremony of passing the line is equally well described. "This," he observes, "though ridiculous enough, is, when ably executed, sufficiently amusing: the ugliest persons in the ship are chosen to represent Neptune and Amphitrite (but the latter name being rather too hard of pronunciation, is always familiarized into Mrs. Neptune); their faces are painted in the most ridiculous manner, and their heads are furnished with swabs well greased and powdered: Neptune's beard is of the same materials; while a pair of grains, or a boat-hook, serve him for a trident: a triumphal car is constructed with chairs fixed on a gun-carriage, or wheel-barrow, in which they are seated, and drawn from the forecastle to the quarter-deck, by a number of sailors representing Tritons. After enquiries respecting the ship's destination, saluting their old acquaintances, and making the Captain some ridiculous present, such as a dog or cat, under the name of a Canary-bird, they are again rolled forward, and the ceremony of shaving and ducking their new visitors commences. A large tub of salt water is prepared, with a stick across it, on which the visitor is seated; Neptune's barber, after lathering his face well, with a mixture of tar and grease, performs the operation of shaving with a piece of rusty iron hoop, and when clean scraped, which is not accomplished without many wry faces, he is pushed backwards into the tub, and kept there until completely soaked."

After a well-written description of the harbour of Rio Janeiro, Mr. Tuckey makes some just remarks on the slothful conduct and consequent filthiness of the inhabitants of the Brazils, which

* "The silvery fibres of sharks' fins are manufactured into artificial flying fish, for catching dolphins, &c. These fins also form a considerable article of trade between India and China; the Chinese putting them into their soups."

he contrasts with the admirable cleanliness of the English in similar climates, and attributes the carelessness of the former in point of cleanliness, to their being accustomed to a hot atmosphere in the mother country. The town of St. Sebastian is built entirely of granite, and the streets at a distance appear elegant, but on approaching them you find that the balconies almost come in contact: the houses are two stories high, and possess every inconvenience arising from dirt and heat.

"There are eighteen parish churches, four monasteries, and three convents in the town of St. Sebastian, besides several smaller religious buildings on the islands, and in the suburbs. Upon these edifices no expence is spared to attract the imagination of the weak and ignorant, by a profusion of gilding, and other tawdry decorations. The "Hopital de Miseracordie" is also a religious institution, which receives patients of every denomination, and is principally supported by private benefactions. To these may be added a Penitentiary-House, where the incontinent fair are secluded from the world, to weep for, and atone their faults in solitude and silence; hither jealous husbands, or cross parents, send their too amorous wives and daughters, and doubtless, often upon no better foundation than "trifles light as air." The admission to the nunneries is expensive; and I have heard a fond mother regret her want of fortune, only because it prevented her dedicating some of her beloved daughters to God. The clergy possess immense property in land, houses, and specie: when it was proposed to lay an impost of ten per cent. upon the income of the church, the Benedictine monks offered to commute their part of the tax, by paying 40,000 crowns annually. Their pious desire for the conversion of heretics still glows with all the ardour of bigotry, and the recantation of one protestant is considered of more value than the conversion of 100 pagans; as in heaven there is more joy over one sinner that repenteth, than over ninety and nine just persons. An unfortunate foreigner of this persuasion, who by sickness or other causes is obliged to remain here after his ship sails, is continually plagued by the impertinent intrusion of a dozen of these pious fathers, who, if he can find no means of leaving the country, in generel tire his patience out in a few months, and for quietness sake he consents to be saved according to their receipt."

Our author has made observations on many subjects connected with this town, which seem to have escaped the notice of all former travellers. The following account of the buildings, &c. is, to us at least, perfectly new.

"Besides the religious buildings, the other public edifices are, the Viceroy's palace, which forms one side of a flagged square,

fronting the landing-place: contiguous to this, and nearly adjoining each other, are the opera-house, the royal stables, the prison*, and the mint. The opera-house, which holds about six hundred persons, is open on Thursdays, Sundays, and most holidays; the pieces performed are, indifferently, tragedies, comedies, or operas, with interludes and after-pieces; the dialogue is in Portuguese, but the words and music of the songs are Italian. The house is wretchedly fitted up, the scenes miserably daubed, and where foliage is required, branches of *real* trees are introduced; so that while the artificial scenery wears the gay livery of summer, the natural sometimes presents the appearance of autumnal decay. The viceroy is expected by the populace to shew himself at the theatre every night; on his entering the house, the audience rise, turn their faces towards his box, and again sit down. In private companies, no person sits while he stands, unless at his request; thus unsocial formality is the price that greatness every where pays for vulgar admiration."

His account of the manners of the Brazilians is equally interesting.

"Those gradations of fortune, which exist in, and indeed appear to be the necessary consequences of, a well regulated society, are not to be found in the Brazils: the only distinction is the rich and poor; the former are proud though ignorant, and ostentatious though avaricious; and the superabundance of all the mere necessaries of life alone, prevents the latter from being indigent beggars. Those who can acquire half a dozen slaves, live in idleness upon the wages of their labour, and stroll the streets in all the solemnity of self-importance. In their general expences, the rich are penurious, and the marriage of their children alone seems to thaw their frozen generosity: on these occasions, they run into the contrary extreme, and ridiculous extravagance becomes the order of the day. I have seen a bridal *chemise*, the needle-work of which had cost fifty pounds, and the rest of the marriage-paraphernalia was in the same proportion of expence. Their entertainments are profuse in proportion as they are rare, but seldom possess any title to elegance, and sometimes want even common cleanliness to recommend them to an English appetite. The carriages in use among the rich are cabriolets, drawn by mules, and chairs curtained round, in which they are carried through the streets by Negro slaves; the latter are also female conveyances. Gaming, the peculiar vice of idleness, is

* "In passing the prison, strangers are disgusted with the sight of half-starved and naked prisoners, with iron chains extending from their necks to the prison door, sufficiently long to admit their coming to the foot-path of the street, for the purpose of begging."

prevalent among the men. Pharaoh is their favourite game, and the fickle Goddess is here pursued with as much avidity as at Brooks's or Almack's; it is but justice to the Brazilian ladies to say, that they bear no part in this destructive vice, but whether from want of inclination, or from restraint, I cannot take upon me to say."

In their dress it appears that both sexes closely imitate the fashions of the English.

The Brazilian women, in the opinion of our author, can seldom claim the epithet of pretty, though he observes, that "their black eyes, large, full, and sparkling, give a degree of brilliancy to their dark complexions, and throw some expression into their countenances; but it is too generally the mere expression of animal vivacity, untempered by the soft chastising power of tender sensibility. Their eye-brows are finely arched; their eye-lashes long and silken; their hair is long, black, and coarsely luxuriant; and, if we may judge from the frequent application of the fingers, is not always without inhabitants. In their persons, they are unacquainted with that delicate *propreté*, from which our countrywomen derive so large a portion of their power over the other sex, and for which they are conspicuous over all the nations of Europe. Among other habits of the Brazilian ladies, which, separately considered, are perhaps trifling, but when combined form a powerful opposition to the empire of female charms, is that of continually spitting, without regard either to manner, time, or place."

It is not a little remarkable that the young ladies who are educated in the convents, are by no means subjected to such restraints as are imposed on them in similiar institutions on the old continent. They are permitted to speak with strangers through the grating, and seem uncommonly partial to the conversation of Englishmen, who often by ingenuity and the aid of bribery contrive to carry them off. Mr. T. contradicts the assertions of the gentlemen who accompanied Captain Cook, relative to the dropping of *bouquets* on the heads of passengers, as a signal for assignations; and asserts that he found the manners of the unmarried ladies approaching near to the easy familiarity of those of England.

The Brazilians of both sexes excel in music and singing, and the ladies are greatly attached to dancing, which they perform with much grace; they prefer English country dances, though they often perform the indecent native dance of the Indians.

Mr. Tuckey considers it "a fact capable of demonstration," that, in all warm climates, more females are born than males. The proportion of the sexes at Rio, is the extraordinary number of eleven women to two men; and the mortality amongst the

the latter is much greater than the former, who by their seclusion and temperance are less exposed to the dangers of life. Our author while on this subject, makes the following interesting remarks on the women in question: "In the females of Brasil, as well as of other countries in the torrid zone, there is no resting time between the periods of perfection and decline; like the delicate fruits of the soil, the genial warmth of the sun forces them to a premature ripeness, and after a momentary bloom sinks them towards decay: at fourteen they become mothers, at sixteen the blossoms of their beauty are full blown, and at twenty they are withered like the faded rose in autumn. Thus the lives of three of these daughters of the sun are scarce equal to that of one European; among the former the period of their bodily perfections far precedes that of their mental ones, in the latter they accompany each other hand in hand. These principles, doubtless, influenced the wise lawgivers of the East in their permission of polygamy; for, in the torrid zone, should a man be circumscribed to one wife, he must pass nearly two thirds of his days united to a disgusting mummy, useless to society; else the depravity of human nature, joined to the irritation of unsatisfied passions, would lead him to get rid of the incumbrance by clandestine means. This confinement to a single wife in the European settlements of Asia and America, is one of the principal causes of the unbounded licentiousness in the men, and the spirit of intrigue in the women. In the Brasils, the licentious intercourse of the sexes perhaps equals what we are told prevailed in the most degenerate period of Imperial Rome. The primary cause of this general corruption of manners, must be referred to climate, which acts forcibly in giving strength to the physical properties of love. In proportion as the passion for enjoyment is excited, the fear of losing the object which confers it is increased, and hence proceeds the constitutional jealousy of men in warm climates. In the Brasils, the moment a girl is betrothed, she becomes subject to all the restraints imposed by this rankling passion; and should the absence of her intended husband be unavoidable, previous to the nuptial ceremony, he often causes her to be immured within the walls of a convent till his return. By such suspicions he too often creates the evil he complains of, and then punishes the crime he has provoked; and while he thus becomes the arbiter of his own fate, he accuses Nature of causing all his sufferings. Unmarried females, being allowed much greater liberties than wives, are by no means anxious to be married, and consequently neglect all those minute delicacies in their common intercourse with the other sex, which form the basis of mutual love, considered as a refined passion. But the climate operating upon the fair sex more forcibly in pro-

portion to their superior delicacy of organization, enervates the system, and induces a kind of restless indolence, to which is attached a boundless desire for variety, when it can be procured without much exertion: hence, while the mind is lulled into inactivity, and the eye of prudence sleeps, the bosom is 'tremblingly alive' to the soft sensations of love, and the bulwarks of female innocence lie exposed and defenceless to the attacks of the watchful seducer. The public opinion is not, however, so depraved as to *sanction* this laxity of morals, and hence pregnancy is too often concealed by procuring abortion, which repeated, perhaps, several times, assists in bringing on a premature old age, and sinks the victim to the grave, loaded with guilt and disease.

"The punishment of adultery is transportation of both the offenders to different places on the coast of Africa; but the injured husband may revenge himself by the instant death of both parties, if he finds them "nudus cum nuda, solus cum sola."

Nothing can exceed the filthiness of the city of St. Sebastian, in which dysenteries and fevers are always prevalent, in consequence of the disgusting dirtiness of the inhabitants. The chief animal food of the lower people is, badly salted pork, or jerked beef; and their drink, ardent spirits; while their continual use of tepid baths is supposed to be the cause of the hydrocele, with which they are grievously afflicted. In winter, the thermometer is seldom above 74, and sometimes only 65; and at this season, heavy dews fall every night. Notwithstanding this great temperature, which causes Europeans to be almost melted in the lightest clothing, the Creoles seem to feel all the severity of winter. The wet season commences in August, and for two months it rains incessantly, after which, in November and December, the heat is intolerable!

We learn that, in the district of Rio Janeiro, the sugar-cane is indigenous, which is not the case with sugar, coffee, cotton, tobacco, and indigo, though all those articles are produced there in abundance. The richness of the soil renders it scarcely ever free from weeds, notwithstanding all the care of the former. Of oranges, twelve different kinds are cultivated in these territories; and many of the eastern spices have been successfully introduced. The horses are small, though hardy, and so abundant in the interior, that the inhabitants catch them when they want to perform a journey, and afterwards turn them loose. Mules are much used, as beasts of burthen, and oxen are brought from Rio Grande, where they cost eight shillings a head, and on arriving at Rio Janeiro, they are sold from fifty shillings to four pounds, though they are slaughtered merely for their hides and tallow.

Lime-bushes and orange-trees here form the fences for farms,

which afford a delightful fragrance; while at night the trees appear beautifully illuminated by thousands of fire-flies.

The mines commence about sixty miles from Rio, of which the large and populous capital is called Minas:—this province extends to the Spanish settlements of Paraguay.

The journey from Matto-Grosso, the farthest settlement of the Potuguese, is made by the river, and requires six months, in consequence of the stream running only in-land; but the return, for the same reason, is made in three months. "The most minute precautions are taken to prevent the concealment of diamonds, by persons of every description coming from the mines; they are not only stripped naked, and minutely searched, but even their horses and mules are *purged:* this strict scrutiny sets ingenuity at work to evade it, and the attempts are often successful. A friar coming from the mines has been known to conceal three superb diamonds in the waxen figure of the Virgin, which he carried in his pocket; the superstition of his examiners held the divine image sacred, and kissing it with greater devotion than they would probably have felt for the loveliest female of mere flesh and blood, returned it to the holy father unexamined.

"The King's tenth of the gold is taken from the ore at the smelting-house, where it is cast into ingots, which are stamped, and then become a legal tender in payments; if the owner wishes to have it coined, it pays two and a half per cent. at the mint. The colonial gold currency is in pieces of four millres, or twenty-five shillings sterling; these are greatly alloyed, to prevent their exportation from the colony. Most of the gold sent to Portugal is coined into half joes (2*l.*); and the exportation of uncoined gold is forbidden, upon pain of transportation of life to the coast of Guinea."

The viceroy, it appears, is related to the throne of Portugal, and has an income of nearly 20,000*l.* per annum, seventeen of which arise from the perquisites of his office. This situation is generally filled by poor grandees, in order that they may realize a fortune.

Mr. Tuckey asserts, that there is now no longer that restraint upon, and jealousy towards foreigners, which formerly existed; though it is evident, that greater liberties are allowed to the English in those settlements, than to any other nation. The officers of the Calcutta were permitted to make excursions on foot or horseback, or to wander through the country, in search of game, without the slightest interruption.

It is curious to learn, with what jealousy the mother-country regards the improvement of her colonies, notwithstanding the great advantages which she possesses, by having factories on the opposite coast of Africa, whence she procures a continual supply

of slaves. This jealousy is so great, that the most trifling manufactures are not allowed to enter the colonies, while the casting of church-bells is prohibited with the greatest severity, lest the people should discover, that the same materials will make cannon.

"None but professed merchants," says Mr. Tuckey, "ever think of turning their money to any account, by interest, &c.: many old misers are known to have very large sums lying dead in their coffers, which, for want of banks, they keep in their own houses, and live upon the wages of their slaves. The trade of Rio de Janeiro, although it has to contend with monopolies, prohibitions, and a heavy duty of ten per cent. but, above all, with the unconquerable indolence of the Portuguese, is by no means trifling, and is annually increasing. It is confined entirely to the mother-country, a direct trade with foreigners, or by foreign ships, being strictly prohibited. The fleets employed in the commerce of Brasil, are confined to the ports of Lisbon and Oporto, whence they sail and return annually, in three fleets: the great disadvantage of this method, however, begins to be seen by the merchants, and single ships are at present allowed to sail from Europe, without confinement to any particular season. All foreign vessels attempting to trade on the coast, are liable to confiscation; and a ship of the line, and two brigs of war, are stationed at Rio, to support these commercial regulations. The annual exports from the port of Rio Janeiro, are, from good authority, said to amount to 1,613,975*l.* sterling, while the number of ships which sail every year from that port, amounts upon an average to 205."

All articles of merchandise, whether imported or produced in the country, pay a tenth of their value to the crown. These duties are farmed, and that on fish realises 18,000 crowns per annum. The total amount of the revenue of Rio Janeiro is computed at 4,000,000*l.*

"The annual importation of negro-slaves, is said to amount to between ten and twelve thousand; their value is thus estimated: a full grown man 40*l.* a woman 32*l.* a boy 20*l.*; their value is much increased by their having had the small-pox. The food of the slaves is cassada bread, the Indian corn roasted, and on the sea-coast some fish. In the country, the owners are at no expence for their diet; they allot them a small piece of land, and a day in the week to cultivate it, and from it they are obliged to derive a subsistence for themselves and families. The plantation negroes are entirely naked; but in the towns, their owners have more regard to decency. On the importation of a cargo of negroes, they are christened previous to their sale; for this purpose, they are marched to a church-yard, and separated into as

many groups as there are different names to be given: the priest standing in the middle of each group, flourishes a broom dipped in holy water over their heads until they are all well sprinkled, and, at the same time bawls out to them, what their name is to be. Most of the imported negroes are sent to the mines, to replace those who have fallen victims to their insalubrious atmosphere; many of them die shortly after their arrival, from change of climate and food, and a few from mental despondency."

From some subsequent remarks, we observe, that Mr. Tuckey is a warm and liberal advocate for the liberty and equality of the negroes; and his reflections certainly confer on him the highest credit. The slaves, it appears, in this colony, amount to more than ten times the number of the Europeans, who hold them in subjection. They may purchase their freedom, which the master is obliged to allow them, if they procure a sufficient sum for that purpose. Mr. Tuckey gives the following anecdote, as a fact, which happened a short time previous to his arrival, to shew that instances of heroism often occur amongst the natives of Africa, which would do honour to the ancient inhabitants of Rome.—"Senor D. was a wealthy planter in the district of the mines, and amongst his numerous slaves was one named Hanno, who had been born on the estate, and whose ingenuity had increased his value much beyond that of his fellows. Scarce had Hanno arrived at that age when every zephyr seems the sigh of love, ere his fondest wishes centered on Zelida, a young female of his own age, and a slave to the same master; in her his partial eye perceived all that was beautiful in person, or amiable in mind: the passion was mutual, it had 'grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength;' but Hanno, though a slave, possessed the feelings of a man, and his generous soul revolted at the idea of entailing that slavery upon his children, which was the only birth-right he inherited from his fathers. His mind was energetic, and his resolutions immutable: while he fulfilled his daily task, and was distinguished for his diligence and fidelity, he was enabled, by extra labour, and the utmost frugality, to lay by something, without defrauding his master of his time: and at the end of seven years, his savings amounted to the estimated value of a female slave. Time had not altered his passion for Zelida, and they were united by the simple and unartificial bonds of mutual love. The absence of Senor D. for two years prevented the accomplishment of Hanno's first wishes, the purchase of Zelida's freedom, and in that time she had presented him with a boy and a girl. Though slaves from their birth, Hanno was not chagrined, for he had now added to his hoard a sufficient

sum to purchase their liberty likewise. On the return of Senor D. Hanno anxiously demanded a compliance with the law, but well aware of his master's sordid avarice, cautiously affirmed, that a kind friend was to advance him the money. Senor D. agreed to receive the price, and a day was fixed to execute the deeds before a magistrate. On that day Hanno fled upon the wings of hope to his master's house, while it may be supposed the most heartfelt joy animated his bosom, on the prospect of giving immediate liberty to those his soul doated on. He tendered the gold—it was seized as the stolen property of Senor D.; and Hanno being unable to bring forward the supposed lender, was condemned, and the cruelty of his master was exhausted in superintending his punishment. Still bleeding from the scourge, he returned to his hut, which, though the residence of slavery, had till now been cheered by the benign influence of love and hope. He found his wife suckling her infant daughter, while his son, yet unable to walk, was amusing her with his playful gambols upon the bare earth. Without answering Zelida's anxious enquiries, he thus addressed her: 'To procure your liberty, more dear to me than my own, I have, since the moment of our acquaintance, deprived myself of every comfort my state of bondage allows; for that purpose, I have laboured during those permitted hours of relaxation which my fellows have employed in amusements; I have curtailed my scanty meal of cassada, I have sold my morsel of tobacco, and I have gone naked amidst the burning heats of summer, and the pinching colds of winter. I had accomplished the object of all my cares, and all my deprivations, and this morning I tendered to your owner the price of your liberty, and that of your children; but when the deed was to be ratified before the magistrate, he seized it as his own, and accusing me of robbery, inflicted the punishment of a crime my soul detests. My efforts to procure your liberty are abortive; the fruits of my industry, like the labours of the silk-worm, are gone to feed the luxury of our tyrant; the blossoms of hope are for ever blighted, and the wretched Hanno's cup of misery is full. Yet, a way, a sure, but dreadful way remains, to free you, my wife, from the scourge of tyranny, or the violation of lust, and to rescue you, my children, from the hands of an unfeeling monster, and from a life of unceasing wretchedness.' Then seizing a knife, he plunged it into the bosom of his wife, and while reeking with her blood, buried it in the hearts of his children. When seized and interrogated, he answered with a manly tone of firmness, 'I killed my wife and children to shorten a miserable existence in bondage, but I spared my own life to shew my brutal tyrant how easy it is to escape from his power, and

how little the soul of a negro fears death or torment. I expect to suffer the utmost tortures that your cruelty can devise, but pain I despise thus (staking his arm on an iron spike, and tearing it through the flesh), and death I desire, that I may rejoin my wife and children, who have, ere this, an habitation prepared for me in the land of our forefathers, where no cruel white man is permitted to enter.' Even the proud apathy of the Portuguese was roused by this appeal to their feelings; the slave was pardoned and granted his freedom; Senor D. severely fined, and the unworthy magistrate, who seconded his villany, degraded from his office."

A rigorous degree of animosity prevails amongst the negroes that are newly imported; and which gives rise to the most sanguinary contests, from the idea, that their priests can render them invulnerable. The native Indians are not numerous; are declared free by the government; and no restraint is put upon their conduct. The missionaries, it seems, have been very successful in converting them to Christianity.

The garrison of Rio Janeiro contains four thousand regular troops; and the whole of the white inhabitants are liable to be called upon as auxiliaries in time of danger. Mr. Tuckey expresses a very contemptible opinion of the military talents of this united force.

Those who are inclined to cavil at the imposts which our own government is necessitated to lay upon the people, would do well, before they complain, to form their arguments by comparison. They will not, of course, dispute the asseverations of so respectable a writer as Mr. Tuckey, who asserts, that the restraints on trade in the Portuguese colonies are intolerable in the extreme, and that an income-tax of ten per cent. is levied with the greatest rigour.

The following remarks are worthy of the attention of modern politicians. Mr. Tuckey, after expressing his opinion, that the irritations of the mother-country will probably soon drive the colonists to desperation, observes, " The spirit of revolution which, like the element of fire, seems to pervade the habitable globe, at the present moment, is rapidly gaining strength in these Trans-atlantic regions. The philosophy of Helvetius, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Volney, has here its admirers and supporters, who only wait the favourable moment to kindle the latent sparks into a flame. These principles are chiefly circulated and extended by a masonic society; which neither the despotic power of the civil government, nor the denunciations of the church, have been able to suppress or controul. In 1803, this society consisted only of twenty-five brethren; in 1804, their numbers have in-

creased to one hundred. Several officers of the inquisition have been sent from Portugal to suppress it, but without effect; and the presence of these spiritual jackalls, creates but little uneasiness, as they possess no temporal authority, and can only send the culprits to Europe upon proof of their guilt. The French Republic, which seems to neglect no means of revolutionizing every part of the globe, and to which force and intrigue are indifferent in this pursuit, have not forgotten the Brazils, where their emissaries are sufficiently active in the cause of anarchy and confusion. The mother-country, aware of the slippery tenure by which the colony is held, with all the fears of a weak despot, prohibits the erection of a printing-press." Mr. Tuckey conceives, that a revolt in the Brazils would be the signal for a revolution in the whole of South America; a region which he seems to think peculiarly adapted to the growth of powerful states.

Our author left America for the Cape, in July, 1803, and after much bad weather, in which the Calcutta parted from the Ocean, the former ship arrived on the 2d of August at the islands of Tristan d'Acunha. These islands are the resort of abundance of sea-elephants; which are highly valued for their oil; and their tongues, when salted, are eaten by seamen on occasions of a scarcity of provisions. The Calcutta reached the Cape in eleven days, from these islands.

Although so much has been said by different writers relative to the Cape of Good Hope, yet Mr. Tuckey's remarks are novel and pleasing. He considers Cape-Town to be one of the handsomest colonial towns in the world; the streets being wide, strait, and planted with rows of beautiful oaks and firs. He complains, however, of the disgusting stench which every where arises, from the incessant smoking of tobacco; and he censures the English for their entire neglect of the excellent menagerie which contained all the most curious animals of Africa. He is of opinion, that the isthmus which separates Table and False-Bay, was once, and not very long since, covered by the sea, as it is a plain of sea-sand, mixed with shells. "The S. E. wind, which blows with great fury, forms this sand into hills, which are in some places bare, and in others bound by flowering shrubs, and heaths of various kinds; the distance between the two bays by land is twenty-four miles. Quitting Simmon's town, the road to Mulsenbourg (a small post about six miles from it) sometimes runs along the beach, which is flat, and on which the sea flows with gentle undulations; at others, it winds round the feet of craggy hills, which are covered with masses of stone, suspended almost in air, that seem nodding, and ready to be displaced by

the least impulse; even the reverberation of sound, one would think, might dislodge them. The sides of these hills are covered with heath and shrubs, which throw out blossoms of every colour in the spring, and they abound in deer and other game. Regiments of baboons assemble on them, and, screened behind the impending rocks, roll down the loose masses on the passing traveller; wolves also descend from them in large troops, and "burning for blood, bony, and gaunt, and grim," seize as their prey the strayed oxen or wandering goats. A few scanty and turbid rills, apparently impregnated with iron, steal down the mountain's sides; but scarce a stream deserving the name of rivulet is to be found here.

Viewing the place with a military eye, he gives some excellent hints for its defence, which will be well worth the attention of our government in the event of its recapture, which we hope is not far distant. The following passage, though not entirely novel, is curious.

Mr. Tuckey observes, that the women of the Cape are often pretty when young; but in a few years they grow uncommonly fat and gross. They were much and openly attached to the English, against whose gallantry the poor Dutchmen had no resource, the ladies being unanimously in favour of the strangers. Another circumstance which forcibly struck our penetrating traveller, was the great difference between the Dutch and the Portuguese in their manners and religious sentiments.

On the 10th of October the Calcutta arrived off King Island, New South Wales. During this course, Mr. T. made a variety of excellent nautical remarks, which we have passed over, though we recommend them to the attention of navigators, who may make that passage. They found the Ocean at anchor in the Bay of Port Philip. It was at this place the new settlement was to be formed, but many disadvantages presented themselves, particularly a want of fresh water. The convicts were, however, landed near the harbour, and some negotiations entered into with the natives, who came to the boats with confidence and unarmed.

The party found the country to be beautifully picturesque; but as the shore was a continued barrier of rock, and as there was a great scarcity of water, it was considered by no means proper for the establishment of a colony.

The plain to the northward of Port Philip contains a great body of natives, of whom Mr. Tuckey has inserted many curious particulars. When his party had landed, upwards of two hundred of them "assembled round the surveying boats, and their obviously hostile intentions made the application of fire-arms absolutely necessary to repel them, by which one native was killed, and

two or three wounded. Previous to this time, several interviews had been held with separate parties, at different places, during which the most friendly intercourse was maintained, and endeavoured to be strengthened on our part, by presents of blankets, beads, &c. At these interviews they appeared to have a perfect knowledge of the use of fire-arms; and as they seemed terrified even at the sight of them, they were kept entirely out of view. The last interview which terminated so unexpectedly hostile, had at its commencement the same friendly appearance. Three natives, unarmed, came to the boats, and received fish, bread, and blankets. Feeling no apprehension from three naked and unarmed savages, the First Lieutenant proceeded with one boat to continue the survey, while the other boat's crew remained on shore to dress dinner and procure water. The moment the first boat disappeared the three natives took leave, and in less than an hour returned with forty more, headed by a chief who seemed to possess much authority. This party immediately divided, some taking off the attention of the people who had charge of the tent, (in which was Mr. Harris the surveyor of the colony,) while the rest surrounded the boats, the oars, masts, and sails of which were used in erecting the tent. Their intention to plunder was immediately visible, and all the exertions of the boat's crew were insufficient to prevent their possessing themselves of a tomahawk, an axe, and a saw. In this situation, as it was impossible to get the boat away, every thing belonging to her being on shore, it was thought advisable to temporise, and wait the return of the other boat, without having recourse to fire-arms, if it could possibly be avoided; and for this purpose bread, meat, and blankets were given them. These condescensions, however, seemed only to increase their boldness, and their numbers having been augmented by the junction of two other parties, amounted to more than two hundred. At this time the other boat came in sight; and observing the tumult at the tent, pushed towards them. Upon approaching the shore the unusual warlike appearance of the natives was immediately observed, and as they seemed to have entire possession of the tent, serious apprehensions were entertained for Mr. Harris and two of the boat's crew, who it was noticed were not at the boat. At the moment that the grapnel was hove out of the Lieutenant's boat, to prevent her taking the ground, one of the natives seized the master's mate, who had charge of the other boat, and held him fast in his arms: a general cry of "Fire, Sir; for God's sake, fire!" was now addressed from those on shore to the First Lieutenant. Hoping the report only would sufficiently intimidate them, two muskets were fired over their heads; for a moment they seemed to pause, and a few retreated behind the trees, but immediately returned, clapping their hands, and shouting vehe-

rnently. Four musquets with buck shot, and the fowling-pieces of the gentlemen with small shot, were now fired among them, and from a general howl, very different from their former shouts, many were supposed to be struck. This discharge created a general panic, and leaving their cloaks behind, they ran in every direction among the trees. It was hoped the business would have terminated here, and orders were, therefore, given to strike the tent, and prepare to quit the territory of such disagreeable neighbours. While thus employed, a large party were seen again assembling behind a hill, at the foot of which was our tent: they advanced in a compact body to the brow of the hill, every individual armed with a spear, and some, who appeared to be attendants of others, carrying bundles of them; when within a hundred yards of us they halted, and the chief, with one attendant, came down to the tent, and spoke with great vehemence, holding a very large war spear in a position for throwing. The First Lieutenant, wishing to restore peace if possible, laid down his gun, and advancing to the chief, presented him with several cloaks, necklaces, and spears, which had been left behind on their retreat; the chief took his own cloak and necklace, and gave the others to his attendant. His countenance and gestures all this time betrayed more of anger than fear, and his spear appeared every moment upon the point of quitting his hand. When the cloaks were all given up, the body on the hill began to descend, shouting and flourishing their spears. Our people were immediately drawn up, and ordered to present their musquets loaded with ball, while a last attempt was made to convince the chief, that if his people continued to approach they would be immediately fired upon. These threats were either not properly understood, or were despised, and it was deemed absolutely necessary for our own safety, to prove the power of our fire-arms, before they came near enough to injure us with their spears; selecting one of the foremost who appeared to be most violent, as a proper example, three musquets were fired at him at fifty yards distance, two of which took effect, and he fell dead on the spot; the chief turning round at the report saw him fall, and immediately fled among the trees; a general dispersion succeeded, and the dead body was left behind.

"Among these savages, gradations of rank could be distinctly traced, founded probably upon personal qualities and external appearance. In these respects the chief far excelled the rest; his figure was masculine and well proportioned, and his air bold and commanding. When first he was seen approaching the boat, he was raised upon the shoulders of two men, and surrounded by the whole party, shouting and clapping their hands. Besides his cloak, which was only distinguished by its superior size, he wore

a necklace of reeds, and several strings of human hair over his breast. His head was adorned with a coronet of the wing-feathers of the swan, very neatly arranged, and which had a pleasing effect. The faces of several were painted with red, white, and yellow clays, and others had a reed or bone ran through the septum of the nose, perhaps increasing in length according to rank, for the chief's was by far the longest, and must have measured at least two feet. Ornamental scars on the shoulders were general, and the face of one was deeply pitted as if from the small-pox, though that disease is not known to exist in New Holland. A very great difference was observed in the comparative cleanlines in these savages; some of them were so abominably beastly, that it required the strongest stomach to look on them without nausea, while others were sufficiently cleanly to be viewed without disgust. The beards, which are remarkably bushy, in the former were allowed to grow, while in the latter they were cut close, apparently by a sharp instrument, probably a shell.

"The only traces of society we could observe, was in a cluster of five huts, near which a well of brackish water was probably the only inducement to so close a neighbourhood. We had a sufficient proof of their burying their dead, by finding a human skeleton three feet under ground, while digging for water; its decayed state evinced its having been in the ground long before the arrival of any European at this port.

"The only domestic utensil observed among them was a straw basket, made with tolerable neatness. Their cookery is confined to broiling, in which they are not very delicate; for the fish they sometimes received from us were put on the fire, and devoured without the preparation of gutting, cleaning, &c."

From the unfavourable circumstances above-mentioned, it was deemed expedient to remove the colony to the river Derwent, on the south coast of the island, where a small party from Port Jackson had already taken up their residence, and the soil and climate of which are uncommonly fertile and healthy. This object being accomplished, the Calcutta took in a cargo of timber, sailed on the 17th March 1804, and arriving at Rio Janeiro on the 22d May, by doubling Cape Horn, performed a voyage round the world in eleven months. From this river the Calcutta sailed for England the first of June.

The style of Mr. Tuckey in some instances savours too much of the Radcliffean imagery; but we must in justice declare, that it would, on the whole, suffer nothing by comparison with the writings of the most celebrated literati of the present age; while it affords a rare example of the combination of nautical and refined literary attainments.

END OF TUCKEY'S VOYAGE.

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